SPAIN

A HISTORICAL ENIGMA

CLAUDIO SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ

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II

Translated by
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Chapter XII

THE IMMATURITY OF SPANISH FEUDALISM

It has been said that Spain never experienced feudalism; some have affirmed that it did not experience the Renaissance either. For two decades I have insisted many times about a no less transcendent lack; Spain, medieval Spain, did not have a bourgeoisie. When it is stated that a people have not suffered or enjoyed one of those great processes of Western history a historical reality is hypertrophied. I dare write that all within the flow of history has been a question of proportion. But since the European peoples —west from the valley of Elbe and south from the valley of the Danube— have lived closely united for millenniums, it is improbable that any have escaped the influence of the ideas, the artistic forms, the formulas of political and social existence, the inventions or the discoveries that one of those historical communities has achieved or has accepted from neighboring peoples throughout their history.

Thus it is an abstraction to state that one of those peoples has not experienced this or that historical process. It is correct to state that it has not lived the process with the same intensity as the neighboring communities where the process was born or where it took root. This happens in Spain in a historical moment that witnesses the birth and formation of both feudalism and the bourgeoisie. Within these limits, one historical lack, which hundreds of my listeners have heard me state for over twenty years, seems more accurate and revealing than other historical negativities formulated by many: Spain had neither feudalism nor a bourgeoisie. This undeniable reality implies a number of complex problems and touches many different horizons. Its historical consequences were much more serious in the formation of the Spanish style of life than many of the topics which an essayist-turned-historian has studied with relish and at times with excessive hopes. The peculiar historical trajectory of the political regime and the Peninsular economy during the Middle Ages, and their

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connection with the parallel and synchronous development of the spiritual life of Spain, may clear up many doubts.

It has been contended that feudalism could not exist south of the Pyrenees because there were not any Jewish functionaries in the courts of the Christian Spanish kings. Yet there was feudalism in Catalonia despite the fact that its princes did not have a policy regarding Catalan Jews that was any different from the policy followed by the kings of Aragón, nor the one followed by the sovereigns of Portugal or Castile regarding the Hebrews. The reasons why there was no feudalism in Spain outside of Catalonia —and I will deal with them shortly— go back to the first centuries of the Reconquest, when the León-Asturian and Navarrese monarchs had not yet begun to use the Jews as fiscal agents and diplomats, as Dopsch has pointed out. In that period, when feudalism was born and took root in Europe, the Jews were already tax gatherers beyond the Pyrenees. Therefore it is clear that the tolerance of the medieval Spanish kings towards the Jews did not influence the development of feudalism in the Peninsula.

Since the writing of my doctoral dissertation on *La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla* (1914) I have been interested in the institutional differentiation of Spain from the other nations of the West during the Middle Ages. I have often, both *viva voce* and in writing, attributed that differentiation to the long and difficult task of reconquest and its necessary sequel, repopulation. In the singularities that this great dual task imposed on medieval Spanish economic life, and also in the psychological attitude of the Spanish people towards it, I have looked for and found the peculiarities of our economy and our social structure during the Middle Ages. The more I enter into the study of these subjects, the more my opinion is confirmed. The two great historical processes of reconquest and subsequent repopulation, must be examined here to understand their influence on the two deficiencies of medieval Spanish society: the absence of feudalism and the absence of a bourgeoisie; or better yet, the lack of maturity of our feudal regime and of our urban life.

1. The Reconquest, Key to the History of Spain

I consider the Reconquest to be the key to the history of Spain. I launched this idea in Prague in 1928, and I have repeated it in monographic studies, essays and dissertations. My idea of yesterday and today confronts many other ignorant affirmations. Scholars from many different fields have shown and still show a disdainful and mistaken conception of the great historical process. Ortega y Gasset once denied its importance in the formation of Spain; he spoke derisively of its plantigrade advance, forgetting the immense difficulties that opposed it. Altamira supposed the idea of the Reconquest itself to be an ultra-Pyrenean importation and

that we owed it to the monks of Cluny. It dates from two hundred years before the arrival in Spain of the Cluniacs; at least from the ninth-century. A frustrated paragon between the Arabic empire and the Spanish empire has not given an integral meaning to our Reconquest either: «The Hispano-Christians did not fall like an avalanche on the Hispano-Islamic land in the eleventh-century like the Bedouins fell on Syria, Egypt and Iran in the seventh-century.» However the imperial appearance of Islam is not comparable to the recuperation of the national soil by a dispersed group of small Christian states. There are those who believe that there were only short periods of skirmishes and battles between the Moors and the Christians, that there were prolonged periods of peace and collaboration between them, and that the Islamic and Christian princes negotiated military alliances among themselves in order to jointly attack other Christian or Islamic sovereigns or to defend themselves from them. Those who affirm this, err by stubbornness. Some scholars of Spanish folkloric tradition like Caro Baroja, by minimizing the enormous movement of human masses that the repopulation of the conquered territories implied, judge the demographic consequences of the Reconquest to be without importance. Other erudites, and philologists, of equally notorious credit, discover no less errant interpretations of that most decisive event in Spanish history; or, to put it a better way, that chain of events that is the key to the history of Spain.

This cutting affirmation might scandalize many authentic historians and be considered a Spanish exaggeration. I myself would not be scandalized at such a reaction. But I would be surprised more than anyone else if somebody presented this or that event or rosary of events as the key to the history of a people. I do not discover in the past of the old nations of Europe any single enterprise that explains how its historical personality was formed. I doubt that any of the masters of European history are able to discover it. I myself have contended that no historical process is sufficient to explain the past of any human community.

I believe that nations do not sleepwalk like the stars along orbits marked out from eternity, nor do they intoxicatedly travel down zigzagging paths being pushed along by fate; elsewhere I have studied the interplay of the forces that compose history. That interplay is too complex to allow us to suppose that the historical trajectory of each nation is the result of one single impulse. At different rhythms, all of them have changed their temperamental heritage and their style of life throughout the centuries. Hyperbolically we could say that each day the sun encounters each human group with a different functional structure than the one it possessed at dusk the day before.

I have also referred to the very different rhythm at which each nation proceeds down the difficult path of history. We do not possess the marvelous apparatus needed to trace the historical cardiogram of the different nations. However, despite the rough and primitive nature of our means

of observating the past of human groups, it is possible to note that while some national communities have advanced gracefully and at times giddily through the past, others have done it at a turtle's pace. This difference in rhythm has depended as much on their vital impetus as on the obstacles they have encountered in their path. Some peoples have needed to practice violent sports from time to time because, comfortably situated in history, they have had to use up the excess vitality that was torturing them; they have had to launch magnificent and excentric bellicose adventures, including giant bloodbaths, in order to ease their hypertension. Others, on the contrary, have had to use all their human energy in order to survive amid the terrible storms of history. This was the case of the Spanish people during the long centuries of the Reconquest.

This multisecular enterprise constitutes a special case in the history of the European nations, and it has no equivalent in the past of any historic community in the west. No nation in the old world has carried out so difficult and monochord an adventure; none has achieved in such an extensive period of time a task so decisive in the formation of its own free life. One decade, five, eight, one century, four, six of national and religious struggle was rarely interrupted by a decade of peace. There was an always uncertain and indecisive frontier that advanced during periods of crisis within Muslim Spain, after a great Christian victory against the Saracens or when a city that dominated the entrance to a valley or assured the possession of a plain was conquered. It was a frontier that retreated easily: when order was reestablished in Al-Ándalus, after a great Muslim victory or when Africa threw new multitudes of Muslims into Spain. It was always like that, from before the battle of Covadonga (722) to after the victory of Salado (1340). And even later, when the Reconquest slowed down, frontier wars that were far from being a step in some chivalrous ballet were to persist like an endemic illness.

Many of the historical projections of that long and complex enterprise are revealed in the cristalization of the varied facets of Spanish living; I will point out a number of others. In no aspect of medieval Spanish history did the Reconquest and its sequel, the Repopulation, exercise more decisive influence than in the political framework and the economic life of the Christian kingdoms of Spain. It is especially so in the constitutional organization and the economy of León and Castile. Therefore it is important here to give it the attention it deserves.

Everyone knows that the Reconquest began with the rebellion of the Asturians, initiated by Pelayo in 718, and with the victory at Covadonga in 722; and also that it ended in 1492 with the entry of the Catholic Kings in Granada. During so many centuries naturally the inducements, the ideals, the hopes, the methods and the rhythm... of the struggle were to change. From the anguished defense of the first times to the spirited attack at the end, the great historical enterprise of medieval Spain clearly experienced the most varied styles of pugnatious contact between the two

opposing enemies. The same central idea of the great Christian enterprises oscillated, blinked, changed, declined and reappeared according to the times and the men. The beginning of the struggle was due to the impetuous ancestral love of liberty of the Asturians and the Cantabrians. As I have shown elsewhere, Don Pelayo was not the successor of Don Rodrigo and the Visigothic nobility did not elect a new king to continue the Visigothic history. Thus it seems sure to me that the desire to recover the lost national territory was not among the stimuli that motivated the Pelayo's resistance or that decided the beginning of a great adventure. Let us say it once and for all: the Reconquest should not be understood as only the ambitious attempt to conquer again the fatherland of Spain. The idea of performing this restoration soon arose in the mountains of Asturias. Yet, before it arose, it had already begun by deed. Later it would not, it could not, remain secularly unalterable.

This idea probably arose when, in the days of Alfonso II (791-842) an active neo-Gothicism that dreamed of the continuity of Hispano-Gothic history appeared. A half century later it was rooted in the minds and hearts of the governing minorities in Oviedo. The chronicles of Alfonso III's time prove this. In 881 a clergyman from Oviedo finished a breviary of universal history, the so-called Chronicle of Albelda. In it one can read: «*Farmalio terrae sarrazeni euocati Spanias occupant. Regnumque gotorum capiunt. quod aduc usque ex parte pertinaciter possident. et cum eis xpistiani die noctuque bella iniunt et quotidie confligunt, dum predestinatio usque diuina dehinc eos expelli crudeliter jubeat.*» In April of the year 883, Dulcidio, a Toledan priest, who was probably the ambassador of Alfonso III in Córdoba, wrote the so-called Prophetic Chronicle. These words were taken from it: «*Etiam et multorum xpistianorum reuelationibus atque ostensionibus hic princeps noster gloriosus domnus Adefonsus proximiori tempore in omni Spanie predicetur regnaturus.*» Between 883 and 886 the same king Alfonso wrote the short chronicle which carries his name. Referring to the struggle in Covadonga, the prince chronicler made Pelayo say to the traitor bishop Oppas: «*Spes nostra Xpistus est quod per istum modicum monticulum quem conspicis sit Spanie salus.*»

The three historical texts show one thought: Pelayo was already dreaming of the salvation of Spain when he decided to fight in Covadonga and while the Christians were fighting night and day to take it from the Muslims. They still had not recovered it completely and would have to wait for God to determine the expulsion of the Muslim enemies. Prophetic signs induced them to believe that soon the glorious king Alfonso would reign in all of Spain. The idea of the Reconquest of the Spanish national homeland as the supreme ideal and the supreme hope in the war against the Muslims had therefore taken root in Asturias in the last third of the ninth-century. This was two centuries before the Cluniacs were to come to a Spain whose restoration had already made Don Pelayo and his successor Alfonso the Great fight.

Did this idea always move the swords and pikes of all the Spanish Christians in their fight against the Moors from Covadonga to Granada? Naturally no. Maravall has just studied the presence of that thought throughout medieval Spanish historiography. But here the ups and downs of the ideal of the Reconquest are not important. What is important, extraordinarily important, are the patterns of its actual historical fulfillment and the harsh difficulty of the continuous struggle this task always demanded.

Let us remember the words of the so-called Chronicle of Albelda: «The Christians fight every day, both night and day.» They did that for centuries. Neither did the chronicler from Oviedo exaggerate the facts in 881, nor do I disfigure them today. Let us examine, for example, the chronology of the struggles between the kings of Oviedo and the emirs of Córdoba, from the year 791 in which the pious Hixam I began the holy war against the Trinitarian polytheists of the kingdom of Asturias, until the death of Alfonso III in 910.

It should be noted that the Islamic armies —of the Ommiads and the Banu Qasi'— entered in Christian territories, through two different zones at the same time, in the years 791, *794*, *795*, 796, 801, 803, 806, *808*, 810, 816, 823, *824*, 825, 826, *838*, 839, *840*, *841*, 842, *844*, 848, *853*, 855, 859, 863, 865, 866, 867, *869*, 874, *878*, *882*, *883*, from 883 to 891 and to 898 almost without interruption, in 901, 902 and 904. In the underlined years the Muslims attacked the central and western portions of the kingdom of Oviedo, and in almost all of those underlined and in all the rest they entered through the lands of Castile. Whenever the Muslims were not attacking the kings of Asturias, these were invading enemy territory. In 798 Alfonso II reached Lisbon and in 840 attacked Medinaceli. Ordoño I sent the count of Gatón to rescue Toledo in 854, in 859 he personally fought in Albelda and towards 860 he won Coria, while count Rodrigo was conquering Talamanca. From 868 to 878 Alfonso III ordered the occupation of Portugal down to Coimbra; in 881 he reached the lands of Mérida; in 892 he besieged Tarazona; in 904, Grañón, and in 906, he appeared outside of Toledo. First the horsemen of León and then those of Zamora attacked the Saracens from 883 onward; between 906 and 910 the future Ordoño II reached Seville and shorthy before dying, Alfonso III launched his last campaign against the Muslims. Besides we do not possess testimonies of all the military actions of the Saracens and the Christians that deafened that century of intense battle. An unedited document of Ordoño I, which I published some years ago, gave us news of an Islamic campaign in León which had previously been unknown. In those we do know, many important battles were fought: at the Burbia (791), in Lutos (793), in Torrestío and Quirós (794), in Arganzón (801), at the Pisuerga (806), at the Orón (816), in Nahrón and in Anceo (824), at the mountain of the Adoradores del Fuego in Álava (825), in Clavijo (859), in the valley of Miranda (?) (863), at the Morcuera (866), in Polvoraria and Valde-

mora (878), in Cellorigo and in Pancorbo (882-83), in an indefinite place on the frontiers of Castile (891), in Zamora (901), in Tarazona (902)...

Considering this monotonous rosary of dates and events —small events are not history but history cannot be made without them—, can the accuracy of Albeldense be doubted when he wrote: «*xpistiani die noctuque bella iniunt et quotidie confligunt*?» Well, it was always like that. Always? There were moments when the Saracens were not fought day and night, but these were the minority until the siege of Gibraltar by king Alfonso XI (1350). The event that occurred between the crowning of 'Abd al-Rahman III in 912 and the death of 'Abd al-Malik, son of Almanzor, in 1008 are still more overwhelming —and I invoke the testimony of Lévi-Provençal, Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel and Emilio Sáez. So are those that happened between the taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI (1985) and that of Seville by Ferdinand III (1248) —according to the research of Menéndez Pidal, Lacarra, Ubieto, Sánchez Belda, Huici and Julio González. Nevertheless, even though at a less accelerated and continuous rate, Moors and Christians also fought intensely from the surrender of Seville to the capture of Algeciras. The frontiers did not advance but the Africans and the people from Granada also gave the Christians plenty to do. The very numerous cavalry patrols, the skirmishes, the battles and the sieges were prolonged, harsh, difficult and frequently terrible; every fortified town cost a blockade —often meaning numerous and long sieges— and the frequent Islamic reactions were very dangerous.

Only from the fall of the descendants of Almanzor (1009) to the beginning of the siege of Toledo (1078?) was the struggle more sporadic. The revolutions in Córdoba and the splitting up of the caliphate crippled the offensive power of Muslim Spain. Meanwhile, Christian Spain was being weakened by a chain of events: the extinction of the line of counts of Castile who had carried the brunt of the battle against Córdoba for a half century; the campaigns against León by Sancho III of Navarre (d. 1035) meaning the end of any attempt to continue the Reconquest; the new disagreements between the Castilians and the Leonese (Tamarón, 1037); the tumultuous liquidation of the succession of Sancho III (Atapuerca, 1054) and after a brief effort to continue the Reconquest by Ferdinand I (d. 1065), the civil war between his sons, which only ended with the death of Sancho II at Zamora (1073). During that long period the Christians were only able to restore the frontiers that they had possessed in the tenth-century, before the terrible attacks of Almanzor. And they did not even achieve this without an enormous effort. Although Islam's offensive power had been weakened, its defensive capacity was still great, and the conquest of a well-defended city was a very difficult task. Alfonso V died in the siege of Viseo and it took Ferdinand I six months to win Coimbra and he later failed to reconquer Valencia. Due to this and to the reality of the need to have a plentiful treasury in order to prepare new military adventures —war was, is and always will be expensive— Ferdinand I in-

augurated a policy of protectorates and tributes with the Moorish kings. This system, more rooted in the contractual tradition of the Navarrese than in the unbending hostility of the Castilians and the Leonese, paralyzed the Reconquest and produced some intermingling between the Christians and the Muslims.

During the brief reign of Sancho II (1065-1073) and during certain moments of the first part of the lengthy reign of Alfonso VI (1073-1109), these two sovereigns of León and Castile were obliged at times to defend their Muslim vassals against the attacks of other Christian kings. Alfonso VII used a dethroned Muslim monarch, Zafadola, during the crisis of the Almoravid empire in the first part of the twelfth-century. After the defeat at Alarcos (1195) Alfonso IX of León and Sancho VII of Navarre both formed short-lived alliances with the caliph Al-Mansur; one lasted two years and the other a little more. Ferdinand III was able to add fuel to the discord among his enemies by helping some pretenders against others. He later accepted the vassalage of the king of Granada. Yet it would not be fair to exaggerate, as others have done, these exceptional, short-lived, fleeting and very rare agreements and then to speak of the entangled relations of the princes of the two religions throughout our medieval history.

After many years of campaigns and a long siege, Alfonso VI reconquered Toledo in May of 1085 and with Toledo he won a great number of neighboring fortifications. Castile and León now reached the Tagus River. They had not fought the Muslims alone but their frontiers had always extended much further south than those of the other Christian states. Ever since the conquest of Barcelona in 801, the southern limit of the Catalan counties had hardly moved. And ever since the campaigns of the dynasty that reigned in Navarre from 905 on, the southern frontiers of the Pyrenean states had not advanced either. León and Castile had crossed the central mountain range, while the frontiers of the other Christian Spanish kingdoms were limited by the preliminary hills of the Pyrenees: the mountains of Santo Domingo, De la Peña, Guara and Castillo, and by those of Monsech, Monserrat and Garraf. Tarragona was not conquered until 1091 and Peter I of Aragón took Huesca (1096) and Barbastro (1100), only ten years after the fall of Toledo. The vitality and warlike potency of the Asturian-León kingdom was clearly quite superior to that of all the other Christian states in Spain. This enormous difference in the progress of the Reconquest also had other causes. It is connected, in part, with the depopulation of the Duero River Valley.

2. The Depopulation of the Duero River Valley

About a century ago Herculano, the great Portuguese historian, maintained that Alfonso I had created a series of strategic deserts south

of the mountain frontiers of the kingdom of Asturias in order to protect it from the predictable Muslim attacks. That thesis became generalized. Alberto Sampaio purposely opposed it by studying the villages of northern Portugal; later Ernest ignored it in his work about the medieval institutions on the Peninsula. The first based his theory on the apocryphal documents of Odario and on other no more trustworthy ones; the second made no attempt to refute Herculano, considering his theory inexistent. Barrau-Dihigo, the very knowledgeable historian of the kingdom of Asturias, accepted it: «*Un vaste désert* —he writes— *large, de plusieurs centaines de kilomètres le sépara désormais de l'Espagne musulmane.*» I have not admitted his thesis completely; I have never believed, like Herculano, that Alfonso I consciously created a series of strategic deserts, nor that depopulation of the Duero River Valley was due wholly to him but I have affirmed many times since 1924 the reality of that emptiness. Some scholars are still unsure of my theory. Following my line, though without citing the origin of his story and the arguments backing it, Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel has recently accepted it. But the incredulous are not lacking. The authenticity of that depopulation is so important in the history of Spain and in the formation of the organic context of the Spaniards, that I am obliged to pause and study it here.

It is known that the so-called Chronicle of Albelda says of Alfonso I: «*Campos quos dicunt Goticos usque flumen Dorium eremauit.*» And also that, shortly thereafter, Alfonso III wrote of his grandfather: «*Cum fratre Froilane sepius exercitu mobens multas ciuitates bellando cepit... Seu castris cuuillis et uiculis suis. Omnes quoque arabes gladio interficiens, xpistianos autem secum ad patriam ducens.*» I take it as highly likely that both texts come from a lost Asturian chronicle which was written during the reign of Alfonso II (791-842). Even if this conjecture were incorrect. we would be confronted with reliable testimonies. I have studied the dates and the authority of both short chronicles and their stories are confirmed by passages from Ibn Alatir (d. 1231) which were directly or indirectly derived from Ahmad al-Razi (d. 955) which itself was inspired by analysis of the ninth-century. The oriental historian attributes the events to the son of Alfonso called Fruela, but he coincides with the Christian chronicle in portraying the king of Oviedo as destroying the country down to Viseo, Ledesma, Ávila and Segovia.

If we did not have other testimonies it would be quite risky to suppose that the first king Alfonso would have been able to cause the intense emptiness of the Duero Valley during his campaigns. But this is not the case. A number of Arabian sources, from the eighth-century or derived from text of the eighth and ninth-century, come to our aid. Creditable Muslim historians speak of three groups of events that contributed to the depopulation of the upper meseta. The first was the emigration of many Spanish Goths to the mountainous lands of northern Spain under the pressure of the Saracen conquest. The second was the abandonment of

Galicia and the Duero Valley by the Berbers established there since the Muslim invasion when they rose against the Arabs or «baladies» (the worthless). The third was the great famine that the Peninsula suffered from 748-753. It forced a good part of the Andalusian population to emigrate to Africa by way of the mouth of the Barbate, a river which has given its name to those cruel years.

The emigration to the north of the people of central Spain due to the Islamic invasion is also confirmed by a number of sources. The learned text of the chronicle of Alfonso III and the information of Ajbar Machmua and Isa al-Razi confirm it. The toponyms also contribute to its veracity. Menéndez Pidal showed the existence of eight small villages called Toldaos in the province of Lugo; thus testifying the early flight to Lugo of the people of Toledo. Joseph Piel has recorded a number of place-names in Galicia showing the presence of fugitives from Coimbra. The emigration is even confirmed by epic traditions. The learned Poem of Fernán González which compiles them says of the oldest Castile: «*Eran en poca tierra muchos omes juntados.*» (1)

The upper meseta probably had never been populated very densely by human masses; the scarcity of Latin inscriptions north of the Duero proves it. A part of these masses must have been displaced in the fifth-century by the Germanic invasions of 409 and especially when numerous groups of Goths established themselves in the so-called Gothic Fields; a settlement which is accredited by more and more frequent and important archeological finds. The flight north of many Goths and many Hispano-Romans; the military advance south of the Berbers settled in the region; famine; the campaigns of Alfonso I (739-757), synchronous with the last two events; and the great smallpox epidemic —shown by Prieto Vives— which devastated the Peninsula would have been enough to produce the depopulation of a region that was never densely populated. Those who stayed here and there, attached to the land north of the Duero, sooner or later would take refuge in the Cantabrian Mountains, when the wilderness began to be plundered by the Muslims and the Christians.

Only north of the Duero? Yes; I do not believe that all of the upper meseta was totally depopulated. I am only sure of the intense emptying of the area between the Duero and the Cantabrian-Asturian Mountains and especially the plains of León and Castile which extended from the aforementioned river and to the mountains. I am sure, I have written it. I insist on such a sharp affirmation. A long series of proofs and historical testimonies assure me of it.

A giant roller seems to have devastated that zone at some moment of the past. It is impossible to precisely trace the Roman map of the region. No archeological, epigraphic or linguistic traces remain that might permit

(1) «There were many men together on little land.»

us to reconstruct the exact limits of the imperial administrative divisions. It is very difficult to follow the routes registered in the Itinerary of Antonio: we still do not know for sure what part of the meseta the road crossed that went from Saragossa to Astorga along the Duero and then continued by Brigeco, a village still not identified. We do not know the precise direction of the road that went from Astorga to Braga through the lands of Zamora either. There are still remnants of Roman roads which do not figure in the Itinerary or in any other classic text. It is useless to try to find the names of the settlements which they connected because they have not been transmitted either by history or by tradition. Not even with the help of medieval documents can we guess the places where many of the cities and inns that graced these secondary routes were constructed.

Within the frontiers of the kingdom of Oviedo whose southern limit ran along the Duero and the Mondego, not one Hispano-Roman *civitas* of any importance can be cited which was able to continue more or less populated, without life ever ceasing in it, from the period just before the Muslim invasion until the days of occupation and restoration by the Christians. Of all the cities and settlements which the classical geographers, the Greek and Latin historians, the Itinerary of Antonio, the military *tessera* and the inscriptions situated within the kingdom of Asturias south of the mountains few were able to conserve their name until the tenth century, and consequently to our day. Even the most zealous archeologists are unable to precisely —and sometimes not even approximately— locate the ancient geographic position of the great majority of them. When helped by the distances shown in the Itinerary of Antonio or in the military *tessera* and by findings of Roman ruins, the exact position of some of these cities can be determined. It is also frequently possible to see that the old *civitas* was depopulated for a period because the new one has a different name: Lacobriga-San Mamés, Tritium-Nájera, Segisamunclum-Cerezo, etc. Otherwise when the name of the ancient city survived the crisis of the eighth and the ninth-century, the one that inherited it and still carries it, is situated at a distance at times more than a league from the other one: Clunia, Libia, Suessatio... Of the few whose names continue to be applied to the original urban groups situated where the old *civitates* were, built, the ones located at the foot of the Cantabrian (Mountains) —Astorga, León, Amaya, Briviesca— were restored quite soon, and the others, situated closer to the Duero —Simancas, Roa, Langa, Osma—, remained occupied by the Moors until the last minute in order to dominate the entrances to the meseta. Almost all the cities and settlements that have lasted until today had great political or military importance in Roman times and were destined to leave traces of their life on the face of the earth that barely a century of depopulation was unable to wipe out. We know how, when and by whom all of them were repopulated. In the region we are interested in there are today many ruins of Roman cities

whose ancient names we do not know or cities whose names were unknown to the men of the Middle Ages. For example, they believed that Numantia was in the province of Zamora and we still do not know the names of the Roman settlements erected where Canales de la Sierra and San Esteban de Gormaz stand today.

The small villages named in the Hispano-Visigothic texts suffered the same fate as the urban nuclei of relative importance in Roman times. In the mountainous zones of northern Portugal the depopulation was less intense than in the Castilian —Leonese plains— man has always been more bound to the hills than to the lowlands. Yet even there it is difficult to follow the traces of the places inhabited during the period immediately preceeding the Muslim invasion. The very erudite scholar, Pierre David has been able to demostrate the authenticity of the so-called *Sueve Provincial* that is the parochial division of the northwestern part of the Peninsula in the sixth century. Nevertheless, the same author admits that of all the parishes of the ancient *conventus juridicus* of Braga, whose limit coincided with the Duero, only one still existed after the Reconquest. And it is almost impossible to geographically locate a good part of the Visigothic mints that operated in that zone during the seventh-century.

If we possessed the parochial divisions of the Castilian-Leonese plains in the seventh-century, we most surely would not be able to trace in them the ancient Hispano-Gothic parishes either. In those plains it is even impossible to point out the limits of the ancient episcopal seats. Only in rare cases have they conserved the name of any of the new Hispano-Gothic urban nuclei. Toro, the ancient *Villa Gothorum* can trace only the Gothic race among all those who inhabited it. Soria is probably a Gothic toponym, but Soria is also located in the mountains.

It is expressly recognized that the majority of the Visigothic churches known today in this depopulated region, were restored after the reconquest. This happened with those of Quintinilla de las Dueñas (Burgos), San Pedro de Nave (Zamora), Santa Comba de Bande (Orense), San Fructuoso de Montelios (Braga). The great damages suffered by the others testify to the fact that they also went through a period of ruin and abandonment. Furthermore, not one of the numerous monasteries of the region had been inhabited since before the depopulation.

The depopulation of the upper meseta from the Duero to the Asturian-Cantabrian Range is also supported by some of the Hispano-Arabian and Hispano-Latin testimonies. In the year 840, on the occasion of one of the few campaigns that 'Abd al-Rahman II personally lead, a court poet sent a poem in his name to the favorite of his harem; it is reproduced by Ibn 'Idari: I have left you, he said, to combat the enemy; I have had to *traverse the desert* and cross many gorges; I have confronted the hot southerly wind, capable of melting rocks. A shield of dust covers my face. Ibn al-Qutiya tells that since Ibn Marwan the Gallego, from Mérida, and

Sadun al-Surunbaki could not resist the attacks of the armies of Muhammad I (before 878?), they were forced to settle in the *wasteland* that separated the Islamic from the Christian territories. Many years later, when the Duero had already been occupied, we know that the region of Soria was still depopulated. According to 'Arib ben Sa'ad, Ibn 'Idari, after referring to the devastation caused by Abd al-Rahman III along the banks of the great river of Castile, says that the caliph's army took five days «to cross the great desert», on its way to Tudela.

Northern texts also tell of the depopulation of the Duero River Valley from the River itself to the Cantabrian Range. In a document from 883, Alfonso III quite precisely declares that until then, the northern lands of what is today Portugal had been barren. Chronicles and other documents speak of depopulated cities. For example, in the year 800, upon founding the monastery of Taranco, the abbot Vitulo wrote: «*in area Patriniani... invenimus ipsa civitate ex ruina desolata*». The short chronicles of the so-called Albedense, of Alfonso III and of Sampiro consider many of the cities in the region to be *civitates dessertas.* In the setting of the limits between Navarre and Castile, in 1016, one can read: «*ubi est Garrahe antiqua civitate deserta*». Even in 1095 at the signing of the concord between the monastery of Valbanera and the town of Canales, we can read: «*ad costam civitatem ubi est Sigeda, antiqua civitas desserta*».

The reality of a Duero desert in part explains why Galicia and León were hardly attacked by the troops from Córdoba in the ninth-century while the frontiers of Álava and Castile were assaulted year after year. These territories could be reached via the cultivated lands of the Tagus and the Ebro. Even as late as the ninth-century, in order to avoid the desert, the Muslim armies would frequently take a strange route to León. Instead of directly entering the Castilian-León plains, the would lengthen their journey hundreds of kilometers by reaching Saragossa, going up the Ebro, entering Castile through the upper limits of the Rioja and then advancing towards León and Astorga along the Roman road that crossed through the territories just south of the mountains that were already populated by the Christians. Te impossibility of living off a barren countryside forced the armies of Córdoba to take these kinds of detours.

The intensity of the depopulation is also accredited by the double series of testimonies that show the intensity of the repopulation. In none of the hundreds and hundreds of Castilian, León and Portuguese documents from the ninth, tenth and eleventh-centuries which I have consulted, did anyone claim that his ancestors dated back to before the Saracen conquest. Even on the many occasions in which it would have been perfectly normal to boast of ancient ancestors —in the case of lawsuits regarding the social condition of this or that party involved or regarding the rights of property or possession— no one ever used the presence of his family line in the region before the arrival of the colonists as an argument. On the other

hand, I have gathered dozens and dozens of documents containing details of the repopulation: royal orders for carrying out the repopulation by an infante, a magnate or a bishop; royal authorizations of *presuras* (2) in a certain zone or the receiving of settlers into private dwelling; *presuras* or the taking of possession of any type of real estate: ecclesiastical or noble, individual or collective, direct or indirect, by means of serfs or peasants; acts relating to the colonization of villages and towns: the building of a wall, buildings, lighting or the bringing of water, the distribution of lots of land; court cases dealing with the rights which these acts implied; suits regarding the freedom of the (settlers) regarding their possessions; the erection of monasteries and the founding of churches in desert regions, the concession of temples and monasteries found in depopulated zones; royal donations of wasteland for the purposes of repopulation; royal confirmations of the rights of *presura* for those who had taken possession of goods upon their own initiative; concessions or sales of fields, lots or houses, either received from the monarch's delegates at the moment of the official colonization of a region or gained by one's own *presura* or that of his father, grandfather, etc., etc., etc. And those dozens and dozens of documents conserving numerous and varied facets of the repopulation and which accredit its geographical extension, its duration and its intensity, are no more than tangential or marginal testimonies of a great enterprise. They are testimonies which in some ways were able to give judicial roots to rights —possessions, properties, leases, services...— which were one day transmitted or disputed. These documents have reached us only when one of the participants in the affair was a religious institution or a person whose goods had ended in a monastery or in a church, because these were the only ones conserved.

The toponyms of the large region between the Duero River and the Cantabrian Mountains, by confirming the radical nature of the repopulation, show the intensity of the previous emptiness.

Thirty years ago in his *Orígenes del español,* Menéndez Pidal pointed out many expressive old toponymic testimonies of the colonization of the Asturian-León kingdom. Names like *Gallegos* (Galicians), *Bercianos* (from Bierzo), *Asturianos* (Asturians), *Navianos* (from Navia), *Lebaniegos* (from Liebana), *Meneses* (from the valley of Mena), *Vascones* (from Vasconia), *Castellanos* (Castilians), *Toledanos* (Toledans), *Coreses* (from Coria)... appeared everywhere in the repopulated lands Also many years ago Gómez Moreno showed the demographic projection in the zone of León of the prolonged emigration towards it of the great number of Mozarabs from Al-Ándalus. Menéndez Pidal has insisted on these migrations and has registered many toponyms of Arabian origin.

Today, however, we can go much further because the Spanish toponyms

(2) A medieval right guaranteeing colonists the free possesion of the land they occupied.

have begun to be studied more carefully. These studies assure, either directly or indirectly, the intensity of the depopulation. An indirect but quite trustworthy testimony is offered by the absence of the suffix *en* in the toponyms of the Duero River Valley. Menéndez Pidal finds them in all of the Peninsula except in that zone. Only its emptiness can explain such an absence. The appearance of these toponyms in the most diverse Spanish regions, inhabited by the most varied tribes, and the linguistic phenomenon which the adoption of the suffix *en* supposes, all exclude any other explanation of this singular fact pointed out by the great master. Other similar exceptions such as the absence, in the meseta of the Duero, of other geographical names of remote origin not registered by Menéndez Pidal in his studies on *Toponimia prerromana,* must also be connected with the depopulation. For example, he uses certain absences of names in order to consolidate his thesis of the Ilyrian-Ligurian invasion of the Peninsula. This, however, contrasts with the findings of Gómez Moreno of an onomastic in the Latin inscriptions of that zone that is not dissimilar to that of the neighboring regions.

While studying the Leonese toponyms, Luis López Santos has unintentionally gives us an excellent argument in favor of the depopulation of the Duero River Valley. He has shown that while in the mountainous regions of the bishopric of León the toponyms have ancient roots, in the plains of the center and south, the place names can be included in five groups: nearly three hundred were, and still are, formed with the word *villa* attached to the name of a person; many were and are integrated with words like *castro, quinta, castil, parata...* and a personal patronymic; many other medieval and modern toponyms carried, or carry, the names of saints; many testified or testify the origin in the zone of those who lived there: Galicians, *bercianos, navianos, lebaniegos,* Castilians, *vascones, coreses,* and Toledans...; and many have an Arabian, or better yet, a Mozarabic form. López Santos is perfectly correct when, upon registering the names of the León plain contained in the first four of the cited groups, he writes: «We are confronted by a typical phenomenon of repopulation»; or «they are doubtless products of the repopulation». And though he might not think so, the other toponyms of Mozarabic origin were also born during the repopulation because the Muslims, that is, the Berbers, only dominated the country from 714 to 741, too short a period for the Africans, who had recently been submitted to the caliphate of Damascus, and had only recently converted to Islam in 711, to have left Arabian geographical traces or to have arabized the Christians of the zone.

To this long series of toponyms connected with the repopulation, we must also add others situated around León which refer to the profession of its inhabitants: *macellarios* (slaughterers), *grullarios* (stork keepers), *rotarios* (rollers), *torneros* (lathe-makers), *olleros* (potters)... all of which already existed in the tenth-century and therefore were also related with the repopulation. Since the few not included in the groups noted by

Luis López Santos are not of a greater antiquity, we can conclude that the Leonese colonization was carried out in a totally barren countryside.

A detailed study of the toponyms of the entire region comprised between the Duero and the Cantabrian-Asturian Range would lead to the same conclusions. They are clearly shown by the short study of the names of places and people of the county of Castile, done by Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel. And Piel has shown, against Alberto Sampaio, that the majority of the local toponyms of the Galician-Portuguese zones reconquered up to the days of Alfonso III come from the repopulation.

They also confirm the concentrated and closed nature of the repopulation of the Castilian plains and the León wasteland and, thus, the intensity of the depopulation. This is seconded by the peculiarities in the way of speaking in the colonized region during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, which have been studied by Menéndez Pidal, and compared by him, with the characterictics of dialects in other Spanish regions, thus increasing the evidence. The parallel between the system of landholding and the social conditions of the rural classes, characteristic of those newly colonized regions and the predominant social system in districts of Oviedo that did not suffer a similar demographic crisis, also confirm it.

Menéndez Pidal writes of Asturias: «The primitive Romanesque fermentation was able to develop in each little district without any unifying upheavals...; it becomes a region of the righest and purest linguistic individualism; its dialect is much more complex than any other Spanish region, including Upper Aragón. The abundance of Asturian dialects are not limited by the mountain passes on the Cantabrian Range. They normally extend on both sides of the divide. That could be due to the fact that the southern valleys were as inaccesible to the upheavals of the Reconquest as the northern ones were». On the other hand, while speaking of the León region he affirms: «we encounter many emigrants from many different countries in the lands where the repopulation was most active. Such a mixture of peoples was not conducive to the production of very special dialectical characteristics. The inhabitant from central León thus produced a middle type, formed by the cross influences of Galicians, Asturians, *bercianos*, Castilians and Mozarabs, and somewhat apart from the multiform dialects of Asturias».

Here we have a most precise proof of my thesis about the radical depopulation of the Duero River Basin. Many immigrants entered Asturias in the eight-century: the non-conformist Goths and the Christians installed there by Alfonso I, according to the undisputable testimony of Alfonso III. The presence of those peoples from the south in a populated country could well have contributed to increasing the wealth of the Asturian dialects. Without them this wealth would not have been greater than in other parts of Spain with a similar story. But, since the South was barren and there was no native support to absorb the settlers, the same type of linguistic diversity found in the north could not levelop because a language that

was no longer spoken could not possibly break up into different dialects. The union, in a depopulated land —a union based on equality, the equality of all being new—, and the constant mixing in it of the colonists tended towards a linguistic fusion.

Later Menéndez Pidal studies another linguistic phenomenon of the lands of León which is also a product of the repopulation. This the existence, along with the popular dialect that everyone spoke and also the low or scholastic Latin which the educated wrote, of a vulgar or plebian Latin written by the notaries. It was a Latin that had been spoken and written at some other time in the Romanized west until the Carolingian Renaissance eliminated it. Menéndez Pidal believes this popular Latin to be rooted in the archaic tradition of the Mozarabic emigrants «who were trapped in an ancient Latin culture due to the apogee of the official Muslim culture». Such an importation would only have been possible in a radically depopulated country.

Menéndez Pidal also studies the formation of Castilian as a result of the very complex contacts with elements that were tangential to Castile and also its propagation throughout the Duero basin by the repopulation. By alleging other linguistic peculiarities of this zone, he completes the proof —it is I who deduce these consequences from his masterly pages— of their intense depopulation of the upper meseta. The Asturians advanced from the Cantabrian Sea to the Duero between two frontiers which while not coinciding exactly, nevertheless generally follow the historical frontiers of the kingdom of León. Now, if there had never been an emptying of the Duero River basin, some contacts could be shown between the dialect in most neighboring parts of the transalpine and cisalpine Asturias. Yet Menéndez Pidal shows small islands of Asturian dialects in two regions of Zamora and Salamanca which are very distant from the soil of present-day Asturias and one of which is called Asturianos. Here we have another result of the integral repopulation and thus of the radical depopulation; a result based once again on the most characteristic linguistic phenomena of the Duero River Valley.

Another argument in favor of the depopulation is a linguistic process that is usually employed as a proof of the presence in a country of its ancient inhabitants. I am referring to the appearance of Basque in the valley of the Oja and even in the highlands of Burgos. This appearance is accredited by the toponyms and even by the thirteenth-century documents in Ojacastro. The Berones from the Rioja and the Murbogi from Burgos could not possibly have spoken Basque in pre-Roman periods because we know positively that they were Celts. Since it was not likely that they learned it under the lordship of Rome or that of the Goths, Basque could only have penetrated in the zone when, after the depopulation, the colonists of Basque lineage moved in. They were, along with the Cantabrians and the Goths, the ones who contributed to the birth of Castile.

The singularities of the Castilian-León institutions are due to the intensity of the repopulation and therefore to the depopulation. A gust of freedom cleaned out the Duero River basin. After the repopulation Castile was a nation of free man, small and medium size landowners, or free *enfiteutas* (3). Each one was grouped in free rural communities —which I will examine later— servile classes were the exception. These classes existed in León amid dense mass of free peasants, though at times they were submitted to lordship due to the existence, near the political center of the kingdom, of an important lay and clerical aristocracy; this explains its difference from Castile. In Galicia, however, the structure of property of the latter Roman Empire persisted, producing the rapid falling into dependence of free men and the continuing crisis of the small plot of land. This is to say that the lands that did not suffer an intensive depopulation —the part of Galicia near the Miño did to a certain extent— the general historical tradition of the west survived. While, in the «outside land», as the men of the tenth century called the Castilian-León plains, depopulated in the eight-century and repopulated from the middle of the ninth-century on, new relations between man and the land arose. New social divisions triumphed over the rigid ties of the servile classes: before the year 1000 the Castilian *solariegos* (4) and the Leonese *iunior de heredad* (5) enjoyed freedom of movement. That is, the colonists of the recently occupied seigneurial lands enjoyed a situation unknown in Europe or Spain at that time.

What can be added to this immense list of interrelations and coincidental realities to deny the depopulation of the upper meseta from the Duero to the mountains of Asturias and Cantabria? How else can this group of varied and dissimilar narrative, documental, archeological, toponymic, linguistic and institutional testimonies be interpreted? Some say that logically it is improbable. Few times in history have similar depopulations occurred; yet they have existed. It happened in the Danube Valley after the annihilation of the Avars. Pierre David affirms —and his observation could apply to zones of the Duero— that in the churches of the northern part of maritime Portugal, saints that were venerated before the repopulation were also venerated after. But, could the settlers from the North have honored any other saints? Whom could they dedicate

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(3) A peasant possessing a long-term lease *(enfiteusis)* which normally could be transmitted by inheritance through several generations.

(4) A tenant farmer on land held by a noble in *señorío solariego,* a lordship which implied not only jurisdictional but also property rights.

(5) Also *Juniors de Heredad* or *Juniors de Heredidate.* These were peasants who were juridically free and who possessed seigneurial land, much like the *solariego.* They were obliged to inhabit the land they were assigned to and their seigniorial dues were based on their relationship to the land they possessed. They could abandon their land, taking their personal possessions along with them. However, this implied the loss of their property and half of their goods and chattels in favor of the Lord.

their churches to devote to the saints that they were accustomed to venerating, that is, the saints of the Premuslim Spanish church?

It is only possible to stubbornly raise objections against the facts that narrative and diplomatic sources refer to, archeology supports, repopulation accredits, toponyms prove and linguistic and institutional organization confirm. It is possible that a few miserable families remained tied to the land in certain isolated zones or that a few poor shepherds led small flocks through the depopulated wastelands. But neither those families nor those shepherds, if they really did exist —and we have no proof—, could have destroyed the reality of an integrally depopulated country. Even the great deserts have oases.

In the region that was later to receive the *Extrema Durii* —called Extremadura in the popular parlance—, a region that extends to the central mountain range, the depopulation, though intense, was not so great.

The terrible roller that flattened the remnants of the past north of the Duero, did not devastate the region south of the River with the same intensity. It is not impossible to trace a Roman map of the country. The routes of the roads that crossed it can be reconstructed. This is true not only regarding the roads that come in the Itinerary of Antonio but also in many which are not included in it. I base this on the research of Saavedra, Blázquez and Taracena. We know the location of the pre-Roman and Roman cities of the zone; and even that of some unimportant settlements. The majority of them conserve either their ancient names or names that remind us of them. Few seem to have changed their ancient location. Even the setting and the name of those who have not withstood the passage of time are not unknown to us. Most of these were depopulated not by the Muslim invasion of Spain but in the course of the Barbarian invasions. A number of points are therefore sure: the Hispano-Goths south of the Duero did not move en masse to the northern lands, the Berbers of the area did not completely abandon the country, nor did the campaigns of Alfonso I completely devastate the future «Extrema Durii».

The toponyms of the region also confirm the reality of the permanence of its ancient inhabitants in it. Along the mountain chain that separates the two mesetas there is a long rosary of toponyms based on the word *nava*. Not being Celtic, or Latin, or Gothic, or Arabic, it assures us of the survival in the country of a very ancient population, probably Iberian or pre-Iberian. Names of pre-Roman origin have also survived in the foothills of these mountains and on the plains further north. Ledesma=*Bletisama*, (Peña) Aranda, Ureña=Oronia, Batuecas=Batacas, Hambrón... in Salamanca; Eulaka, an uninhabited place whose name would not be known to us if it had not lasted among the peasants of the region, and Langa, Fontiveros, Cantiveros, Arévalo... in Ávila; Duratón, Coca, Sebúlcor, Ureña... in Segovia; Blacos, Gormaz, Lamallana, Ambrona... in Soria.

Names of Latin origin also appear in all of the region. Baños=*Balneos*, Ribas=*Ripas*, Alba=*Alba*, Béjar=*Bíclaro*, Sepúlveda, Peñafiel... are well known. But others, less known place-names still exist. In the southern and western region of Salamanca we find one Monsagra (Sierra de Francia), a number of Yeltes=*Eletes*, one Buenamadre —shown by its Latin form *Bona matre*—, Lumbrales —documented as *Liminares*—, Traguntía, Ituero... In the lands of Ávila we have El Tiemblo=Trémulo —cited by the successor of Alfonso III—, Piedrahita and, near Ávila, Padiernos and Baterna. Ituero, Turégano, Sacramenia, Mélida, Madrona, Lovingos... appear in the mountainous zones of Segovia. Espeja=*Espelia*, Caracena... are in Soria. This list could easily be increased.

The Gothic racial type has been conserved in some villages of Salamanca, Ávila and Segovia. In Salamanca, to the west of the Guinea road, a number of Godinos exist. Vitigudino and Guadramino are more known. In Ávila, in the pass from the Ambles valley to the Corneja valley, we encounter Villatora=*Villa Gothorum*.

Islam also left toponyms traces in the *Extrema Durii* which cannot always be explained by the Mozarabic emigrations or by the late arrivals of the settlers. These could have taken some names of Arabic ancestry, in general use, to their new homes like Aceña, Alberca, Aldea, Almunia, Almenara, Alcaraz, Alhándega, Mezquita... But others that survived south of the Duero like Valmuza, Azurguen, Fexem, Abusejo, a number of Azaba, Guadapero, Moggaraz —all in Salamanca— do not seem to have the same origin. Besides some toponymic changes occurred which imply the presence of the Muslim population in the country even after 740, in which the Spanish Berbers tried to dominate the *Baladies* or orientals. The names of some rivers were arabized; for example the Adaja that flows along the walls of Ávila. This arabization is only explainable if the region was inhabited for a long time by the Muslim conquerors. These used to use the word *Medina* —city— together with a toponym of the district in order to show the old capital of a region whose political center had been moved to a different place. They did this, for example, with Medina Elbira=Granada in order to distinguish Hadirat Elbira=Elvira, the new administrative center, from it. It is reasonable to suppose that the Arabs called the ancient capital of the Gothic Fields, Medina del Campo; but that supposes a lasting Islamic permanence in the zone. The name Moraña, applied today to a series of villages in Ávila, seems to lead to the same conclusion. Albornos, carried by one of the villages of Moraña, is a toponym that is repeated more than once in Muslim Spain and which Lévi-Provençal ties in with the settlements of the African *beranie* in Al-Ándalus. It seems to reveal the Berber origin of the inhabitants of the Moraña district of Ávila. All these facts seem to prove the great age of the other names of Arabic ancestry which we find in the southern zone of the Duero River Basin, from Soria to Portugal.

All these toponymic traces speak to us of the permanence in all the *Extrema Durii* of some peasants attached, throughout the centuries, to the upper valleys and even to some places in the lowlands. However, these and the Germanic racial types that offer us similar testimony in other districts cannot contradict the intense depopulation of the region. The majority of the names of pre-Celtic, Celtic, Latin, Gothic or Arabic stock come from concrete and excentric districts. In southwestern Salamanca, for example, we find: Traguntía, the numerous Yeltes, Monsagro, Ituero, Béjar, Las Batuecas, Guadapero, Mogarraz, the numerous Azara, Abusejo, Anaya, La Alberca... And it is in Soria where we could find a similar list. However these toponyms of remote origin are inundated, submerged, drowned and denied by a terrible wave of toponyms produced by the repopulation; begun timidly by Sancho Garcés, count of Castile, shortly before his death and activated and extended to the Tagus, after the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085.

We possess precise testimonies about the recovery of the important settlements of the zone This is especially true in the case of the repopulation of Ávila which was filled by people from many different territories and who freely occupied the lots of the deserted city. The settlers of Salamanca, Alba, Ciudad Rodrigo, Ledesma... have been carefully studied by Julio González. Though we do not know the colonists of these at once old and new hamlets, the names they baptized them with —thousands of names from Portugal to lower Soria—, cry out their condition of newly arrived settlers. The modern language used in the names they gave to the villages and the nature itself of those names prove this.

Some of them —Gallegos or Galleguillos de..., Naharros or Narros or Narrillos de...— show where the colonists came from. There were dozens and dozens of villages founded by Galicians *(gallegos)* —those eternal and abundant populators of lands and times—. The Aragonese and Navarrese perhaps arriving in the region during the reign and occupation by Alfonso I of Aragón or after, during the reign of Alfonso VII, founded numerous settlements. There were also villages populated by Basques like, for example, Mingorría in Ávila or by *lebaniegos, toreses* (from Toro), Castilians...

The settlers gave other hamlets names inspired by: a) the topography of the zone —Sotalbo, Riofrío, Fresneda, El Guijo, La Lastra, Los Llanos, Solana, Salobral, Peñalba, Hoyorredondo, El Losar, Pradosegar, Vadillo, Pancaliente, Fuencaliente, Riocavado, Encinares, Tremedal, Umbrías, Hoyos del Espino, El Parral, La Angostura...—; b) this or that special condition of the place —Aldea del Rey, Villafranca, Villanueva, Palacios Rubios, Burgohondo, Aldeavieja, Aldeanueva, Aldeaseca, Villaviciosa, Castronuevo, Espinosa de los Caballeros, Flores de Ávila, Pajares, Palacios de Goda, Aldealabad...—; c) some quality or defect of its inhabitants —Crespos, Bravos, Serranos, Tornadizos, Tiñosillos, Torneros, Herreros...—; and d) a total and sometimes strange whim —I remember in

Ávila: Ojos Albos, Solosancho, La Hija de Dios, Salvadíos...—. Less often than in the region north of the Duero —and this difference reveals a singular state of mind—, the colonists of *Extrema Durii* also baptized some of their hamlets with the names of saints. The modern nature of such hagiotoponyms also testifies to the more recent founding of these hamlets. It also confirms the more recent nature of the system used by the settlers to designate the places where they established themselves. In the repopulation of the northern zone of the Duero Basin, the names of the colonists timidly accompanied the old terms of *villa, valle, castro, parata*... Now the newly arrived settlers in the *Extrema Durii* do away with this geographic support and use family names to distinguish the villages where they take up residence: Blasconuño, Blascosancho, Gutierremuñoz, Hernansancho, Muñosancho, Pedro Rodríguez, Sanchidrían, Martiherrero, Muñochas, Muñogalindo, Muño Grande, Muñopepe, Gilgarcía, Blasco Millán, Diego Álvaro, Miguel Muñoz, Hurtumpascual, Muñotello, Pascualcobo, Blascojimeno, Gómez Roma, Pascualgrande... Some, no less determined, women did the same. Memories of a number of them still exist in the province of Ávila: Urraca Miguel, Muñana, Menga Muñoz, Blacha... The same technique was used by some less Castilian settlers: Marlín, Vita, Donavidas, Chamartín... in Ávila, and Rollan, Perachuy... in Salamanca.

The inundation of colonists was so strong that frequently, in the mountaineous zone of vetton tradition —western Segovia, Ávila and Salamanca— they would go up into the mountains and baptize in modern terms the most remote toponyms beginning with *nava*. From my homeland in Ávila I can cite: Las Navas, Navalperal de Pinares, Navahondilla, Navaluenga, Navalmoral, Navaestilera, Navaendrinal, Navarredondilla, Navacepeda, Navatalgordo, Navaquesera, Navalacruz, Navalosa, Navarrevisca, Navarredonda, Navalperal de Tormes, Navalsanz, Navasequilla, Navacepedilla de Corneja, Navadijos, Navaescurial, Nava del Barco, Navalonguilla, Navatejares... In Salamanca we have Navarredonda, Navacarros, Nava de Béjar, Navalmoral, Navalmorales, Nava de Francia, Navagallega...

With the exception of the area of Soria which offers certain toponymic peculiarities, the *Extrema Durii*, apart from the shades of linguistic color that distinguish the other zones of the region, shows rather uniform toponyms, similar to the above-mentioned Ávila. This shows that all of it was inundated by a wave of colonists. Now, the reality of that inundation clearly proves the scarcity of the old population of the country and, thus, the intense emptying of the less depopulated zone of the Duero River Basin. Julio González in his study entitled *Repoblación de la Extremadura leonesa*, has documented this emptiness. As I have demonstrated in the past, the borough of Salamanca had begun to be repopulated by order of Ramiro II after the victory of Simancas (939). Lost in the second half of the tenth century and recovered a century later, it slowly recovered its

vitality during the twelfth-century. It was slow because it was necessary to carry out an intense and exhaustive colonization that lasted for more than a hundred years. It was necessary to receive people from many lands: from Galicia, from Braga, from Oporto, from León, from Castile, from Navarre, from the cities of the Duero —for example, Toro and Zamora—, from the southern Mozarabs —there is a Granada and a Cordobilla— and from the other side of the Pyrenees... All of the sovereigns of León gave it special attention. They created great urban nuclei, gave out *fueros* (6) and privileges, granted favors, encouraged the attracting of colonists, and nevertheless, were able to fill all the empty areas. The scholarly study of González is proof of the effort that was necessary to restore a region which, while never completely deserted, had reached an advanced state of depopulation.

A half century after the repopulation of the *Extrema Durii* had been initiated, Al-Idrisi could still describe two of the most important cities of the country in this way: «Ávila is no more than a group of hamlets whose denizens are vigorous horsemen... Segovia is not a city either. It is only a group of hamlets so closely situated that the buildings touch each other; and its numerous and well-organized inhabitants all serve in the cavalry of the lord of Toledo.»

3. Repopulation and Settlers

I have paused to demonstrate the intensity of the depopulation of the Duero River Basin in order to judge, without any recourse to the use of hyperboles, the consequences of its return to life. While not possibly being able to give us a clear idea of the effort required for the gigantic enterprise of repopulation, a few chronological and geographical indications are nevertheless a beginning. The line of Tuy, Astorga (854), León (856), and Amaya (860) are occupied and defended during the reign of Ordoño I. In the beginning of the reign of Alfonso III (866-910), the front line moves from the Miño to the Mondego and Coimbra is populated (878). At the end of this reign, in lands of León the Duero is reached, from Zamora (893) to Simancas (899), and the Arlanza is reached in Castilian territory, with Lara being repopulated (902). Under García I (910-914), Castile reaches the great river from Roa to Osma (912). Under Ramiro II (931-950) after the victory of Simancas (939), the repopulation of the boroughs of Salamanca, Ávila and Sepúlveda is begun. The campaigns of Almanzor and his son (981-1008) cause the frontiers to retreat for north. The frontier line of 912 is retaken and the territory won is repopulated

(6) Royal charters of laws and liberties granted to towns in the Middle Ages or to regions in more Modern Times. In Aragón and Castile they soon acquired a special connotation in which the exemptions from general laws and taxes exceeded the rights or responsibilities of its inhabitants.

for the second time in the first half of the eleventh-century. Only after the capture of Toledo (1085) does the definite repopulation of the zone situated between the Duero and the *Sierra* —the name given the central mountains by the Muslims— begin.

These brief geographical and chronological guidelines set out the reality of the long centuries during which the great task lasted. Its ups and downs, advances and retreats include the period from 850 to around the year 1212 in which the southern lines definitively moved from the Tagus to Andalusia. During these centuries the organic and functional framework of the incipient Spain —the kingdom of León and Castile— took root. However, it is not enough to establish the duration of the task of repopulation and its synchronism with that essential period in Spanish history. The colonization of the Duero wasteland, while demanding an immense effort, had complex, multifaceted, and damaging corollaries that would be decisive in the formation of the Spanish character.

The repopulation was always done in the same way. First a series of fortified towns that formed a line more or less propicious to be defended, were occupied. The cities, villages and castles chosen to be the nodal centers of the new frontier line were populated as intensely as possible. These urban nuclei were fortified so as to assure their defense: by occupying and repopulating positions that guaranteed communications with the settlements of the interior of the kingdom and by setting up military positions on any possible invasion routes. The rear guard was immediately colonized by attracting settlers who would bring the great wastelands that lay behind the new frontier back to life. An infante, a magnate or a prelate were in charge of the inital task. Later, land and city lots were given to those who wanted to occupy them and build new nuclei of human life, or property rights were confirmed for those who had freely occupied the land by means of *presura.* If they wanted, both of these could hand over their land to new colonists by means of the agrarian land contracts then in use. From the Duero south, the colonization was based on a new juridical entity: the municipality. In that period, the possessory prescription of day and year assured the second wave of settlers the use of the lands they occupied.

Due to the enormous movement of human masses from the Galician, Asturian, Cantabrian, Vasconian North, and the Mozarabic South, from the ninth until the end of the twelfth century, it was possible to return the Duero wasteland to life. It is not difficult to measure the meaning these migratory movements had for the ethnic and vital mixture of the new population of the upper meseta. Yet this mixing of blood was only a corollary of the repopulation, and perhaps the least important. The blood types that were crossed were not too different and, no matter what differences in temperament existed among the settlers, their common life in common lands and their common dedication to the same tasks were to unify them.

Those migrations had other, more important, consequences. The people abandoned their old possessions in search of liberty and fortune but they were risking their lives in the process. When León (856) or Amaya (860), later Coimbra (876), afterwards Lancia (882), Castrojeriz (883) and Burgos (884) had hardly been populated and Zamora (893) or Simancas (896) and later Clunia, Gormaz and Osma (912) had just been occupied, all of them had to receive their baptism of war due to the not always succesfully resisted Saracen attacks. That is how it always happened. The settlers of my city of Ávila were attacked by the Almoravids vanguard immediately after occupying the town. Toledo, recovered in 1085, was attacked after the defeat of Consuegra in 1097 and frequently thereafter. After the defeat of Uclés in 1108 all the positions occupied shortly before were attacked and lost. In 1109 the Almoravid caliph 'Ali ibn Taxufin forcibly entered Talavera, Madrid and Guadalajara which had been incorporated into the kingdom of Alfonso VI after the conquest of Toledo. A few years after Huete had been populated and defended, it had to resist the great siege of the Almohad caliph, Abu Yacub. Ciudad Rodrigo founded in 1161 by Ferdinand II, had not yet been fortified when it was attacked; in 1174 its denizens had to improvise a wall of carts, beams and panels in order to resist the Almohad attack. Plasencia, repopulated by Alfonso VIII in 1189, was retaken by the caliph Al-Mansur in 1196. Its inhabitants were captured and sent to work on the construction of the mezquita at Rabat. During the same campaign and also in that of 1197, the victors of Alarcos conquered a series of positions in La Mancha and Extremadura which had been repopulated shortly before; a band of Arabs assassinated the new inhabitants of Montánchez who had saved their lives during its fall These examples could be repeated *ad nauseam* until the last days of the Reconquest.

The restlessness of adventure and courageous manliness came together in the first wave of settlers. However, these two qualities would not have been enough to push the people of Cantabria to reach the Duero Basin and the Castilians and Leonese to extend as far as the central mountains, to descend the Tagus, to advance to La Mancha and Extremadura and to populate Andalusia, always at the risk of their lives. Adventurous restlessness and courageous manliness were complimented in the settlers by an insatiable hunger for freedom and personal improvement and by the hopeful ambition to receive a part of the fortune. They fought for God, for the king and for the common good. The «outside lands» were populated in order to better the condition and means of life. In repopulated lands an individual ancestral freedom could be reached or affirmed. A normal living, and sometimes much more, could be achieved. I have often said it, I am saying it now and I will repeat it more than once: the repopulation made the Duero plains an island of free men in feudal Europe and the new advances in colonization affirmed that common liberty.

I must insist at some length on the subject of my study «Los hombres libres y la pequeña propiedad en León y Castilla». It should be noted here that the first result of the repopulation of the Duero wastelands was that special social structure that was not found either in Europe or elsewhere in Spain. In the «outside land», south of the Cantabrian-Asturian Range, especially in Castile, there were very few heritage serfs and thus very few emancipated slaves. Also there were few colonists freely tied to a lord —the Castilian laborers and the León *Juniores de capite* (7)—. On the other hand, there were many *enfiteutas* with all the rights inherent to the *ingenuitas* or personal freedom and with personal freedom of movement —the *juniores de hereditate* of León and the *solariegos* of Castile. There were also many free small landowners grouped in small rural communities which were also free. Some were voluntarily attached to the protection or *benefactoria* of a lord who they could leave if they wanted, and others with no other lord than the king of León or the count of Castile. Among them there was a numerous minority of villein knights (8): free bourgeoisie with enough money to have a horse and arms and to serve as horsemen in the war against the Moors. There was another minority of petty nobility *(infanzón)* or nobles of blood, the grandsons of the Visigothic *filii primatum,* and the middle landowners who lived as lords from the work of their *solariegos* or *juniores.* Finally there was a very reduced number of lay magnates —in León— whose vassals, the *infanzones* and villein knights, were so free that they could leave their lords whenever they felt like it.

When speaking of the origin of Castile, I will return to the subject. But here the atmosphere of freedom in which these people were born, breathed, lived an died on the plains of Castile and León, from the Duero to the northern mountains, all due to the prodigious work of the repopulation, should be perfectly clear. Even the colonists of seigneurial lands enjoyed this freedom. The Laws of León of 1017 and 1020, many of the municipal *fueros* and the documents relating to the settlers's territory, the *Partidas* IV.25.3 (9) and the Ordinance of Alcalá —XXXII, 13— prove that the *juniors,* the tributaries or villeins of León, and the Castilian *solariegos* or villeins, whose lords could not take the houses they lived in or the land they worked, could dispose of their land as *enfiteutas* and, be-

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(7) Also *Juniores de cabeza.* These men, while juridically free, had no land. Their seigneurial dues were based on their person, not on the relationship to the land, as in the case of the *Juniores de heredad.* Thus they were more vulnerable to seigneurial domination because their remaining on seigneurial land depended on the payment of their personal dues. They did not have the security afforded by the possession of property.

(8) The villein knights *(caballeros villanos),* a distinct social class from the late tenth to the thirteenth century, were wealthy residents of Castilian cities who served as cavalry at their own expense. In exchange, kings granted them the privileges of *hidalgos.*

(9) These are the laws of Castile compiled by Alfonso X.

sides enjoying all the civil rights, had the power to leave their land taking their possessions with them if they so desired.

In the second part of the repopulation, from the Duero to the central mountain range of Spain, there were no rural serfs, no laborers, or *juniores de cabeza,* no *solariegos* or *juniores de heredad,* and no *hombres de behetría* (10). Apart from the Muslim captives, all enjoyed the complete freedom within the municipal organization that triumphed there. And, if the atmosphere of the municipality made the settlers free, for many decades it also made those who lived in its districts free. This is shown by the municipal *fueros* in dispute. For example, in the *fuero* of Cuenca one can read: «If any counts, or magnates, or knights, or *infanzones,* whether they are from my kingdom or from another, come to populate Cuenca, they will abide by the same laws as the other inhabitants, both for life and for death.»

The push given by the urgencies of the repopulation of the frontiers did more than just transform the social order of the inhabitants of the Duero River Basin. It also had repercussions in the distant northwestern Galicia. It was abandoned by the multitudes of settlers who were to find fortune in the new lands. Their uninterrupted migrations throughout the centuries that the colonization lasted, altered the social framework in their country of origin. In order to stem the flight to the lowlands of the Duero and the Tagus, the Galician lords had to resign themselves to bettering the juridical status of the rural masses under them. The breeze of the freedom of the municipalities had reached even Galicia. Even the episcopal cities of Galicia rose against the prelates and violently obtained municipal laws that gave them a greater or lesser autonomy.

Adventuring spirit, hunger for freedom, decision, bravery, audacity, hope, confidence in themselves, faith in tomorrow..., these were the human motives that were to push the immigrants towards the new lands. It was indeed a strange type of human specimen that was being forged over the three long centuries that the colonization of the upper meseta lasted! Could this man, raised on the pedestal of his own manliness, see his destiny as one eternal life of longing?

The conquest of Toledo and its territory in 1085 begins the second phase of the history of the Reconquest; and also that of the repopulation. The zone bordered by the central mountains and the Tagus River was not depopulated. The urban centers were inhabited and so were their boroughs or rural districts. Life was not interrupted upon the arrival of the conquerors. Its denizens, Christians —Mozarabs—, Muslims and Jews, continued living in the cities and rural areas. Doubtless there were many emigrations South of the Muslims who did not want to live under the lordship of their enemies. Also many peoples from the Christian territories of the

(10) Free peasants who own farms or property and enjoy the privilege of choosing their lord.

North —from Galicia to Castile and even beyond the Pyrenees— came to live in the towns conquered by Alfonso VI in order to assure their defense against the Muslims. Nevertheless, the old life-style of the country never completely disappeared.

The great Almoravid campaigns that desolated the Valley of the Tagus after the defeats at Consuegra (1097) and at Uclés (1108) probably increased greatly the double migratory current initiated in 1085; the Muslim inhabitants in the disputed territory going towards the Moorish lands, and the Christian immigrants in the North coming to the newly conquered territories. For the Muslims life became progressively more difficult in their old homes. Besides, it became increasingly urgent to secure the always threatened frontier zone with loyal colonists. The vent opened to the repopulation continued to bring more and more human waves to the South. The enticement of a new and free life, and of quick and easy improvement, even in exchange for the probable flirtation with death, continued to draw the most useful men —fancy and adventure, decision and bravery!— from the tranquil and peaceful regions to the North towards the disputed Christian lands. Remember what has already been said. A new colonist of Toledo was not permitted to abandon the fortified town from spring until autumn unless another man with arms took his place. Criminals were even called on to populate Oreja, near Aranjuez. There were the cities and fields of the Tagus offering wealth and prosperity to those who went to inhabit them. It was well worth the risk of confronting the enemy.

Only after the taking of Toledo did the Aragonese and the Catalans advance to the Ebro. Until then, neither had had to face the great problem of the repopulation of a depopulated zone. It is not difficult to see the absence of a process of colonization in the history of those nations, at a time when León and Castile were participating in a great historical process. This must have contributed to the differentiation in the vital structures of eastern Spain and western Spain. This contrast was accentuated by the peculiarities of the Aragonese-Catalan reconquest and colonization and those of the León-Castilian one after 1085. Likewise, the peculiarities of the very disparate Aragonese and Catalan repopulations, from this date onwards, were to increase the differences in their respective historical characters.

Aragón took a giant step forward with Alfonso the Battler (d. 1134). Under his leadership the Aragonese frontiers advanced from the foothills of the pre-Pyrenees to the mountains of the Jalón and Jiloca River Basins. Shortly thereafter, under Alfonso II, they reached the mountain ridges of Teruel. Meanwhile the Catalans only increased their territory a few miles to the South, up to their present frontier.

Font Rius has shown that the new seigneurial regime in Catalonia was less rigid than the old one and that some free urban and rural nuclei arose. However, the zone occupied and colonized in the twelfth-century did not change the traditional historical structure of the principality.

Upon studying the repopulation of the Ebro Valley, Lacarra has noted that the ancient Moorish inhabitants remained in the country. The conquest had been very difficult and had obliged the conquerors to grant very generous terms of surrender. The new Christian settlers —many of those aiding the Battler had come from the other side of the Pyrenees— established themselves in the cities and distributed among themselves the lordship over the rural Muslim masses. Therefore, a seigneurial and urban oligarchy arose over a peasant population that did not count in the equilibrium of the kingdom.

Due to the tardiness and rapidity of the double process of reconquest and repopulation of Catalonia and Aragón, due to its nature and due to its projection in the formation of the life-style of both nations, neither of the two could more than faintly hear the fascinating call that, beginning in the middle of the ninth-century, everyone from the *infanzón* to the heritage serf was hearing in Galicia, León, Castile and Vasconia. It was a fascinating call heard in western Spain, a call towards a geographic and vital reality, towards a truly promised land. These differences were to last. By the end of the twelfth-century Aragón had finished its reconquest and repopulation without altering its old methods. In accordance with them, it realized the Aragonese-Catalan confederation, the reconquest and repopulation of Valencia and the Balearic Islands. As in Aragonese lands, the Muslims remained in the country, the cities were populated by Christians and the magnates distributed the lordship over the rural Islamic masses among themselves. Meanwhile, León and Castile continued their old history of mass repopulation: either on previously depopulated lands, in lands evacuated by the Moors when they were defeated, or in lands emptied at some time after their reconquest.

Almost all territories occupied and populated by Alfonso VII south of the Tagus were lost due to the Almohad invasion. In order to secure the frontier on the Júcar, Alfonso VII besieged Cuenca. After a long siege it fell in 1177 and he immediately began to repopulate it and the country north of it. At the other end of the frontier line the same king populated Plasencia in 1189 in order to defend the mountain passes. At the same time Ferdinand II recovered Ledesma and founded Ciudad Rodrigo in lands of Salamanca for the same reason. In 1212, date of the Battle of Navas de Tolosa, the frontiers of León did not reach the Tagus and those of Castile did not extend much south of Toledo and Cuenca. By 1248 they had reached Seville and the mountains of Granada. Yehudá ha-Levi tells that there was not enough to eat on the trip from Toledo to Andalusia. It seems then that, in the first decades of the twelfth-century, the no-man's-land that separated the Muslims from the Christians was extensive. The Almoravid and Almohad attacks accentuated the intense depopulation of La Mancha. The advanced positions changed hands more than once. The surrounding land was so empty that it did not permit the supply of the Christian army in its advance towards Navas. Berceo, when referring to

the miraculous liberation, by St. Dominic of Silos, of a knight from Llantada who had been captured by the Moors and taken to Murcia, confirms that in his times many frontier zones were deserted. The captive who had been liberated by the saint; «after walking over wasteland, through the empty territory —writes the poet from the Rioja— arrived in Toledo on the twelfth day». Even in times of Peter I (1350-1369) there were still great unpopulated zones. Palomeque has shown that the founding of Navalmorales with just a few families took place in those years. This situation was common.

We know little of the repopulation of Extremadura. Its cities also changed hands. Some of those won by Alfonso VII and later occupied by Geraldo Sempavor and by Ferdinand II were later lost. It was probably not very populated when it was definitively conquered after Navas or perhaps it was then intensely emptied by Alfonso IX. Even today, after seven centuries, it is not densely populated and its inhabitants are concentrated in a reduced number of urban nuclei. The transhumant livestock would never have been able to take advantage of the pastures of Extremadura the way it has up to this very day if it had not been for the depopulation of La Mancha and Extremadura.

Thanks to Julio González we are familiar with the reconquest and repopulation of Andalusia in the Guadalquivir Basin. The country was intensely populated. Its large and wealthy cities presided over a group of very important lesser towns and all had densely populated boroughs. The reconquest was carried out step by step, at a great cost. It was difficult to force the surrender of the majority of the urban centers; from those at the foot of the Sierra Morena to the very last to be reconquered. Some were besieged three times —Manuel Ballesteros has studied the three sieges of Jaén. A very long and difficult siege was necessary to capture Seville. Documents show us that at least three times St. Ferdinand thought that it would be necessary to sign a cease-fire with the Sevillans. In the end, success was the reward for the great reconquering adventure and the Valley of the Guadalquivir became a part of the kingdom of León and Castile.

The necessities of war forced the concession of many capitulations. However, a great deal of water had flowed beneath the bridges of Castile since Alfonso VI had granted the Muslims of the Tagus Valley the right to remain in their cities and castles. The lessons of history did not advise the repetition of such pacts. The inhabitants of almost all the great urban centers of the Guadalquivir Valley were forced to abandon their boroughs and districts. This has been proven with regards to Úbeda, Baeza, Córdoba, Jaén, Seville, Niebla... Moors remained in other less important settlements which surrendered without any resistance. However, the revolt of the Moorish population of Andalusia in 1263 against Alfonso X and its repression, after a difficult struggle, invalidated these capitulations. The majority of the Muslims were thrown from their millenary homes, mil-

lenary because the great majority of them were the descendants of Hispano-Romans —this occurred in Osuna, Estepa, Morón, Écija, Lebrija, Jerez, Arcos...—, and were forced to take refuge in Granada or Africa. There were no longer any Mozarabs in Andalusia due to the fact that in the first half of the twelfth-century they had either emigrated to the Christian North or had been deported south of the Straits of Gibraltar. This meant that once again there was an extense —and this time both wealthy and fertile— territory to be populated, and great —and now magnificent— cities to occupy and distribute.

Though without the same intensity as in the Valley of the Duero from the ninth to the twelfth-centuries, La Mancha, Extremadura and the Andalusia of the Guadalquivir were like a great vent that provoked another great reactivization of the national blood stream towards the periphery of the kingdom. Once again we find displacements of masses from the old lands of the North to the recently conquered and generally empty regions of the South. Once again was heard the incredible call of the frontier bearing wealth, improvement and freedom... in exchange for the predictable Muslim attacks. Once again those who had emigrated to the South «as though it were a royal wedding» were hardly established in the frontier cities when they had to resist the Muslim thrusts. Alfonso X was still alive when the Beni Amer (11) overran districts of Seville, attacked and were about to occupy Córdoba, conquered Baeza and even reached La Mancha. Once again we find illusions and adventure, decision and courage, hopes, grave risks, displacements and migrations.

In La Mancha, Extremadura and Andalusia, together with new and strong municipal *concejo* (12) *de realengo* (13), the latifundios (14) of the military orders and the upper lay and clerical nobility arose. These tipped the scales of political equilibrium of the kingdom against the crown. Nevertheless, the Grand Masters of the military orders, the magnates and the prelates also had to populate their lands by means of the concessions of municipal *fueros* which, by granting freedoms and exemptions to the settlers, would attract the colonists to the old urban nuclei which the kings had given them or to the new ones which they had willingly founded in their dominions. Thus, both the municipalities *de realengo* as well as those

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(11) A Berber people of Hamitic origin who invaded the Iberian Peninsula from North Africa and replaced the Almohads as the lords of Muslim Spain.

(12) The *concejo,* appearing in the Middle Ages, was the assembly formed by all the residents of a community which dealt with all matters affecting the community in general, such as the exploitation of the town commons or the regulation of boundaries. By the twelfth-century it secured government and judicial autonomy, thus converting the local community into a municipality. The word *concejo* soon became synonymous with municipality. Its importance decreases in the late Middle Ages and the old *concejo* is replaced by a reduced assembly or a corporation of specialized magistrates.

(13) Municipalities that were directly under the jurisdiction of the crown.

(14) Vast rural estates.

de señorío (15) absorbed the new migratory currents, affirmed the free framework of the life of the urban and rural masses of the kingdom and continued offering the illusions and hopes of fortunate changes to the Castilians and the Leonese. Since most of the positions given by the king to the military or in zones frequently threatened —they were granted to be defended—; their inhabitants had to confront the Moors many times. They were other men, other conditions, other achievements but always, always, century after century, after the battle came the colonization and after the colonization came the battle.

And after the colonization and the battle came the thousand problems that the return to life of a city and of a country brought with it. In the Duero Valley the colonists had to improvise everything with extreme urgency. We can imagine them constructing a walled district as quickly as possible, building provisional temples, quickly constructing their houses, making household furniture, opening wells in search of water, planting fruit and vegetable gardens, sowing fields and getting livestock. Like a human beehive, the newly arrived would work without rest in order to begin a new existence, urged on by the hopes that were also full of dangers. Once the settlement had been finished and had received its baptism of war, the task would continue for many decades. It was necessary to replace the improvised walls with more solid ones, construct beautiful churches and substitute the houses and furniture of the beginning for other more comfortable and secure ones. It was still obligated to attract new settlers, in order to guarantee the defense of the position and to provide for its supply by means of the work of the peasants, tradesmen, and merchants. For the same reason it was also indispensable to increase the number of livestock and domestic animals.

In this way the word repopulation gives off many different echoes. One of them —one among many— suggests the need the colonists had to get a hold of livestock in order to fill their fields and to obtain food. The settlers who had come to the just resuscitated or the recently founded village were not able to bring abundant livestock with them in their migration from their old and distant homes and were forced to steal it as soon as possible in the Moorish lands. The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* refers to many of the foraging parties of the municipal militia from the cities between the Duero and the Tagus during the first half of the twelfth-century. When they were successful, they would return to their homes in Ávila, Segovia, Salamanca... driving flocks of sheep, droves of bulls and herds of mares and stallions. Some *fueros* —like that of Usagre, for example— legislated on these predatory ventures into neighboring enemy lands. I am referring to the institution of the *rafala.* The knights of the village were obliged to come to the defense of their own livestock and to rob that of others.

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(15) Municipalities under a lord's jurisdiction.

Those continuous and interwoven tasks of conquest and colonization had a parallel and decisive influence in the forging of the Spanish nature. The repopulation of all of Spain, especially of central Spain, meant much more for the coining of the Spanish character than the sporadic contacts between Christians and Muslims; infinitely more than the limited and superficial literary infiltrations from one historical community to the other. I have already pointed out many of its transcendental consequences. Many more will surface in Spain's past.

Could not the literary precocity of Galicia and the literary backwardness of Aragón be related with the contrast that separates the prolongation in Galicia of its primitive social structure and the tardiness of the repopulation and the mixture of the settlers in Aragón? In Aragonese lands, the conquerors from the Pyrenees, the auxiliary Frankish warriors of the Battler and the Mozarabs from Granada and the Levant which he brought with him from his expedition into Andalusia, established themselves over the Hispano-Muslim masses. On the other hand, in Galicia, the inalterable Hispano-Roman tradition was prolonged. Could this have not caused the literary differences between the two countries?

The urgent needs of reconquest and repopulation determined the Judaic policy of the Christian kings —when it was necessary to populate a city recently won from the enemy, the devil himself would have been well received as a settler— and the juridical and social situation of the Hebrews in Christian Peninsular society. These needs gave a strange fluidity to the hierarchical stratification of the Asturian-León society first and the León-Castilian one later. They permitted social and juridical promotions for those whose ambition was tormented by illusions and adventures. They contributed to an institutional formation of the Christian kingdoms that was unknown in Europe. They roused illusioned hopes of obtaining well-being and wealth through the emigration to new lands and the concession of royal favors. They created a singular equation among power, wealth and service. They affirmed the Spanish hyperindividualism by exalting the consciousness of one's on personality and by the strange feeling of isolation which the settlers had to live with in their new homes. They inflamed the traditional manner of the Hispanos and reinforced their taste for fantasy and adventure. They accentuated the weight of the people —and their coarseness— in Spanish life. By beating the Hispano-primitive nature against the iron, they collaborated in a most important way in the formation of modern Spanishness.

4. Classes, not Castes

It is inexact to affirm that Spain —that is the Spanish kingdoms— were divided into three categories, each independent from the others: Christians, Moors and Jews. It is also inexact to say that these categories

composed a caste society. Likewise it would be rash to state that this organization was based on ideological suppositions that were special to the Spaniards and unique in medieval Europe.

Forgotten seems to be the fact that the kingdoms beyond the Pyrenees also had a sometimes numerous Jewish population; that in them the Christians were differentiated from the Hebrews simply because of the supposed superiority of their belief —not due to different manners, but due to a different and better being—; and that outside of Spain there were barriers separating Jews and Christians that were similar to those that even today separate the authentic castes in some of the oriental countries.

It has been written that: «The social class objectifies its position by the contents of its function and its duties; the caste does it by the mere consciousness of its existence.» This was stated after having said that the feudal nobility believed itself to be superior by virtue «of the conviction of doing what the villein could not and did not know how to do». I can not admit such definitions without many reservations. Yet, by starting with them, the nature of the European feudal society where the Jews constituted a caste can be determined. Beyond the Pyrenees, the jobs and affairs of the Hebrews were not different from those done by the inhabitants of the cities and villages. Since neither the Jewish masses nor the incipient bourgeoisie experienced wars and battles, the superiority of the Christians over the Hebrews was never truly based on the diversity of their functions but on the mere consciousness of their religious or racial differentiation. For some, this is the basis of the organization of a nation in castes. Since it was not the different jobs and ideals that separated them, but only that consciousness of difference based on their beliefs and their blood, soon barbaric conflicts broke out between the two «castes» outside of the Peninsula. This means that persecution of the Jews began early. They were finally expelled from England in 1290 and from France in 1306 and for a second time in 1393.

In Spain, however, the Christians did what the Hebrews did not know how to nor could not do: make war. While in France, for example, the men of the cities and the rural areas were not soldiers, south of the Pyrenees both of them intervened in the battles of reconquest, with the nobles, the only professional soldiers in feudal Europe. In Christian Spain, the Jews formed a mere social class since their affairs were different from those of the *infanzones*, clergy, peasants and bourgeoisie, who were all, at the same time, soldiers. Social barriers did not even separate them from the most rigid of Christians. They mixed and lived together peacefully thanks to the official tolerance of the State.

That this class was less esteemed than the others, composed of Christians, is another thing. But that lower consideration was due to the singular hierarchy of human values among the people of the Peninsula. The man

of arms occupied the most important position in feudal Europe. However, the anguish and duration of the «divine» war or reconquest in such a way accentuated the esteem of manliness, of audacity, of warlike impetus in Christian Spain that tasks that beyond the Pyrenees were slowly becoming valued —like literary and scientific creation or the production of wealth— were to remain at the lowest levels of inferiority on the Peninsula. Each epoch and each country has given a different value to human activities —the men of my generation have witnessed in Spain and in the world sharp changes in the importance and the esteem of the tasks of men— and the long centuries of national, religious and popular struggle that occurred between the Guadalete and the Salado, were to continuously affirm and exalt the unequal value attached to undertakings so different as were fighting, praying, meditating, writing or working the land.

In no country of Europe were the diverse social classes as open and as fluid as in some of the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula. North of the Pyrenees, and after the Germanic and Norman invasions, the framework of feudal society is solidified and the different human layers are pepetuated in time. So much so that rarely does one change class, move up, or better his condition. In Christian Spain, on the contrary, the ladder is always there and the gate is always open. The audacious and the fortunate can always use them to reach the higher social hierarchies. The war and the repopulation are the two great royal roads that lead to success and improvement. In both, one is gambling with life: at the moment of the bet, while fighting with the Muslim enemy to win land or, after populating it, by defending it against the Islamic attacks. The reward for that tragic game is freedom for one's lineage, a privileged social condition, economic abundance or seigneurial wealth.

The poor, brave, audacious and daring *hidalgo* (16), after flirting with death, if God and luck are with him, changes his miserable lot of Galicia, Cantabria, or Vasconia, for a rich country place in lands of Ávila, Segovia or Toledo; or his cold Castilian house for a beautiful mansion or a joyful farmhouse in Andalusian lands. And sometimes, if his courage and daring show him the way or destiny pushes him on, he can become a *ricohombre* (17) *de pendón y caldera* (18).

The villein who is able to acquire a good horse and goes out to fight

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(16) Also *hijosdalgo* and *fijosdalgo;* in the twelfth-century it replaced the earlier term, *infanzón,* to designate nobility. Originally, a term common to all of noble rank, later it was used only for those of minor birthright or petty nobility. While the Reconquest was still active, a *hidalgo* could often acquire a good deal of wealth. However, with its end and the progressive stability and stagnation of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spanish society, his opportunities for economic advancement ceased and he was often quite poor.

(17) Peer of the ancient nobility of Castile.

(18) Privilege of carrying a special banner given by the kings to the *ricoshombres* of Castile, meaning that they were able to contribute with troops to the war effort.

as a horseman in the war against the Moors acquires juridical and political exemptions which end up giving him the status of noble of blood. And he can, as a *hidalgo*, better his fortune and change austerity for abundance, if he dares to inhabit the frontiers and run the risk of the continuous struggle against the Saracens.

The *solariego* who abandons tranquil plots on the other side of the Duero, or on the other side of the mountains, and advances to colonize the fortified cities of the frontier line of the kingdom, can expect to become a villein horsesoldier and to open the doors of wealth and even *hidalguía* (19) to his children and grandchildren.

The serf or ploughman who flees seigneurial land and is able to attach himself to a fortress built near the Duero, or later to a municipality between the Duero and the Tagus, achieves freedom —for him and his family— and lands to work as a free man.

In no country beyond the Pyrenees were the social hierarchies as open and fluid as in the Peninsula. In none was it as easy to change one's class and to better one's fortune by means of audacity and courage. The taste for adventure, the warlike impetus, bravery, daring, contempt for death could all change the destiny of anyone, if God helped with the magic wand of his inscrutable will. Manliness and celestial favor; these were the moving forces of life among those living on the Peninsula throughout the centuries!

That is why the Spanish nations, and especially Castile, overestimated those two values as the keys to their existence. That is why the people of Castile were a people governed by a State that never bore the peculiar characteristics of the historical communities who were direct or indirect heirs of the Carolingian empire. It was a nation that aspired to wealth and improvement by way of the sword, in the harsh «divine» battle to extend the kingdom of God and their own.

As I have written elsewhere: «Thus the nation of Castile was, for long centuries, a nation with a frontier soul. It was a nation which, in the pauses in its advance south, thought and dreamed of the nearby leap into infidel territory. It was a nation that rejoiced in the hope of new conquests, which anticipated the taste of the joyful hour in which, after defeating the Moorish dog, it would possess olive groves and vineyards, orchards and wheat fields, meadows and farms; an hour in which it would occupy the houses and mansions in villages and cities, where the last embers of the households recently abandoned by the Mohammedans, would still be smoking. Everyone would be rich as though by magic.

For centuries, for many centuries, all of Castile must have dreamed of the both easy and difficult conquest, at the point of spear, of riches and of emigration south in search for new suns. It was necessary to work in order to live while waiting for the dream to come true. One always

(19) The state of being a *hidalgo*.

had to be ready to listen to the mysterious call of destiny and never ready to accumulate wealth by means of long days of patient and hard effort, like the Jews and the Franks that lived among them.»

At times the wait was prolonged through long decades, no new territories were won and the Moors might even appear on the horizon or stories would be told of their triumphs and of damages they caused in neighboring districts. In those hours of desperate expectancy, while the inhabitants of the frontier lands had to continue fighting the Muslims without rest, the denizens of the interior, forced by necessity, would reluctantly begin a sharp turn in their style of life and would decide to work in local industries or to trade within the city they lived in. But suddenly, when it was least expected —after the victory of Polvoraria (978), after the conquest of Toledo (1085) or following the triumph of Las Navas (1212)—, the long awaited miracle would occur, the frontier would advance a long way south, the joyful and hopeful emigration to new lands would begin anew, and the recently begun process of the economic reactivization of the kingdom would be halted. Once again, the deceptive hopes of easy improvements based on the power of the sword would triumph and the warrior ideals would once again be affirmed as decisive human values, to the detriment of economic and cultural activities.

Two texts from the twelfth-century, both very centered in the daily life of León and Castile, discover a permanent preoccupation for the wealth acquired in the war against the Moors. I am referring to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and to the *Cantar de Mio Cid.* The clergyman who wrote the history of Alfonso VII condemns this greed; the minstrel to whom we owe the poem exalts it. The chronicler frequently refers to the amount of the booty taken from the enemy and, at times, how, in anguished moments, the Castilian warriors would obtain the favor of God by making Him participate in the profit obtained. But at least on two occasions he portrays the greedy predators of the Islamic territory as dying at the hands of the Muslim forces as a punishment for their plundering. The poet is not scandalized by the hunger for riches of the people of the Cid. He finds it natural that war creates well-being and the sack of the positions taken or the plunder of the armies defeated is worthy of his praise. He is only irritated when greed is not accompanied by valor —the case of the sons-in-law of the Cid— or when one tries to enjoy what others have won through heroic combat, without having risked his own life. The clergyman chronicler looked at war from the intimacy of his priestly conscience; the lay poet from the position of the son of a nation that was fighting for God, for the king and for its own prosperity. However, both would have had to close their eyes to life around them not to see their contemporaries taking care to better their fortune in battle. The minstrel of Medinaceli who sang the heroic feats of «he who was born of good omen», while referring to each one of the achievements of his hero, always mentions the amount of the booty taken. Not one time

does he fail to record the number of horses or the silver frames that the victorious combat, that astute move, the successful blockade or the great battle won from the enemy, procured for Rodrigo and his people. The heroic thrust of the spear or the magnificent stab of the sword given by the Cid or by his men and the piles of jewels or money or the number of horses taken from the Moors, both made the poet's eyes light up. His ears were equally attuned to the rumble of the struggle and to the clinking of the money that was to be distributed. His pen shows the same delectation when describing the furiousness of the clash of the horsemen during the battle and the euphoria of the victorious warriors, after having divided the spoils. He places the hunger for riches as one of the essential motors of the novelistic plot of the poem, showing how the Infantes of Carrión were seduced by their greed for the treasures of the *Campeador* (The Lord Champion): **daquestos aueres sienpre seremos ricos omnes* (20) they exclaim. The author portrays it as the lure which attracts new warriors to the armed retinue of the Cid.

When referring to the preparations for the siege of Valencia by his hero, the minstrel author of the *Cantar* writes:

Por Aragón e por Navarra — pregón mandó echar,
a tierras de Castiella — enbío sos menssajes:
Quien quiere perder cueta — e venir a rritad,
viniesse a mio Cid — que a sabor de cavalgar;
cercar quiere a Valencia — por a cristianos la dar.
(1187-1191) (21)

A similar call must have resounded many times during the course of the reconquest and the repopulation. Whenever the occupation and the peopling of a new city was being prepared they, just like the minstrel tells of the Cid, would proclaim: «Anyone who wants to do away with work and be rich, well come with me to win and to people... León or Burgos, Zamora or Osma, Ávila or Segovia, Toledo or Cuenca, Córdoba or Seville...»

And the promises were not in vain: In the *Cantar* we read:

Los que exieron de tierra — de ritad son abondados,
a todos les dio en Valencia — el Campeador contado
casas y heredades — de que son pagados. (1245) (22)

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(20) With this wealth we shall always be rich men.
(21) Through Aragón and through Navarre – he ordered the proclamation given,
To lands of Castile – he sent his messages
Whoever wants to leave his toils – and become rich
Come with my Cid – who by means of good horsemanship
Wants to surround Valencia – to render it to the Christians.
(22) Those who were banished with him – have received riches;
To everyone the good *Campeador* – gives in Valencia
Houses and properties – from which they are satisfied.

Everyone could scale the hierarchy and enrich himself in a fortunate enterprise. The minstrel author of the poem tells us:

Grandes son los gozos — que van por es logar,
quando mio Çid gañó a Valencia — e entró en la çibdad.
Los que foron de pie — cavalleros se fazen;
el oro e la plata — ¿quien vos lo podrie contar?
Todos eran ricos — quantos que allí ha.

(1212-1215) (23)

It was always that way; from the Picos de Europa to the hills of Granada. Every time a hopeful and promising moment arrived, the Christians felt spurred on by the same illusion: by the illusion of acquiring wealth and bettering one's social condition by means of thrusts of the spear. It was always like this, as long as the Reconquest lasted; and even after. «Anyone who wants to do away with work and be rich, well come with me to besiege Valencia», proclaimed the Cid's cry as recorded by the minstrel of Medinaceli. Many centuries later, Hernán Cortés «ordered criers to proclaim and drummers to play... so that any person who wanted to go with his company to the newly discovered lands, to conquer and to people them, would receive his share of the gold, silver and jewels found there». And later Pizarro, in the Isla del Gallo, was to invite his men to choose between being poor in Castile or rich in Perú. Many centuries later, destiny again fastened Spain in the same deceptive way of living. Spain, fancy and adventure!

This was the way the Castilians scaled the walls of progress and, with them at times, went the subjects of the other kings of Spain. All of the social classes of the kingdom of León and Castile, from the Galician estuaries to the hills of Cuenca, and from the ports of the Cantabrian Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar, owed their affirmation to the plentiful springs of riches that the reconquest and the repopulation were to offer to them.

The *infanzones* had historically prolonged the existence of the Gothic nobility, which in the last years of the Toledan monarchy had begun to acquire the characteristics of a social class, when the privileges of the palatines —that is, those who served the king in government positions— were extended to their children. The *primates palatii eorumque filii,* having taken refuge in the kingdom of Oviedo, had conserved their juridical status but had lost the possessions which had served as an economic base. The *aprissio* or *presura,* by them of the lands they could legally occupy in the repopulation; the reception either as property or as benefice —*presti-*

(23) Great are the joys – around that place,
When my Cid won Valencia – and entered the city.
Those who went on foot – became knights;
The gold and the silver – who could count it?
All were rich – among those who were there.

monium—of some of the lands corresponding to the kings in the colonization of the reconquered territory or of part of the dominions acquired by the upper lay or clerical nobility; and the substantial booty gained by them, more through plundering expeditions than in field battles; all permitted the *infanzones* to give their privileged condition roots, and thus stability.

First the counts of Castile and soon the kings of León, began to favor whomever they pleased (from among the colonizers who had enough wealth to maintain a horse and arms), with the privileges of the *infanzones.* In 976 García Fernández raised all the horsemen of Castrojeriz to the status of *infanzonía* (24) and we know that Sancho Garcés granted many similar favors in order to increase his mounted forces. These new nobles who owed their improved position in the social hierarchy to the «somethings» or property acquired in the new lands, began to be called «*fijos de algo*» (25) to show their condition as parvenus with respect to the old nobles or *infanzones,* who in time would also receive the new name.

«Those who went on foot became knights», wrote the poet of the Cid. This type of bettering of one's hierarchical position was characteristic of the kingdoms derived from the Asturian-Leonese tree: Castile, León, Portugal, and to a certain extent Navarre, Aragón and Valencia. The mixture of the warrior ideal of life with the acquisition of wealth in the struggle against the Moors, and also with the municipal structure of the great human masses made the villein calvary stand out in the flexible social framework of the Middle Ages in Spain.

Villein knights! A strange name that contains no contradiction and hides no metaphors! They made up the most active part of the municipal militia which played an essential role in Castilian history, from the taking of Toledo to the fall of Seville. Their number increased as time passed. They were to form the patrician class in the urban centers in the Duero and Tagus River Valleys.

The villein cavalry were formed from the need felt by the counts of Castile, lords of a nation of free men —small landowners or peasant *enfiteutas*— to dispose of important armed forces for the war against the Muslims and against the kingdoms of León and Navarre. The differentiation between villein footsoldiers and villein knights was already old in Castile when in 976 count García Fernández raised the villein knights of Castrojeriz to *infanzonía,* that is, to noble status, and placed the villein foorsoldiers on the same level as the villein knights from outside Castrojeriz.

The citizen cavalry, as it was called later to save the social stigma of the word villein, spread throughout the frontier zone —from the

(24) This is the noble status of being an *infanzón.*

(25) «*Fijos de algo*», which literally means «sons of something», would later become *hijosdalgo* and *hidalgo.*

headwaters of the Duero to the Atlantic— accompanying the municipal organization of Castile, León and Portugal. After the conquest of Toledo it crossed the central mountains with the municipal *concejos* and spread through the Tagus Valley. It was also known in Aragón, but with a different name —*infanzones de carta*— (26). It reached Andalusia with the Castilian conquerors: Ferdinand III and Alfonso X established groups of *hijosdalgo* knights and *ciudadano* (citizen) knights in each of the cities taken from Islam. James I and Peter III took the people's cavalry to Valencia. And with the «*caballeros de cuantía*» (27), the institution lasted in the frontiers of Granada until the seventeenth-century.

Already in the *fueros* granted by Alfonso VI to a number of *concejos* of the Duero Valley —Palenzuela (1074), Sepúlveda (1076)— the inhabitants who had a horse, shield and spear and who responded to the call to arms with the *senior civitatis* were already exempt from paying *servicios* (28). The freedoms of these horsemen were defined and perfected in the different municipal *fueros* that were granted to the new urban centers occupied and repopulated by the kings. The knights of seigneurial villages were even given some exemptions. Many years ago, my disciple from Madrid, Carmela Pescador, studied the process of the social betterment of the villein cavalry. As my Argentine disciples Adriana Bó and María del Carmen Carlé have demonstrated, from the end of the twelfth-century on, positions in the government of the *concejos* began to be reserved for the citizen horsemen. The great reforming king, Alfonso the Learned, who confronted many and grave national problems, increased and regulated the privileges of the citizen cavalry and granted its members new exemptions. Using similar formulas, he granted exemptions to those of Peñafiel (1256), Ávila (1256), Escalona (1261), Madrid (1262), Valladolid (1265), Requena (1268), etc.

«May the horsemen who possess the greatest houses in the town of Madrid, with their women and children or those who do not have women, accompanied by whomever they might have from eight days before Christmas until the day of St. John the Baptist, and who have a horse and arms, the horse being worth thirty maravedis or more, and a shield and a spear and a coat of mail and a brassard and a cuirass and a helmet and a sword, may they not pay taxes on the possessions they have in the cities and villages and other places of our kingdom. May their servants and their shepherds and their millers and the wet –nurses who raise their children and their gardeners and their ploughmen and their bee– keepers and their majordomos and anyone else of this kind that they may have, also be

(26) Nobles of lower rank whose noble status of *infanzonía* was granted by means of a letter *(carta)*, a document given to a free man who was not a noble.

(27) A landholder living on the coasts of Andalusia who had the responsibility of maintaining a horse and arms to defend the coast when the Moors attacked it.

(28) Voluntary financial contributions to the crown of nation voted by the *Cortes*.

exempt...» writes Alfonso X. Then he details the number of «exemptione» to which each one is entitled, according to his wealth in agriculture or in livestock. He lowers the number of exempted servants in proportion to the type of arms the horseman possessed. He grants the exemptions of the husband to the widow. He extends it to the sons until they reach the age of being «dressed» as armed knights. «And to do more good and give greater grace to the knights —he continues— we order that, when a knight's armed horse dies, there be a period of up to four months so that he can purchase another horse; and during these four months in which he does not possess a horse, that he not lose his rights of exemption, and that he retain them like the other armed knights.»

The possession of a fighting horse, of a greater or lesser number of defensive and offensive arms and being in a position to serve as light cavalry in the army, gave anyone the opportunity of moving up to a superior social position and even to the governing class of the municipality; two moves that would end up incorporating one into the noble class. This was done either by the slow equalizing over the years of his juridical and fiscal condition with that of the *fijodalgo*, by an expressed singular or collective concession of the monarch, or by his reception into a knightly order after having been either legally or illegaly an armed knight.

Those who went on foot under the leadership of the Cid, became knights with the plunder taken from the Moors in Valencia or from the Almoravid troops. Using the booty taken from the Muslims on the battlefield, in the frequent raids into enemy territory, or with the lands, houses and herds they took over in the villages and cities they were able to occupy, many fortunate combatants had become knights before the Cid was born, and many would become knights after his death, especially in León, Castile and Portugal. In the same way, many children and grandchildren of villein knights secured themselves in the privileged condition of their fathers and facilitated their slow movement towards *hidalguía* or their legal entry into it. This was the means by which the squires of many *hidalgos* were able, one day, to acquire a horse and the necessary arms to arm themselves as knights.

The image of a rural or urban patrician in thirteenth or fourteenth century Castile would have been that of a dusty horseman, covered by a helmet of iron; protected by a coat of mail, a brassard and a cuirass, carrying a shield, his sword in his belt, his spear in its rest and the left hand on the bridle of a horse seldom protected by a cuirass. It was not the image of a powerful knight but that of a *hijodalgo* or citizen knight, that of a villein knight or that of a noble peasant rider; that is, that of a lightly armed horseman.

Next to this picture, we could have the free peasant, grandson of northern emigrants —from Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria or Vasconia— who in the emigration had acquired and secured their freedom and an adequate

living. This free peasant either worked his own lands and grazed his own livestock or cultivated the fields and took care of the flocks of a *hidalgo* or some citizen knight. North of the Duero, the growing power of absorption of the lords —the passing of time has always been a formidable agent in the consolidation of oligarchies— reduced many free small landowners to the condition of subordinates of knights or *hombres de behetría.* The number of *enfiteutas* of the king or the nobles increased with the second wave of emigrants, who arrived when the land had already been distributed; and with the *advenientes et escotos* —as the laws of Castrojeriz call them— who received lands *ad populationem vel ad forum*; that means with those who, by means of a collective lease contract in *enfiteusis,* which guaranteed their full personal freedom, became *solariegos* of nobles or villeins on royal or church lands. Yet, those strange men possessing *behetrías,* with no possible parallel across the Pyrenees, could change lords at will seven times a day; and those *solariegos* and *enfiteutas* had complete freedom of movement, something rare in feudal Europe at that time among manorial laborers.

South of the Duero, the small landowners kept their freedom without any deterioration and with it the full ownership of their houses, lands and livestock, within the victorious municipal framework of the region. Those who worked others' lands or grazed others' livestock, did so by freely contracting their services with the *hidalgo* knight or with the citizen knight they served. This has been carefully studied by Gilbert.

The double image of a knight and a peasant —of a knight of moderate status and a free peasant— was thus the legitimate representation of the nation of Castile in the days of St. Ferdinand III or of Alfonso the Learned and even of his children and grandchildren. That double image would have projected the same shadow over the flatlands of any of the central mesetas as the couple imagined by Cervantes did, centuries later, over La Mancha. The Castilian knight and the peasant of the medieval centuries would not have walked with the ostentation of Don Quixote and Sancho. They would not have thought nor talked like them. Where his grandson performed the nimble leaps of one in love, the knightly grandfather of Alonso Quijano would have had to use his heroic arm in the war against the Moors, across the Sierra Morena. Sancho's grandfather would not have trembled like he did upon entering combat, because perhaps he would have battled more than once at his master's side. Both would have had different ideas about their king than did Don Quixote and his squire. They would have felt differently about religion than did the knight and the peasant in the days of the Counter-Reformation. The arrow of their ideas, sentiments, emotions, impetus... would have flown hopefully toward the light of dawn instead of wearily falling among the shadows of dusk. But, in the long run, they would have embodied Spain, just as Alonso Quijano and Sancho would later embody it; and many vital, coinciding

traces would have made two pairs of different ages, baroque and Gothic, approach each other.

Elsewhere I have written pounded among the hills and poplars of the Duero:

Al declinar la tarde sobre el remoto alcor
(Veía) agigantarse la forma de un arquero
La forma de un inmenso centauro flechador (29).

«No; if you climb up to the steep rocks of Gredos, that proudly rise between the two plains of the Cid and of Don Quixote, if you climb to the gigantic rocks of Gredos, where perhaps Satan tempted Castile with the lordship of the seas, upon which America lies, at day's end you will see the silhouettes of the peasant knight and the free laborer of Cervantes reach gigantic proportions. If we could turn the hands of time back and could climb the rocks of Gredos in Ávila, back then, any day in the thirteenth or fourteenth-century, when king Alfonso the Learned and Berceo or the Arcipreste and don Juan Manuel were breathing in this world, we would also be able to see a knight and a laborer riding along the flatlands of «Between Duero and Tagus»; and if, by listening intently, we could hear their conversation, we might catch them in some of the dialogues which, centuries later, Don Quixote and Sancho had. We might hear the *hidalgo*, fascinated by the illusion, offer the peasant the government of the first hamlet they peopled in Moorish lands when it was won in the next ditch. And we might see the very surprised eyes of the villein shine with hopeful greed, already feeling like the future mayor of a place on the other side of the frontier line.»

When the Reconquest stopped, the colonizing migrations stopped flowing, the apertures that permitted the fortress of improvement to be scaled were closed, social betterment became difficult, social layers were consolidated, the difference in fortune and social condition that separated them increased, the upper nobility subjugated the popular masses and the society became rigid while waiting for the renovation of the course of history to permit its future rejuvenation. That moment arrived with modern times. However, the wait was not long enough to provoke the alteration of the double silhouette of traditional Castile.

There were classes, not castes; fluid classes in which the *hidalgo* knights and the citizen knights stood out, both intermingled since the beginning with the cities and villages of the kingdom and with the free peasants who lived either in the urban centers or in their hamlets since the reconquest and the repopulation. All were the sons of that reconquest and that repopu-

(29) At the fall of day on a remote hill
I saw the figure of an archer grow
The figure of an immense centaur archer.

lation, freely associated in a special society in Europe; in a society in which the medieval feudalism of the West was never to prosper.

5. Feudal Institutions in Castile

An essayist-turned-historian confuses feudal structure with seigneurial regime *(régimen señorial)*. The first system included personal relations of a contractual type, which were made between men, masters of their own destiny, by means of the free settlement of a bilateral pact which involved reciprocal duties. The vassal served the lord and the lord protected the vassal while giving him the necessities of life. The second system bound the inhabitants of the land to the person having dominion over it, or «justice» over those who dwelled in it. This tie did not depend on those inhabitants submitted to the lordship and was not finalized with their consent. On the other hand, they could not arbitrarily declare it terminated.

Both structures were deeply rooted in antiquity. Both underwent great changes with the passing of time. Both were known in Medieval Christian Spain. But, while outside Catalonia, an Iberian prolongation of the Carolingian Empire, the feudal structure was not able to mature among us, and persisted in the first phase of its historical development. The seigneurial regime achieved a much more advanced state of maturity in the Peninsula, although never matching the maturity of the structure which triumphed beyond the Pyrenees.

The Peninsular Christian kingdoms inherited a very developed type of prefeudalism from the Visigothic. Since the publication of my books, *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo* and *Stipendium hispano-godo y los orígenes del beneficio prefeudal*, no one has argued over the existence of a personal *fidelitas* and a territorial *stipendum*, i. e., prefeudal vassalage and fiefs in Gothic Spain. The Hispano-Gothic kings found themselves aided by *fideles* and *gardingos* who owed them fidelity and mounted armed service and who received land as salary or a stipend through revocable *iure precario* concessions, the use of which depended on the durability of the ties uniting them to the prince. The strongmen, or magnates, and some prelates also had armed followers who were likewise recompensated as a function of their personal relationship to the lord as long as they did not arbitrarily break off relations to serve another. *Fideles* and *gardingos* in the king's service and the armed followers of grandees did not constitute isolated groups without influence in the play of political forces in the kingdom. The seventh-century witnessed the sliding of the Hispano-Gothic monarchy toward the articulation of a prefeudal State. *Fideles* and *gardingos* rose to a preponderant position in the political machinery of the state; the grandees' followers rose in strength and number and ended up serving in the army under the orders of their own lords, therefore, falling outside the official war mechanism. Many legal, conciliar and narrative

texts have allowed me to trace this new image of Hispano-Gothic prefeudalism.

This advanced prefeudalizing process has led me to suppose that north of the Pyrenees in the seventh-century there must have been a prefeudal organization equal to that in Visigothic Spain. However, this organization could not have led to the same system of classic Western European feudalism due to the very dissimilar course taken by history beyond the Pyrenees and in the Peninsula during the eighth and ninth-centuries. The Carolingians accelerated the slow gestation of the feudal system and, as if using forceps, forced it to be born. This was not done to create a cavalry to oppose the Muslims, supposed invaders of Gaul as the German historic-legal school believed, a theory I have shown to be groundless, but with the intention of reinforcing their own authority, of illegitimate and bastard origin, and to assure and reinforce the power of the Frankish monarchy. The Carolingians hit and missed the mark with equal success. Their hits and misses do not concern this study, but whatever the results of this policy, it is certain that it quickened the crystalization of feudalism which, in 711, was no more advanced in France than in Spain.

In the society which sprang up beyond the Pyrenees during the eighth and ninth-centuries, both prefeudal institutions, vassalage and fiefs, melted together, first factually and then legally. Later, vassalage and fiefs became hereditary. The vassal-fiel relationship, originally a personal kind of bond, lost its original condition in the long run and became a real bond, essentially based on possession of the fief, that is, the possession of landed property which centuries before had made up a mere recompensation for military and court service rendered by the vassal to the lord. Moreover, since, in order to achieve the aforementioned goals, the Carolingian sovereigns induced dukes, marquis, counts and simple magnates, not to mention bishops and abbots, to become their vassals and increase the number of their adherents to assure their authority within and without the kingdom, the vassal-fief structure, which we can now call feudal ended up constituting a great organic framework of society and State.

We have no documentation that the Spanish Christian kingdoms also inherited from the Visigoths a seigneurial regime similar to that known in Merovingian France. It is certain that the political decomposition that produced the autonomy and inheritability of duchies and counties beyond the Pyrenees did not take place in Gothic Spain. However, it is improbable that the germinal processes of medieval lordship were unknown in it: such a concession of fiscal immunities and the dawning of private justice administered by the *potentes* (powerful) within their realms, both of which had begun during the Late Roman Empire.

Added to the unequal advance of the state crisis in France and Spain around 711, was the dissimilar course of political history as the effective factor of differentiation between lordship beyond the Pyrenees and in

Spain. Moreover, the Carolingian witnessed, and partially aided the triumph of the seigneurial regime in Gaul. They changed Merovingian immunity into exemption of the lands marked out with this privilege, from the justice and authority of royal officials. The inflexibility of these officials facilitated this situation, because the kings got along better with the bishops and abbots who had been given this liberty, than with the dukes, marquis and counts from whose jurisdiction the former were exempted. These agents of the crown, urged by the princes to become royal vassals, came to consider the *honores,* or public posts they held as vassal-fief tenures. With the passing of time they ran off with such posts by inheritance and so were born other great and powerful lordships of another type.

The coming of maturity and uniting of the feudal structure and seigneurial regime brought with it the ruin of the State. Vassal-fief ties were tightened in such a way that the duties of the vassal to his lord came before his obligations as a subject. When the district governments, into which the Carolingian Empire was divided, became hereditary fiefs, and the long-lasting delegations of «justice» over the inhabitants became large and even small properties, the masses of men living in duchies, counties and seigneuries, withdrew to the direct authority of the monarchy. The theory of the vassal structure came to undermine the old state conception of the kingdom when the dual fidelity of the vassals to the king and the king to the vassal was replaced by the central idea of the relationship between prince and people.

With the passing of time, feudal and lordly societal structures became solidified as its joints stiffened and as vassal possession of riches and power was transmitted from generation to generation by inheritance. From then on, only the servants of members of the privileged class, i. e., those attached to ministries, were able to open the way to the highest hierarchies of the feudal structure. Some rich bourgeois who were able to buy some fiefs, reached those levels deviously when feudal possession of goods, which had demanded, and still did in theory, vassal service, came to be bought and sold; in a word, when the fidelity of the feodary, which was now neither required nor requirable, entered into popular traffic.

The kings of Oviedo (718-910) did not find themselves in the same kind of peril as did the grandson of Charles Martel who was forced to favor the development of vassal and fief institutions. Their authority, born of popular consent after Covadonga (722), was confirmed by the successes of the first princes of the Pelayo dynasty against the Muslims. Furthermore, in the beginning they had no powerful noble class at the fore because the Hispano-Gothic magnates and prelates had been ruined by the Arabic conquest.

Both aristocracies grew again in the shadow of royalty. The kings granted wastelands and rural villages of servants or small holders to relatives, servants and the Church. They also conceded them temporary government of the political circumscriptions into which the kingdom was

divided. The palace community living around the monarch, the *comites* and *potestates* who governed the *mandationes* and *comissa,* and the upper ecclesiastical hierarchy, exploited their position to acquire new landed properties and to surround themselves with patronizing followers. Both lay and ecclesiastical nobilities again rooted themselves in the land. They were able to again confront the monarchy from which they had been molded.

Because of this, the kings of Oviedo suffered, in the long run, from the sudden thrusts of ambitious noblemen throughout the ninth-century. Royal power never sunk for long into anarchy. It became vigorous in the constant and dramatic fight against the Islamites, at once national and religious, in which the life and independence of the kingdom was being gambled. Furthermore, it was soon secured and confirmed by the occupation of great expanses of new lands thanks to the Reconquest.

All bitter and prolonged foreign warfare in which the independence of a historical community has been risked has, in every case, increased the power of the state governmental organs and has kept the combative ability of the nation alive. The first two consequences of the barbarous centuries-long struggle against the Muslims were, therefore, favorable to the continuance of the political and military force of the Oviedo monarchy. For this reason, the kings of Asturias never had recourse to throw themselves on the mercy of professional warriors as did the Carolingian monarchs in order to save themselves from the torments of noblemen or to enlarge the kingdom.

Meanwhile, as has been shown, the zones to the south of the Cantabrian Range had become depopulated. After the steel-like resistance of Alfonso I (791-842) to the persistent attacks of the Islamic armies, the colonization of the uninhabited zone, extending up to the foot of the mountains, began in mid-ninth century. By virtue of a tradition originating in Roman Jurisprudence which granted the property rights of ownerless wastelands to princes, a tradition that was retained and strengthened by Goths and Islamites, the kings of Oviedo considered themselves masters of the areas occupied to the south of the mountains. They commissioned their sons and lay and ecclesiastical magnates to direct the repopulation. They authorized the occupation of the lands to whomsoever wished to live in the lands conquered from Córdoba. And throughout three quarters of a century they occupied and colonized lands up to the very banks of the Rivers Duero and Mondego.

In those regions where a victorious military caste encountered dense masses of peasants, a lordship usually sprang up. The conquerors divided up the land into large shares, left the subdued to look after making the land productive and lived off the work of their small holders. There was neither a powerful military caste living behind the former borders of the Oviedo kingdom nor peasants to submit south of the mountains. The repopulation of the Duero Valley did not bring about the rapid growth

of a rich and strong aristocracy as a result, since numerous groups of freemen had established themselves in the new lands. These freemen were sometimes medium or small property owners, others were *enfiteutas* in royal domains *(realengo)*. Large landowners also sprang up thanks to repopulation, concessions made by the kings or as a result of the slow process of absorption of lesser freemen. But this new power of the two aristocracies was amply counterbalanced by the aforementioned masses of lesser property owners, or by small holders of royal land having direct political dependence on the princes.

Indeed, the repopulation of the Duero, far from diminishing the power and riches of the monarchy, extraordinarily increased it. Her small holders and free subjects reinforced the ranks of the royal army. Their taxes and tributes increased the income of the royal treasury. Furthermore, the kings possessed abundant tracts of land with which to endow a large number of blood nobility. This was done by means of *prestimonia* or military favors, of Hispano-Gothic origin or tradition, the existence of which I have already shown. And those blood nobles or *infanzones*, without solvency after their enforced emigration to the North during the eighth-century, therefore became *milites regis*, increasing the forces at the service of the monarchy.

With the royal authority being thus fortified, the state organization was never extinguished in the Asturian-León kingdom as it finally was in those kingdoms born of the Carolingian Empire. The governors of the *mandationes, comissa* or *comitatus* continued being de facto civil servants, named, substituted and moved about arbitrarily by the kings. They also freely ruled the Church since the counts and high authorities were the very bishops named and deposed by the princes. And, without royal favor, the feudalizing process of the Asturias-León society advanced very slowly.

The civil wars which weakened the kingdom of León in the second half of the tenth-century, the great military setbacks then suffered before the great Almanzor and the century-long settling of land by the aristocracy made up of palace officials, civil servants and high clergy, brought about the advance towards feudalism in León society during the decades immediately preceding and following the year 1000. Vassal and fief relations gradually thrived and multiplied. The kings, as well as members of the two aristocracies, lay and ecclesiastical, had at their service a good number of *milites*, or men of arms, not yet ordinarily called vassals. These *milites* were recruited from the ranks of the ancient nobility and were soon also recruited by nobles from the free peasantry, from those who called themselves villein knights because of possessing a horse. But, although many men came to serve a lord through their free and voluntary decision, Asturian-León vassal relations were still fluid and embryonic; neither definitely rooted in the land nor breaking the state *regnum* structure.

The *milites* began to be recompensated by means of concessions of fiefs in *atondo* or *prestimonio*. But other times they received cash salaries. I do

not know whether they received wages following the Visigothic practices (the Hispano-Gothic *stipendia* could either be in sums of *money* or *iure precario* land concessions) or, in imitation of the pecuniary payments system used in Al-Ándalus to recompensate the grandchildren of Balch's Syrians as well as mercenary troops, a system that perhaps found inspiration in Visigothic stipends. And when they did receive benefices, they were not even for life, nor necessarily were their vassal relationships which they continued being able to end at will. Allow me to lay out these indices of Asturian-León prefeudalism: the Laws of Castrojeriz (976), those of León (1020) and numerous other documents uncluding above all the entertaining autobiography of Odoíno (982), the diploma relating the events which took place in Castile during the last years of the rule of the counts, a Leonese lawsuit (1029) and another contested by the ancient aristocracy of Langreo.

The kings of Asturias-León began to concede long-lasting delegations of their authority over lands, first to the Church and later to noblemen. At first the concession had a negative nature, *inmunitas:* they forbid entry of their civil servants in the marked out land. Later, they granted the same powers exercised by the *comites* or *potestades* to those lay or ecclesiastical lords favored by royal will over the lands they ruled. In this way an important network of immunities and lordships, more or less autonomous, sprang up in the tenth-century. The extension of each was reduced. Except cases in which some powerful count collaborated with the government in the taking of some extensive territory, the ties which united them to the princes were slackened and they were able to transmit the government of their counties to their sons. Of these actions of collaboration, only that of the counts of Castile lasted.

The kings never legalized the usurpations of these magnates with vassal and fief ties. At most, they recognized them as lands furnished with the privilege of immunity, that is, as great lordships. The always had non-feudal military forces, since the military duty of free villeins was still generalized as was that of the nobility who served in exchange for wages and war provisions. The idea of public tribute never disappeared and the non-noble inhabitants continued being submitted to it. No one escaped juridically from *iussio regis,* or royal authority, that was theoretically binding to all. I have shown the truth of these statements in my *Estampas de la vida en León hace mil años* and in various monographs, forerunners of my still unedited but already known work on *Instituciones del reino astur-leonés* which is to be a volume of the *Historia de España* directed by Menéndez Pidal.

When providence or chance came to unite León and Castile again in 1037 and Ferdinand I was able to inaugurate his policy of fiscal exploitation of the small Muslim kingdoms of Al-Ándalus, the depression curve of royal power ended and once again the sliding of society and State towards feudalism was detained. Just around the same time that feudalism was

triumphing outside Spain, the royalty of Castile-León had a political strength capable of effortlessly dominating both aristocracies. The monarchy could pay wages to its *milites* (already called vassals at times, in accordance with the French linguistic fashion) without needing to imitate the feudal organization found beyond the Pyrenees. This was done by means of the tribute collected from the *Taifa* kings (30), whose importance for the institutional articulation of the kingdom has not yet been pointed out.

Throughout all this long historical process, already four centuries old in the days of Alfonso VI and which impeded a definitive metamorphosis of Visigothic prefeudalism into a feudalism like that found beyond the Pyrenees, there was naturally no role to be played by the Jews, who were numerous only in the kingdom of Asturias-León after the Almoravid and Almohad invasions.

The monarchy of Castile-León suffered from the impact of Western European feudalism at the end of the ninth-century. The colonization of the clergy by Cluny, the intensification of pilgrimages to Santiago, the marriages of Alfonso VI to French princesses and those of his daughters to non-Spanish magnates, the coming of non-Hispanic knights as warriors and pilgrims, and all the other ties of the kingdoms of León and Castile with contemporary feudal Christianity flooded them with feudal ideas, practices, styles and customs. Nevertheless, this contamination did not imply the admission of non-Spanish juridical formulas.

The vassals of the king, still called *milites regis* in the kingdom's technical terminology, received the following in provisional tenure: *honores*, government of territorial districts, and *terras*, taxes to be collected on the incomes of some villages pertaining to the royal treasury. Vassals likewise received tenure of castles or districts and permanent or provisional wages —*prestimonia* or *solidata*— from the royal vassals.

Some to the king and others to their lord, all were obliged to render service in war and in court. Theoretically, the vassal bond could be broken when it so pleased the vassal or the lord. The vassal could leave his lord whenever he felt so inclined, while the lord could require the vassal to deliver up the *honores* or *prestimonia* he held, or break off payment of the wages he received. Vassal-fief ties never came to be hereditary not even for life in León and Castile, although they did have a tendency to last for life. Their set-up was never solidified and, from personal type relations, they became relations based on a royal right. They always involved service of arms to the lord from whom the vassal received *honores, prestimonia* or wages or, at times, simply horses and arms. It was always impossible for a vassal to contract coinciding relations for service to two or more

(30) These were the lords of the twenty-three «party kingdoms» (from arabic word *Taifa* meaning band or faction) or splinter states organized around major cities, into which Al-Ándalus was subdivided after the collapse of the Caliphate (1030).

lords at the same time. The state type ties that united all subjects to the king never lost validity. These state ties were never eclipsed by those of a personal type which bound the vassal to the lord. The loyalty of the former to the latter did not involve the breaking of juridical relations of the *miles* with the prince. I am summing up my knowledge of Castilian feudal institutions. I also suggest the consulting of the recent work of my disciples Valdeavellano and Hilda Grassotti, *Instituciones feudales castellanas.*

The sliding of the society of Castile and León towards a feudal structure was coincidental and parallel to the development of the seigneurial regime. Kings continued to grant large inheritances with full rights of dominion to nobility and clergy. They continued favoring them with the privilege of immunity which, by forbidding the entry of royal officials, converted them into jurisdictional lordships. More and more, the kings would give the «justice» or government over some villages of greater or less importance to nobles, bishops or abbots. I studied these problems in 1914 in my doctoral thesis, *La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla.*

According to the *Historia Compostelana,* all the magnates making up the kingdom's aristocracy in 1109 were formed by Alfonso VI. He had brought them up since childhood; brought them from poverty to riches or from humble birth to nobility. Each king ennobled and enriched whomsoever found royal favor and all the sovereigns made territorial and lordly grants to the clergy. In this way the royal patrimony diminished, the number of lords increased; the political power of the two aristocracies in their lands became greater and the bonds tying them to the monarchy loosened little by little.

Nevertheless, just as in the feudal structure, profound differences separated the seigneurial regime of Castile-León from that beyond the Pyrenees. No non-ecclesiastical lord had the right to coin money. This right was only held by the bishops of Santiago and the abbots of Sahagún. Among all the jurisdictional lords, only the prelates of Santiago were exempt from supporting royal army service with the men who inhabited their lands. At the beginning of the thirteenth-century, royal representatives could still enter the territory of the majority of the lordship in grave cases reserved for royal justice. After the acceptance of Roman Law, which established appeals in the juridical process, the inhabitants of almost all the lordships could bring the affronts to justice done by the lords before the king. The exception to this was some of the military orders, in which case the appeals ended up before the Master. The monarch legislated on the reciprocal rights and duties of the lords and the inhabitants in his lands. He resolved the quarrels that came up between them even in the thirteenth-century. Fairs to be held in lordships could only be established by a royal concession. As recognized by all the juridical and nobiliary codices and compilations, the kings of León and Castile always reserved

the rights to exercise high justice, coin money, tax and call men to war. And, in fact, for centuries, royal power triumphed over lordly power in such a way that the mere loss of royal grace involved banishment without having to give cause of the magnate who incurred the royal wrath. I have examined all these themes of my doctoral thesis in the study titled *Primitiva organización monetaria de León y Castilla* and in various other monographs.

A few facts, which in themselves are not history but without erudite knowledge of which history may not be done, may be referred to as exponents of the limitations of the seigneurial regime and vassal-fief structures in León and Castile, when both ruled the social and political life of Western Europe. Sancho III decreed that until the majority of his son, Alfonso VIII, the *honores* and *tierras* held by the magnates, but belonging to the crown, could not be taken from them. This is confirmed by the Toledano. In 1215 the regent of the minor, Henry I, had to promise the *cortes* that he would not demand the *tierras* and *honores* held by the nobility. At the beginning of the thirteenth-century, therefore, the king could still take away the benefice holdings possessed by his vassals in Castile.

A decree promulgated in the Cortes of Benavente by Alfonso IX tells us that in 1202 the *milities* still had church lands in *prestimonio,* sometimes for life, others provisionally, and without necessarily having vassal ties binding them to bishops and abbots. Since the eight-century there existed a de facto union between vassal and fief in Carolingian France. In the Capitular of Quierzy-sur-Oise (877) of Charles the Bald, the right of sons to inherit the fiefs of their magnate fathers who took part in the Italian campaign with the Emperor was recognized. And not much later the *honores*, or government posts of the magnates, and the *beneficia* of the royal vassals were de facto hereditary.

In 1137 Count Rodrigo González de Lara, who, due to his royal blood and military prowess, was given the most important city of the kingdom, Toledo, upon losing royal favor, had to give up all his holdings and leave Castile. And when he returned, after fighting bravely and with success in the Holy Land, he was not received in his family domains by express order of the monarch himself. The Archbishop of Santiago, the most privileged, and one of the most powerful lords of the kingdom, *regiam potentiam a regibus habebat,* had to give in more than once to the pecuniary demands of Alfonso VII (1157). In the Cortes of Benavente of 1202, it was set down that when a *miles* held church *prestimonia* of fiefs and incurred the wrath of the king, being subsequently exiled from the kingdom, the monarch would take over the income of such *prestimonia* or fief. In 1232 and 1250, Ferdinand III resolved the lawsuits being maintained by the *concejos* of Lugo and Tuy against their lords, their bishops, in order to insure their municipal liberties. Later, Alfonso X dared to take away the dominion over Santiago held by the Archbishops. The Carolingian

monarchs would not have dared to confront the lords of their kingdom in such a way even in the ninth-century.

The explanation of these singular events in the lordly and vassal-fief structures in León and Castile is not hard to explain. The key to the stagnation of the society of Castile-León in a state of feudal organization, the same as primitive Carolingian feudalism, must be sought in the social and institutional history of both peoples. This is also true for the period extending from Alfonso VI to Alfonso the Learned. The advances of the frontier repeatedly put enormous territorial and bureaucratic booty in the hands of the monarchy. Moreover, this immense booty more than once restored the political and military power of the royalty and broke, in its own favor, the equilibrium of the social and political forces of the monarchy.

The repopulation between the Duero and the Tagus, after the conquest of Toledo in 1085, that of Cuenca and its lands at the end of the twelfth-century, that of La Mancha after the victory at Navas in 1212 and that of the Guadalquivir Valley and the lands of Murcia a few decades later, facilitated the birth of an extremely strong network of small and large *concejos* on royal lands. The feudalizing impulse received by the kingdom during its Europeanizing stage in the days of Alfonso VI and VII became a prisoner of the closely knit mesh of this network. The municipalities created to the north of the Duero and the Tagus —no smaller than the land between the Duero and the Cantabrian Mountains— counterbalanced the economic and political power of the magnates and clergy. This series of large *concejo* towns did not make up larger or smaller islands lost in the feudal and lordly ocean as were the municipalities which were springing up beyond the Pyrenees. The urban nuclei that served as the vital center were becoming more and more populated and found themselves at the head of huge municipal extensions populated by villages. No lordship of the kingdom could match one of the great communities in military and economic power: Ávila, Salamanca, Segovia. None of them were able to organize a militia capable of undertaking the heroic adventures some of such *concejos* achieved, even in Andalusia, Ávila is an example. Together, those situated in the Castilian zone, between the Duero and the Tagus, gathered sufficient military might to make kings, as in the case of Ferdinand III whom they put on the throne. To make the monarchy's triumph over the aristocracy easier the help of the Ávila and Segovia militias allowed Ferdinand III, in 1217, to conquer and capture don Alvaro Nuñez de Lara who had been domineering Castile during the reign of Henry I. This also allowed him to maintain royal supremacy in the always complicated play of the kingdom's political forces. The *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla,* the *Chronicon Mundi* by Lucas de Tuy, *De rebus Hispaniae* by the Toledano, the *Crónica de la población de Ávila* and the *Crónica general* by the Learned King supports all that has been said.

The kings had new men of arms and new incomes available. The host

of the *concejos* ordinarily served them loyally. The tributes and taxes they received from such municipalities helped them to remedy the fiscal crisis of their treasury. With the cash services they obtained from these municipalities, *vi vel gratu* from the end of the twelfth-century, and the services granted them by the cortes from the end of the twelfth-century, the sovereigns could pay wages to a good number of noblemen, professional warriors, all of whom increased the forces faithful to their cause. And with knights from the cities and villages, with salaried noblemen and *freires* (31) of the Military Orders of Knighthood, which sprang up during the second half of the twelfth century, the crown was able to organize non-feudal armies capable of confronting the enemy Islamites and large enough to maintain authority within their frontiers.

Both aristocracies resisted. In order to thrive, they needed princely favor. They had large extensions of land in the conquered areas with which to endow loyal servants and a great number of governments, districts, cities and castles, which were appetizing morsels to be distributed after rendering not necessarily difficult services. No member of the nobility could maintain his rank based on family patrimony, however big it might be. Every magnate longed to possess new inheritances and lordships to round out their territorial fortunes and to insure the privileged position of their class. Furthermore, all aspired to have new governmental holdings, *honores,* and new cash incomes from local taxes, *tierras,* so as to have positions of control and sufficient income with which to insure their positions in society and State. Therefore, none of them refrained from begging them from the king as rewards for loyal or cynical services, in recompense for feats of heroism or intrigue, with an elegant air or a servile attitude of adulation through the winding paths of courtly finesse or as an indecorous reward for hesitant loyalty, in order to continue service zealously or to return to previously transgressed servitude. All the narrative sources of the kingdom confirm these statements; from the *Historia Compostellana* and the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* on; and dozens and dozens of royal diplomas, among which those of Alfonso IX published by Julio González may serve as an example.

For this reason, although Castile and León witnessed a vassal hierarchy, and though the political society was not horizontally organized in the Moorish fashion, but with a pyramid structure on the European model, (the *concejos* were popular lordships) the kings were able to preserve strong public authority whitout having to become entangled in the feudal growth of ivy. The royal power was never shipwrecked in the storms conjured up by noble power for the monarchs of Castile-León from the conquest of Toledo (1085) until the taking of Sevile (1248). The two aristocracies never failed to recognize theorecally the supremacy of *iussio*

(31) Knights having taken vows in the military orders.

regi, which always reached the lords with the highest positions, the knights who served them as vassals and the peasants living in their lordships.

The kings of Castile and León were always able to keep political articulation of a state type alive and flexible. This was also true in Portugal, an offshoot of the León institutional branch. This anticipated similar organizations which sprang up sooner or later beyond the Pyrenees. Much the same occurred in Navarre and Aragón, although their political organizations did not coincide with those of Castile nor those of Portugal. In the Peninsula, for these reasons, the great battles between the royalty and nobility from the second half of the thirteenth-century were not the struggle of the monarchy to dismantle the feudal structure, as happened in France, nor the aristocratic structure by tightening feudal articulations and imprisoning the royalty as occurred in Germany. It was the bitter fighting of both powers to dominate an administrative type State that triumphed in the diverse Hispanis reigns of the time.

Before, now, afterwards and always throughout the medieval centuries, it was the Christian-Islamic antibiosis which opened the roads to institutional organization in Spain. With its eternal corollary of conquests and repopulations, time and again it detained society and State in its normal sliding towards feudalism. In this repeated historical game the Jews had no part. Since Alfonso VI, the kings could use them as fiscal agents precisely because the monarchy had not been feudalized.

During the Late Middle Ages, Castile witnessed a double process with contrary tendencies: crisis in the vassal-fief structure and growth and settlement of the seigneurial regime. The repopulation of La Mancha, Extremadura and Andalusia of the Guadalquivir, the occupation of Murcia, the perfecting of municipal autonomy, the organic changes in the articulation of the State, successional problems which by providence or chance scourged Castile three times in half a century and another long series of economic and political phenomena all combined to bring about a solid mooring of the seigneurial regime and the crisis of the vassal structure.

In León and Castile, the seigneurial regime attained its maximum biological development after the great conquests of Ferdinand III as a result of the interrelated action of a series of historical factors which are well-worth the trouble of recording.

The nobles acquired large lordships in the lands occupied during the first half of the thirteenth century. Consult the study of Julio González on the repopulation of these regions. The kings ceded enormous territorial domains with full property rights and lordly jurisdiction. Some were wastelands for colonization and others were already populated in recompensation for wartime services. In order to reward such services, they were also given some lordships, again with full property rights, not a few of which were important, in the old lands of the kingdom. In these lands to the north of the Tagus and the Duero, as for centuries, the stormy noblemen continued to absorb unceasingly the small free properties.

The numerous illegitimate sons whom the monarchs of Castile and León had been engendering since Saint Ferdinand, and the many bastard sons they brought into the world since Alfonso X, increased the ranks of the high nobility and their lordly strength. The kings were chipping off little bits of the royal patrimony for them. Princes and bastards, the sons of the former and those of the latter, made them pay a high price for their intervention in the crisis of succession. Some villages escaped from the crown's jurisdiction in this way. Once again I refer to my *Instituciones feudales castellanas.*

During the barbarous civil wars which were the dramatic corollary of successional problems, the royalty had to buy support with new and lavish concessions of lordship and lands because the rebels did not accept either provisional tenure or cash salary to the point of submitting themselves to and supporting the monarchs.

The maturity attained by the municipal structure brought with it the disappearance of the old military and fiscal holdings in the cities and head *concejo* towns. These holdings were previously granted by the kings to noblemen as a reward for their services and to insure their loyalty. From now on the municipalities ruled themselves with more autonomy, and, when the royalty preserved for itself some form of juridical or fiscal intervention, the royal delegates held positions of less hierarchical importance which could not entice the magnates. The monarchy therefore lost a good part of the bureaucratic booty it had been using for its political game. It found itself forced to dispense concessions of some lordships formely pertaining to royal *concejos* to its servants and followers.

All these factors, favorable to the increase of territorial lordships, continued to function during the last centuries of the Middle Ages in Castile. It is true that the democratic organization of the *concejos* disappeared with the appearance of municipal councils or governments, charged with ruling the community, beginning with the reign of Alfonso XI, and with the institution of the *corregidores* (32) selected by the monarch. But the governorships fell back on the urban patriarchs and the *corregidores* on the low nobility or on the law experts, all of whom were not useful to the king for satisfying the insatiable appetite for power and riches of the serpent-like nobility.

The rich favors, that is, the lavish concessions granted by Henry II the Bastard to the magnates who had helped him in his fraticidal war against don Pedro, continued increasing the number of lordships and diminishing the crown patrimony. All the Trastamaras continued to distribute liberally jurisdiction over villages and lands, up to then, directly dependent

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(32) Royal officials in certain towns who assisted and regulated municipal administration and justice. Their use, having begun with Alfonso XI, became generalized in the Cortes of Toledo (1480) and codified in 1500. By the reign of Philip II there were sixty-six in the principal towns of Castile.

on royal justice, to their illegitimate children, relatives, favorites, followers and even to their enemies.

They could not have done otherwise. The monarchy was weaker and weaker when confronted with the aristocracy as a result of a series of concurrent processes: the two centuries of the squandering of crown lands had diminished the military and fiscal power of the royalty; the extension of the frontier and the interruption of the Reconquest had attenuated the bellicose impetus of the inhabitants of the old cities, whose militias had, in other times, helped the kings against the nobility; an urban knightly patriarchy which had become a vassal dependent on the aristocracy, had been taking over the government of the large council towns; the great warring capability of the Military Orders had been enlisting more frequently in the ranks of the monarchy's enemies; and the natural biological growth of not a few villages and castles, formerly in power of the lords, had changed lordly hamlets, previously insignificant, into urban nuclei of importance. This improvement had also developed the economic and military power of the lords.

But if the seigniorial regime had grown and grown in this way and had held fast in the political machinery of the kingdom, the vassal structure, far from being rooted in the land, far from sliding toward feudalism of a foreign sort, had retrocessed to a less advanced state than that known in the kingdoms of León and Castile up to the thirteenth-century.

The feudal theory of *Partidas,* an imitation of the Italian *Libri Feudorum,* did not change the vassal-fief organization of Castile and León, already centuries old. Before Alfonso the Learned set it down in his Code, better described as a juridical encyclopedia, there had been fiefs in León and Castile. This juridical form had not been used within the socio-political systems of the kingdom, but rather, outside them. It was used to solve marginal problems or to serve the international policies of some sovereigns; to establish analytical formulas of the opposing claims of Saragossa and the Algarve on the kings of Castile and their neighbors; to incorporate what we might call the zone of influence of the theoretical imperialism of Alfonso VII, other Peninsular sovereigns and many non-Hispanic lords; and to tighten the bonds between the Castilian vassal chain and some lordships situated beyond the borders of the kingdom. I give as an example the fiefdom agreed on between the Archbishop of Toledo, Ximénez de Rada, and the lords of Molina.

Within the boundaries of León and Castile, the old vassal structure was long-lasting, but divorced from the feudalizing system of the territorial benefices. The *Fuero Real* of Alfonso X, the nobiliary juridical compilation called the *Fuero Viejo* and the Ordinance of Alcalá, also of Alfonso X, all give faith to this. No vassal could serve other than his lord under pain of death. The vassalage tie was not even for life. It could be broken at will, by the lords and by the vassals. If these latter left their lord, they

had to return his horse, arms and other gifts received from him. If the lord ended the vassal relationship through no fault of the vassal, the vassal retained the gifts. The vassal served his lord the king or the magnate with his person and other men of arms. Only some royal vassals were still recompensated in the frontiers with tenure. The majority were recompensated by wages taken from the royal treasury as income on specific lands or by orders of payment charged to the royal treasury. According to the quantity of income or payment orders received by the royal vassals, they were to go to war or be on parade with a different number of horsemen or foot-soldiers (one horseman and one foot-soldier for every thousand maravedies of wage in the days of Alfonso XI, 1348) and were to serve in war for a specific length of time. The same duties and rights united the vassals of the great magnates to their lords. They too had to serve them with arms in exchange for wages or income.

This vassal organization lasted until the final years of the Middle Ages with minimal and insignificant changes. There is no contrast more striking than that which separates this structure from the articulation of the Late Middle Ages, whose coming to a halt had implied the end of authentic vassal service and had changed the fief into a royal right. For some time, contrary to the Castilian norm, the feudal relationship had become hereditary beyond the Pyrenees, and for some time each vassal had been able to have as many lords as fiefdoms he received. Around the same time, the vassal tie had lost its stiffness in Castile by shaking off all territorial roots, the fief outside of Spain had come to be a pure usufructary right, united to the mere practice of certain possessional rights which had lost all sense of the circumstances of the times.

The salaried vassal structure of the Late Middle Ages of Castile was very old. It dated from the Asturian-León period. It was already attested for by the Laws of Castrojeriz of 976. It was frequently used in Castile and León since Ferdinand I and Alfonso VI began a policy of fiscal exploitation of the *Taifas.* When the African invasion turned the tide of the war, the kings of Castile-León had to ask for the pecuniary aid of people in order to pay wages to the armed men. For this reason the cortes appeared in Spain before other countries. However, due to the changes in the society and State of Castile during the reign of Alfonso X and his successors, the salaried vassal structure was converted into a system used almost exclusively by us.

The complex process that provoked the transformation of fief tenure into lordship, or fully titled properties stretched throughout the long century from the coming into power of the Learned King to the death of the Cruel King. The magnates could hardly digest such favors. They perpetually incorporated the lordships and territorial domains taken from the kings during the anguished times of succession crises and civil wars into their family patrimony. They did not feel tied to the monarchs by permanent bonds of service and once again put a price on their loyalty to

the crown. The wage as a recompensation to the vassal had the advantage of being annual and insuring for a certain time the compliance of the duties of those salaried, and even encouraging them to continue serving their lord with the hope of obtaining new payment orders.

The economic crisis experienced by Castile and León at this time also contributed to the conversion of the double faceted system of recompensation to the vassals into an almost exclusivey pecuniary payment system. This happened because, beginning with the reign of Alfonso X, the kingdom witnessed a colossal inflation. In a few decades the value of things was multiplied by ten and sometimes by one hundred. This was proven by my disciple, María del Carmen Carlé. The old incomes, and the old taxes and fines more or less solidified with the passing of time, did not rise with the same dizzying rapidity. The royal vassals and the vassals of noblemen could not maintain their rank with the tributes, fines and incomes from lands held in name of the king or lords. They preferred to receive wages whose amount could grow, and in fact did grow, with the very cost of living.

The monarchs observed the triumph of the salaried vassal structure with pleasure, not only because it assured them of their vassals' service, hoping not to lose their payment orders, but also because they found the formula which, in the majority of cases, avoided the encumbrance of these recompensations on the ordinary incomes of the crown. They knew how to win the people's will and obtain a frequent voting in favor of tributes (called *servicios*) in the cortes with which they paid the wages of their vassals. And when the amounts collected from the solicitors in the cities and towns of the kingdom would not suffice, they would create new excise taxes to back them up, for example, the *alcabala* (33), in order to meet the exact amount of their expenses.

The decline of the Castilian-León vassal-fief structure was thus tied to the new state system that matured rapidly in Castile and León and that forged the way for all the West. Outside of Spain as well, and in England before any other country of Western Europe, sovereigns began to organize salaried armies, set out to strengthen treasury income and created a new bureaucracy. But the absence of the dead weight of a sclerotic feudal organization, the multisecular tradition of a juridically strong royal power and the great importance, not to mention historical experience, attained by the kingdom's urban population, facilitated an early organization of the Castilian State, presaging modern times. And although the monarchy witnessed the decline of its real power while jurisdictional lordships grew in number until the crown's patrimony was exhausted, the seigneurial regime could neither undermine nor decrease the rights of royal authority.

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(33) A tax on most contracts of purchase and sale.

6. Political Sensibility of the Castilians

The crown of Castile lasted until the time of the kingdom of Asturias-León which, in the tenth-century, had come to include everything from the Duero to the Bay of Biscay and from the Atlantic coast of Galicia and Portugal to the mountains separating the Rioja from the lands of Burgos and up to an inexact border which separated the Basques of today from the Navarrese of those times. The social textures of the various zones governed by the kings of Oviedo first and then by those of León, were very distinct. In days past I put down my ideas concerning these differences.

Galicia was a country which had been repeatedly dominated by various groups, from the Neolithic age until the occupation of the Sueve kingdom by the Goths. Before the middle of the eighth-century, around 740, it was free of the Islamite Berbers who settled there less than three decades earlier. The Muslim conquest could not shake off the old social patterns of the Peninsular Northwest by force. The slow evolutionary process originating in the late Roman Empire continued in Galicia. After the campaigns of Nahron and Anceo in 824, not a single Saracen army had entered Galicia until Almanzor arrived in Compostela in 997. This removed and secure zone served as a refuge for a substantial part of the Visigothic fugitive nobility; indeed, the greatest number of Germanic geographical names in the entire Peninsula are found in Galicia. This zone witnessed the rapid flourishing of large ecclesiastical and lay lordships and the early coming into dependence of the free population which had survived its slow centuries-long decline.

The Asturians from beyond the mountains had not been submitted by the Goths until some decades before the Islamite invasion and it was they, and not the aristocrats responsible for the «loss of Spain», who initiated the Reconquest. But the new royalty established its seat in the protection of the mountains. Here, many nobles of Gothic blood and with them the courtly clergy grouped together and became powerful. The princes' favor converted magnates and clergy from guests into lords of the country.

The fierce Cantabrians were also conquered late by the Visigothic sovereigns. However, when they joined forces with their western brothers, the Asturians, to resist the Muslim invaders, they did not witness the arrival of the lay and ecclesiastical fugitive nobility in their lands who came to make vassals of all Galicia and Asturias. Only the popular Gothic masses of the Duero Valley refuge among them. This allowed them to live freely in their valleys and mountains, just as did their neighbors, the Basque-oriented nations, so closely related to them by blood and history.

The plain stretching from the Duero to the Cantabrian Mountains had been occupied by the Berber invaders. As in Galicia, it was rid of them when they immigrated to the South to fight against the Orientals who had

appropriated the richest and most fertile lands in the country. As is already proven, the never densely populated region of Castile-León disrupted in its daily living by fourth and fifth-century Germanic invasions and abandoned by its Visigothic colonizers because of the Muslim conquest, was laid waste by the campaigns of Alfonso I and Fruela I, hunger, smallpox and the successive Cordovan and Asturian military campaigns.

The repopulation of Castile-León began in the middle of the ninth-century with Galicians, Asturians, Cantabrians and Basques who arrived at the border with Moors in search of liberty and wealth, and with Mozarabs of the South, fleeing from persecutions and civil wars of Muslim Spain, in search of liberty and tranquility. It has been noted earlier that a large mass of free small landowners were then born south of the Cantabrian-Pyrenean Mountain Range. But from that moment, the dissimilar histories of Castile and León began.

By establishing the kingdom's capital in the ancient «Legio VII», the surrounding area became the political navel of the monarchy. The rebellions of Mérida and Toledo against Córdoba protected it from the beginning against attacks from the South. The zone up to the Duero was quickly won and well-defended. It received a large number of Mozarab immigrants, steeped in culture but lacking vitality, and not a few Galicians, still deeply rooted in traditions inherited from the Lower Roman Empire. Because of the court's influence in the region, demonstrated by continual royal concessions, both lay and clerical nobilities rapidly thrived. And although the mass of free men which had sprung up in León thanks to repopulation, survived all these adverse circumstances, especially in and around important urban centers, the lordly pickaxe struck many holes in the free country population which from then on was not the political nerve of the new society.

Ethnically, the oldest part of Castile was a crucible of races: Cantabrians, Celts and Northern and Southern Basques. The refugee Goths from the South joined them. It had been born in a zone where different climates and cultures came into contact. It shared borders with the always strong and restless Basques and with the Muslims of the central Ebro, heirs of Celtiberian and converts to Islam without having lost their vitality, since their fighting spirit had been kept alive through the struggle against the Emirs of Al-Ándalus. The tangency of two such brave nations as the Castilians and the Southern Basques and the proximity of the arrogant «Banu Qasi» had frequently attracted the armies of Córdoba to that land. The Roman roads following the Ebro upriver to the oldest ancestral dwelling of Castile facilitated the assaults of neighboring enemy Muslims from Tudela and Saragossa. The Castilians, in whom three strong characters, Cantabrian, Goth and Basque, had mixed together, had to fight from year to year for more than a century against the Islamites. This long-lasting warring created a unique, vital texture in Castile, a consciousness of its own strength and a reclusive, rebellious spirit. The Asturian kings were

not always able to make war against the Mohammedans in Castilian territory. The counts, who ruled it in their name acquired greater freedom of movement than others in the kingdom and won an enthusiastic support of the nation they governed. As we shall see later, separation eventually occurred.

The largest part of the Mozarabic immigration was diverted from Castile as a result of the inaccessibility of the court and the danger of the war. The great magnates of both aristocracies were estranged from it as well. Therefore, it did not suffer greatly from the contagious presence of decadent Mozarabic culture nor the preponderance of the great lords, be they of the church or the aristocracy. It continued to be a land of free men organized into small communities.

Thus it was in Castilian territory where a political sensibility of a popular type was initiated. This was opposed to León's, already heavily laden with lordly characteristics, and Galicia's which was flooded with them. The counts of Castile required the enthusiastic support of the inhabitants in their territory in order to hold their own against the kings and to defend themselves from the harsh Muslim attacks. The liberties of the Castilian peasants were not diminished but rather increased. The ancient, or blood, nobles were not changed into great lords but continued existing as rural knights. From the small property owners there emerged a new privileged social class, the villein knights. Some of the incipient urban nuclei received exemptions from taxes, excise and others, and services, while others were charged with lesser military obligations. Very soon, when the counts conceded immunity, i. e., when they exempted various of these small communities of freemen from the authority of juridical and fiscal agents of the country, there would spring up an embryo of autonomous municipal life in the district.

Municipality and villein knighthood, the two new juridical bodies born of the Castilian enthusiasm for novelty, were soon imitated in León. Thus there emerged from early times a free population concerned with their own destinies and attending to the public affairs of the Castilian-León plains. This population was organized into urban and rural *concejos*, more or less privileged and exempted, although always jealous of their own rights. In a word, they were a population which was obligated to discover for themselves a vision of political life day by day.

This was demonstrated by three distinguishable directions: From very early times, the popular masses in Castile-León tended to obtain first, decreases in their fiscal and military duties, second, extenuation of the monetary fines with which they were charged in cases of misdemeanors and finally, the assurance of their individual juridical liberties and the political liberties of the community. They made an effort to obtain the written recognition of the king of these exemptions, privileges and liberties in order to achieve the perpetual legal guarantee of their personal and

collective rights. When necessary, they defended the rights they had acquired at times through legal machinery and at times with a brusque and violent temperament. Occasionally, this temperament did not shy away from the shedding of blood, be it of the magnates or their officials, when the legal norms which protected their legal status were infringed upon. The embryos of the Castilian *fueros* of San Zadorín, Castrojeriz and Nave de Albura, the stipulations of the *fueros* of León, Villavicencio and Santa Cristina and the precepts of the *fueros* of Alfonso VI to Palenzuela, Sepúlveda, Nájera, Logroño and Miranda, along with many others granted by counts and kings to the newly formed councils of León and Castile during the tenth and eleventh-centuries, demonstrate the existence of a dual effort by Castilian-León freemen to obtain exemptions and liberties from the princes and to obtain written guarantees of such rights. The narrative which accompanies the *fueros* of San Zadorín and Castrojeriz gives testimony to the violence and daring with which the inhabitants defended their exemptions, liberties and freedom.

This political sensibility of the people in the new lands of León and Castile was naturally rudimentary and primitive and restricted to the surrounding zone. However, it was vigorous and enclosed the germs which were proven to be fertile after the restricted geographical frontiers of the rural boundaries of their municipalities had begun to overflow and when they had come to be included in the national interest.

As has been said, when the zone between the Duero and the Tagus was repopulated, thanks to the reconquest of Toledo in 1085, a series of large *concejos* grew up: Zamora, Salamanca, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Alba, Ledesma, Arévalo, Ávila, Cuéllar, Riaza, Segovia, Guadalajara, Hita, Alcalá, Oreja, Madrid, Escalona, Plasencia. All had an urban center that was more or less strong and fortified, and an extensive municipal area sprinkled with villages. The city and the land were populated by freemen, largely farm hands, shepherds and soldiers who, upon acquiring a horse, fell into the category of villein knights.

These new masses of small property owners spread out in the new, large *concejos* between the Duero and the Tagus, inherited the primitive and simplistic, but also sharp and zealous, political sensibility of the free population of Castile. They were adept at interpreting to their advantage the fact that the kings required their aid in the repopulation and defense of frontier Extremadura and so they obtained exemptions and liberties from them just as their grandfathers from the north of the Duero had got from the counts of Castile and the kings of León. Being conscious of their weakness with respect to the royal power, as were their ancestors, they followed their example in not giving way until receiving written recognition of their rights and liberties. They later defended them with enthusiasm and even passion.

Their love of self determination, their vehement coarseness and their taste for direct action, being the sons and grandsons of warriors, incited

them to commit many acts of violence when some magnate, such as Álvar Fáñez, some public official such as the *alguacil* (34) of Toledo, some group such as the Jews or the clergy, some neighboring *concejo* or any other political force of the kingdom incurred their wrath. In another chapter, I set down their tremendous vehemence. However, these free inhabitants of between the Duero and Tagus soon found themselves, as many times after, throughout the twelfth-century, faced with grave political problems having national transcendence and were obliged to go beyond the limits of local life to confront together the common danger and to save, as one body, the common interests. This repeated necessity of projecting themselves from their restricted range of view to beyond domestic problems, sharpened their political sensibility and opened it to new and general subjects of the common good of the entire kingdom.

When Alfonso VI died, in 1109, while north of the Duero Queen Urraca and her husband, the Battler of Aragón, Doña Teresa and Don Henry of Portugal and the high nobility and clergy, of Galicia-León, cruelly ruled the kingdom, the Almoravids, after the victory at Uclés, flung themselves furiously over the frontier lands and a few times even passed the central range to attack fortresses and cities beyond the mountains. In that critical hour, the *concejos* between the Duero and the Tagus saved the kingdom. They stood up and defended themselves and although orphaned from royal leadership, they resisted the new Saracen invasion on their own initiative, freewill and strength. Sometimes they would defend themselves from behind the walls and others by attacking the African jackals in their own dens. In other words, they were already guarding their homes and cities with courage and even heroism, they were already organizing powerful hosts of knights and foot soldiers who carried the war across the plain of La Mancha to the very heart of Andalusia.

The situation became critical again during the minority of Alfonso VIII when yet more prolonged civil strife broke out at the same time as a third African cloud darkened the sky with violence. When the Almohads attacked the frontier line, while two noble fractions, the Castros and the Laras, disputed the power, and the king of León was divided in governing the kingdom, the Castilian *concejos* of Extremadura, i. e., those between the Duero and the Tagus, faced the double danger and again saved Castile from domestic anarchy and the Saracen yoke. They guarded the Child King behind the walls of Ávila so that he would not fall into his uncle's hands nor into those of any of the various parties in battle. Above all else, the people of my beloved Ávila defended themselves as well as they could against the Almohads and even dared to attack them carrying the war to lands of Córdoba and Écija.

Meanwhile, from the tenth to the twelfth-centuries, the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracies had been obtaining such power that their political

(34) A functionary of the judicial administration named by the towns.

forces began to cast a shadow over royal authority. Moreover, when the kingdoms of León and Castile separated after the death of Alfonso VII in 1157, the two royalties were from then on less strong to confront the new Muslim danger represented by the Almohads, and the domestic threat of the nobility and clergy who had excessively prospered under kingly aid. The nobility and clergy had received lands and privileges from the princes. Once fortified in them they had arisen with strength against the crown when the African invasion threatened the very existence of Castilian-León Christianity. Royal favors and the contention of the Reconquest, impeding the king's acquisition of new lands and new incomes with which to replace those already granted, had emptied the royal treasury just when the monarchy needed new resources for the war against the Moors. And these things were necessary since they had to pay wages to noblemen to serve them in arms since they were exempt from serving in the army without salary or if they had not borrowed lands from the king. Likewise, they had to provide the upkeep of the *concejo* armies, usually only ordered to join in the campaign carrying three days' supply of bread.

In this tight situation, the kings had to seek out the support of the successors of those free property owners of primitive Castile and their brothers in León. Many of them had been victims of lordly deceit and had become farm laborers, i. e., agricultural workers for the nobles, or had to accept their patronage or submit to vassalage. But many were still masters of their own destiny. They lived in the old *concejo* towns to the north of the Duero and, as inhabitants of the new ones between the Duero and the Tagus, they enjoyed liberties which were only achieved beyond the Pyrenees some time later. These *concejos* were proven to be an effective military force and, furthermore, possessed intact economic powers capable of becoming a source of income to the State. The monarchs of Castile and León sought out the military and economic aid of these free communities. They were called to their tribunal courts where previously only the lay and ecclesiastical nobilities had met. When did they begin to attend such assemblies?

I have agreed with Manuel Fernández who feels they attended these tribunal courts very early, basing his opinion on the declaration of the king of León, Ferdinand II in 1170: «*Meo regno providens, bonorum hominum consilio pontificum, militum burguensium.*» Today I am not sure; that declaration was probably tampered with around 1227. In 1178 not only bishops and nobles but also the «*instituciones terre*» attended the tribunal court invoked by the same king. Does that sentence refer to the *concejos?* Perhaps. Today we know that in May 1187, Alfonso VIII of Castile called a great assembly in order to settle with the ambassador of Frederick I of Germany the betrothal of Prince Conrad to the Castilian infanta Berenguela. It was possibly attended by delegates from the villages and cities which were given as dowry to the princess: Grañón, Nájera, Cerezo, Collorigo, Haro, Pancorbo, Belorado, Burgos, Castrojeriz, Amaya,

Astudillo, Palenzuela, Carrión, Santander, Peñafiel. Representatives of the following cities almost surely attended this full court and signed the marriage contract: Toledo, Cuenca, Huete, Guadalajara, Hita, Talamanca, Uceda, Buitrago, Madrid, Escalona, Maqueda, Talavera, Plasencia, Trujillo, Ávila, Segovia, Arévalo, Medina, Olmedo, Coca, Portillo, Cuéllar, Pedraza, Fuentidueña, Sepúlveda, Ayllón, Maderuelo, San Esteban, Osma, Caracena, Atienza, Sigüenza, Medinaceli, Berlanga, Almazón, Soria, Ágreda, Ariza, Valladolid, Palencia, Logroño, Calahora, Arnedo, Tordesillas, Simancas, Torrelobatón, Montealegre, Fuentepura, Sahagún and Cea. Doubtless they also attended another extraordinary assembly called by Alfonso VIII in Carrión around St. John's Day that same year. At this meeting he knighted his cousin, Alfonso of León, who kissed his uncle's hand as a sign of vassalage, and also later, had his daughter sworn heiress —upon marrying her to the German prince.

The new king of León, Alfonso IX, faced with the difficulties of the beginning of his reign, granted in that same year of 1188 what we might call the Spanish Magna Carta, in order to affirm his authority, several years before that of England. This fact is unforgettable for Spain, yet it is almost forgotten; and hardly known in other countries. It was finalized in another full court in the presence of the nobility and clergy. This Magna Carta of León was furthermore directed towards people who had not experienced feudal structure, but rather a vassal-fief organization; people whose lay and clerical aristocracy had only obtained limited power; people who were set up in large free municipalities and therefore more liberal and democratic than John Lackland's.

The king of León began by swearing that he would respect the laws and customs of the country. Moreover, he swore to submit all complaints coming from any of his subjects to full court judgement. He promised not to make war or peace without the consultation of bishops and nobles and the good men of the *concejos,* through whose advice he was to rule the kingdom. He guaranteed their respect and that of all the properties of his monarchy's inhabitants. He ordered the lawsuits which might arise concerning private goods to be referred to ordinary judges, and conceded appeal to his person against the negligence of juridical authorities. Under grave penalty he forbade mutiny in his kingdom or that anyone dare to give out justice in his name or to damage others' goods He regulated the procedure for impeding the judges' abuses. He established the process to appeal their injustices before him. He obliged them to recompensate those who had been wronged by their sentences out of their own peculium and threatened to declare them treacherous or as traitors if a death resulted from their damage. He declared that nobles would lose their titles by not submitting to and obeying the previous citations and agreements. He protected the inviolability of the hearth, even to the point of removing guilt from those who committed homicide in defense or aid to their homes. He promised justice to those who would abandon their homes to escape his actions.

He forbade that those goods which provided income to the crown pass over to the church. And he swore the nobles, bishops and citizens to be faithful in their counsel and to maintain peace and justice in the kingdom.

Behind these laws we cannot perceive, as behind the English Magna Carta, the zeal of the two nobilities to safeguard their privileges and rights and to limit the authority of the sovereign. It is not difficult to discover in them the people's attempt to guarantee general peace and justice besides being against abuses, violence, arrogance and injustices of the powerful ones against the king. Although it also attempted to secure them before him by exacting the promise to respect the laws, by not hearing enraged accusations of the grandees, by not consenting to an income decrease in favor of the clergy and by governing the kingdom in accordance with the three classes or branches it was made up of. Therefore, it is not adventuresome to suppose that its composition responded to popular demands and was dictated by the inspiration of the people's political thought. Nor is it daring to see in them the vigorous and sharp sensibility of the people in public affairs. Their attention had gone beyond the particular and extended to the general; from local problems of their *concejos* to the general ones of the kingdom. Behind the Magna Carta of León lurked the same preoccupation that had inspired the inhabitants of the municipalities to concrete their liberties and rights into juridical norms. Since each of these communities alone was weak before royal power they had made an effort to obtain written guarantee of their exemptions by acquiring a *fuero*. From the same visual angle, general political problems of the monarchy were focused by the representatives when the kings summoned them to full court in order to obtain military and economic assistance from villages and towns represented by them. By following their traditional norm of conduct they were able to obtain legal statutes from the king which assured peace, justice and good government and which would guarantee them the use of their goods and the exercise of their rights and liberties. If we do not forget that a powerful and arrogant nobility and a proud and strong clergy thrived in the kingdom of León and dominated Galicia and Asturias, and also had great power in the land of León, we might easily understand what happened. The popular masses summoned together at the full court had been able to get an exact official declaration of state from young Alfonso IX, just when he had occupied the throne, that would protect them from the excess of the two aristocracies and from the partiality and negligence of royal justice, which was to a large extent personified by those very magnates and prelates, deputies of governors of the king in crown lands, or at least dependent on him.

The nobility and clergy were worried about other problems. Domestic peace, justice and the good government prejudiced them rather than favored the free play of their appetite for power and their ambitions for prosperity. For this reason, leaving aside the general interests of the monarchy and the people, the Cortes of Benavente of 1202 were able to obtain a detailed

regulation of kingly rights over the lands which the nobles held in name of the church, or in lands held by the clergy in name of the nobility, through one of the juridical formulas of the feudal-use structure. In the Cortes of León of 1208 prelates and clergymen were able to get the monarch to guarantee their privileges, exemptions, jurisdictions and rights. These recognitions and guarantees did indeed interest the two nobilities, clerical and lay. Both dedicated passion and enthusiasms to their upholding. These precepts completed the list of the constitutional statutes of the kingdom. But in the essential differences which separated the dispositions of 1188 and those of 1202 and 1208 the lasting distinction which was to set the people's political sensibility apart was already distinguishable. This was a tending toward the general interest, respect for the law, purity of justice, good government, egoistic zeal of the aristocracy and the high clergy, who coveted privileges more than liberties.

The peoples of Castile-León gave signs of this same vigorous and zealous political sensibility on three different occasions and the same avaricious and partial egoism showed up in the nobility of León and of Castile at the same time.

The 1215 Cortes of Burgos obliged Don Álvaro Núñez de Lara, tutor of Henry I, not to take away lands from the nobles, to respect their *fueros* (note how the aristocracy is concerned with their riches and power while the *concejos* once again try to assure themselves in the law), not to impose new tributes and not to make war on neighboring kingdoms.

Later, however, the Castilian communities discovered their own wisdom and good judgement in public affairs by giving the throne to the one whom history has called the Saint King. When Henry I died, his sister, Doña Berenguela, and his son, Don Ferdinand, sought out the aid of the large *concejos* between the Duero and Tagus against don Álvaro Núñez de Lara and many magnates. At first these villages and towns refused to receive them, but later met in Segovia to deal with the successional problem. Notice the audacity with which they closed their gates to the legitimate monarchs and then met to freely deliberate on who was to become their king. In Segovia they listened to the messengers of the queen, and referred to Valladolid. They were able to stipulate that Doña Berenguela would renounce her rights as firstborn to the crown. They wished to avoid the difficulties that the government of a woman would cause throughout the kingdom. They proclaimed Don Ferdinand king and called out the militia to guard the sovereign and aid him to submit the enemy nobles and keep his father who ruled in León at bay.

The *concejo* militias of Ávila and Segovia conquered and captured Don Álvaro Núñez de Lara, who, during the tutelage of Henry I, had tyrannized the kingdom. With great political sense they convinced the queen and her nephew not to kill him since his death would have spotted from the very beginning an auspicious reign and brought together an enemy party to the young king. He was simply exiled.

Thirteen years after the death of Alfonso IX of León the throne was left to his daughters, Doña Sancha and Doña Dulce, to the consternation of his son, already king of Castile. The people of León also demonstrated their great political sensibility by ignoring the unjust decision of the dead king who would have the kingdoms separated. Without hesitating, the majority of the villages and the towns opened their doors to the future Saint King, this time with the assistance of the bishops, they helped him overcome the resistance of the nobles, who naturally confided in encountering a propitious atmosphere for their ambitions to govern under the two princesses.

The people of León and Castile did not, therefore, begin to arise and intervene decisively in political life in the days of Sancho IV, as the essayist-turned-historian would have it. Although it happened after Castile, the popular movements also arrived to lordly Galicia. The bishops of Lugo, Tuy and Orense had to give way to the claims of the people.

Politics at once gave way to the use of arms. For half a century, León and Castile lived through the tense days of the conquest of the Guadalquivir and Segura River Valleys. Both kingdoms were no more than an immense encampment and together they made a gigantic leap to the South. They fought unceasingly and with success. All of Baetic Andalusia and Murcia were incorporated into Spanish Christianity. There, as also in La Mancha and Extremadura, occupied a little earlier, there were enormous stretches of land to be divided up, large cities to be populated and a multitude of posts and canonries to be acquired. The booty was unending in fields of wheat, vineyards, olive groves, pasture lands, small farms, granges, houses, palaces, fortresses, lordships, gaolerships, holdings, *alguacil's* offices, ecclesiastical benefices and all gender of positions and goods. The banquet crumbs even fall to the erudite and studious. Master Jacob, associated with the Laws, received a large orchard in Seville in 1274.

All the ambitions of the nobility, clergy and people could be satisfied. They were years of fattened cows in which the gullet symbolized by the human mass extending from Galicia and Navarre and from the Bay of Biscay to the Tagus could unceasingly satiate its appetite. However, political disputes were not forgotten. The only idea given any thought was the planification and realization of the great national adventure. The only sight for the eyes to gaze upon was the shining countryside, cities and towns won from the Moors. The only speeches for which the tongue was used was to ask for favors or lands and the only journey the legs would make was to emigrate to the luminous and rich South.

But soon, when the reign of the Learned King had hardly been initiated, the years of lean cows arrived. The silenced Hispanic Moors rose against the new sovereign. The noble dragon became hungry for new spoils and set its sights again on disturbing the kingdom. A new African jackal crossed the Straits and dug its bloody paws into the Andalusian frontier. Flemish and Walloon merchants invaded Castile and León; those from

Genoa and Lucca lay their roots in Andalusia and together threatened the incipient industrial and mercantile industries of the country with crisis. The suction cup of Jewish usury drew from Castilian-León riches with 100 % loans. The ambitious king needed immense sums for his mad adventure of obtaining the imperial crown. In order to appease his neighbors he ceded rights over the Algarve and Gascogne. Gold, silver, provisions, minerals, cattle, wool and many other riches escaped through the ports in foreign vessels. The price of goods and day labor increased, and the money was devaluated. Uneasiness and intranquility finally propagated and caused a civil war, always unfruitful and the worst evil of all evils.

After the advantageous and euphoric period came a shadowy and restless period. After the time spent on national enterprises came the time spent on proud ambitions, to the kingdom's disadvantage. After the popular and triumphant king came the wise but weak and failure-prone prince. After the satiety of riches and positions, and the abundance of bread and work came the exhaustion of the abundance of favors, scarcity and hunger. The thousand tongues of politics began to shout in an ear-splitting din. The warring and colonizing hiatus had ended and in the restless decades of civil strife the social forces of the kingdom had to confront the most dramatic problems of public life.

In this new historical stage the nobility showed itself to be strong, dynamic and domineering. Their riches and their lordship had doubled and even tripled by the occupation of La Mancha, Extremadura, Murcia and the Guadalquivir Valley. Therefore, their force and power and increased with respect to the political incapacibility of pure intellectuality represented by Alfonso X. The lordships were soon increased again during the critical years of the battles of Sancho the Brave, or the Passionate, first with his father and later with the sons of his brother, the fistborn, the infantes of La Cerda. Finally they saw them prosper during the anguished times of the anarchical minorities of Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI. Throughout this time of unrest the aristocracy felt secure and strong, but showed itself to be clumsy in the tempestuous sea of politics. Indeed, it felt so secure and strong that once it had risen above the throne, it attempted to dominate the king in order to exploit the kingdom. But it was incapable of seeing clearly in the shadows of the storm and failed to guide its vessel to a sheltered port. The nobles were adept at contriving conspiracies and intrigues and at preparing confederacies and alliances. They could collect abusive taxes and duties. They could steal from the multitude of merchants going to the fairs. They were able to confront the armed retinue of the king to their own advantage, sack and burn kingly lands, those of royal vassals or of royal villages and towns. They knew how to make demands upon and compel the king. They could be treacherous and go over to the Moor's side and unscrupulously make agreements with foreign monarchs. They could alternate between haughtness and humility when their lives depended on it, but they could also die with dignity if escape

was not possible. Yet, they did not know how to legally organize themselves and did not take care to form a legal structure in which to confirm their power and guarantee their achieved privileges. They practiced an offensive and reckless policy. They felt so strong and secure they did not fear the turning of the wheel of fate and were not able to discern the dangers that an absence of laws limiting royal power could bring about when, once the storm of civil strife cleared, the royal sun would shine. Always hunting for gifts and family favors and not for their own class liberties, and always envious of another's prosperity and soon to become joyful over the fall of one who had risen too far, they did not take advantage of the critical hours to regulate the rights and privileges of all concerned. For this reason they eventually had to accept the injustices and cruelties of the princes against those of them who had not controlled their pride and haughtiness in the face of royal power and caprice.

The nobility and the Military Orders, who were soon to be counted among them, quickly added to the lands and lordships attained south of the Tagus with the reconquest and the dividing-up of La Mancha, Extremadura, Murcia and Andalusia, the lordships and lands taken from the kings of Castile and the cash salaries, more bountiful every day, assigned to their members by the princes based on the most secure sources of income of the royal treasury. The tremendous increase of the noble's riches and power unbalanced the power in favor of the lay aristocracy. Even the high clergy had to support their arrogance. The church did not weigh as before in the balance of political forces of the kingdom. Even bishoprics and monasteries previousluy richer and more powerful than the majority of the noblemen, now had to seek out the protection of high magnates, submitting themselves to their provisions or had to render to them some of their best lands or more important lordships. In this way an institution, which would be transplanted to America in a transformed state, was born. Moreover, the Church had a glass roof. Because of its nature of a national and religious fight, the Reconquest had given birth to a religious hypersensitivity in the Christian kingdom. This was translated in terms of a closed unity of faith, for there was hardly any heresy in medieval Spain, a reverential submission to the Papacy, no other people were more resigned to Rome than Spanish Christianity; and in an unquavering respect for the institutions of the clergy if not to their persons. For centuries in Spain there was barely any literary criticism of the clergy, alongside a quite abundant criticism in other contemporary European countries. But the militant condition of the Church was not enough of a purifier to clean the slackness and corruption of clergy and religious during a time when beyond the Pyrenees the winds of critics already blew. The clergy feigned prudence in public. Usually, they did not cross the middle of the road of princely disputes with the aristocracy, though they were not always absent from them. In the majority of the cases, they demonstrated a subtle and cautious ability for maneuvering throughout civil strife.

And the people? What were the people like during the years of crisis that followed the warrior and euphoric hiatus of the conquests and the allotments? The people appeared arrogant and, at times, generous while other times they were tenaciously jealous. And they always showed an extreme sensibility; a penetrating glance into the insides of public affairs and a wise vision of their political interests.

The *concejos* had to suffer often during the times of civil wars and unrest. Most of them were lacking the strength to resist the armed retinues of the king and richmen. Throughout the struggles between the various factions whatever resistance to taking up the standard of one of the warring parties, whatever negative response to the pressing demands for provisions made by one of the sides or any gesture of weakness towards one or the other battling factions could cause the enemy band, faction or retinue who considered themselves omitted, to occasionally make the *concejo* itself a center of unrest because of their bad behavior. They could not even hope for better luck if it was the kings himself who was the offended one because of resisting his soldiers or the wronged one because of a favor done to the enemy soldiers. For this reason, and indubitably for a good reason, the villages and towns of Castile quarrelled over the «many infringements of privileges and the many dangers and many forces and imprisonments and indignations without being heard and dishonors and many other uncountable things that were against justice and against *fuero* and of great harm to all...», they received from Alfonso X and Sancho IV.

But if each separate *concejo* was weak alone to confront the royal or noble host in battle, united those from a region or kingdom made up a fearful force for whatever of the battling factions. Such a force could inspire respect and assure peace and liberty for the inhabitants of the allied *concejos* allowing them the pacific exercise of their *fueros* and exemption. For some time, a few neighboring *concejos* had agreed upon brotherly pacts in order to solve their lawsuits and to defend themselves from the aggressions of third parties. Many years ago I published the letter of fraternity *(hermandad)* (35) that Plasencia and Escalona had subscribed to at the beginning of the thirteenh-century. Later Suárez brought to light those pacts signed by Escalona with Ávila and with Segovia. During those days of unrest and civil war such old practices served as a model to the *concejos* for drawing up unions and alliances to safeguard them from threatening dangers. So, in 1269 those *concejos* from the lands of Cuenca signed a pact of fraternity with those from the Cantabrian coast. In 1282 four *hermandades* were drawn up under the initiative of Don Sancho, still a prince at the time. In 1295, the *concejos* of Castile, León,

(35) Popular bands of Medieval Castile known as *hermandades* or brotherhoods, formed to watch over municipal interests and help preserve peace. At a later date they were to fall under the influence of the local magnates. At the Cortes of Madrigal in 1476, the Catholic Kings attempted to reorganize them and place them under a royal Junta of the *Hermandad.*

Galicia and Murcia drew up fraternity pacts and in 1298 a common league of all the *hermandades* of the kingdom was concluded.

We can judge the force of these *hermandades* if we remember that forty-six towns and villages attached their seals to the parchment where the pact subscribed to by the municipalities of Castile was copied. We can get an idea of the spirit and rugged provisions which the *concejo* members of the *hermandad* agreed upon in defense of their *fueros* and liberties. They began by guaranteeing the king the distinctive rights of his sovereignty, but in the next line they agreed to defend their liberties and privileges against their possible breaking by the prince or his officials. Together they were to ask the sovereign for compensation for any excess committed against one of them and together they were to oppose the received offense, if the monarch did not rectify it to the satisfaction of all. United they were to resist the offenses, challenges, threats, violent acts or insults of the *ricoshombres, infanzones,* knights against any member of the *hermandad.* They wrote: «If any mayor, magistrate or any other man kills anyone from the *Hermandad* by commission or sent by our lord the King... without being heard or judged in accordance with our *fuero,* the *hermandad* will kill him for it.» So far as the *concejo* was concerned, if an inhabitant was to die by presenting himself before it with royal letters soliciting land taxes, requirements, loans, and tithes or for any other outrageous action, all the *hermandad* was responsible for his death. The united councils were to combat against whomsoever agreed to a royal order without the agreement of the *hermandad.* Two arbitrators from each *hermandad* had to meet in Burgos every year on Trinity Sunday to discuss the affairs of the *hermandad.*

Such rugged and energetic agreements! Behind them one sees the coming political maturity of the people. With clear intuition they saw the profit to be gained from union in those troubled times of factionalism and unrest. And with Castilian haughtiness and sharpness the clear consciousness the people had of their own strength was uncovered. It is common to assert simplistically that in their fight against the nobles, the kings were supported by the loyalty of the common people. This is not the case, for this thesis only half-way reflects the truth. The reality was different, distinct. Caught between the two vital strengths of Castile, the sovereigns had to solicit the help of the people against the aristocracy, but this popular assistance was dearly paid for. They had to accept the intervention of the *concejos* in the government of the kingdom. But with this event a decisive twist came about, although it was only transitory, in the constitutional history of Castile and gave to the masses of Castile the opportunity of sharpening their ideas concerning the affairs of the common good.

When the royalty realized it was obliged to throw itself into the arms of the people in order to defend itself from the aristocracy, the cortes were naturally converted into the arbitrators of the monarchy's fate. The cortes had been born in the days when kings summoned the arbitrators

of the towns and villages of their kingdoms to full meetings of their courts. It had called upon them simply because it needed their aid to put its bankrupted estate back together. According to its constitutional history of León and Castile the monarchs could not demand new taxes. During a time of stringency Alfonso VI had asked for and obtained two *sueldos* (36) or sols for each farm from the *infanzones* and villeins of León to conduct the war against the Almoravids in 1091. Before 1141 Alfonso VIII had also procured that the inhabitants of León at times consent to pay him extraordinary taxes. At an uncertain time during the second half of the twelfth-century another king of León called together the representatives of the nobility, clergy and people receiving from them the offer to provide him with cash in exchange for not coining money capriciously as he was used to doing. The fabrication of hard cash by the king under a different law was equivalent to the devaluation of some monetary unit of today and provoked the same economic upheavals. The nation therefore did well by casting off the crisis which all inflation brings about by means of paying the king a specific amount of money. But when this agreement was signed between the monarch and the three estates of the kingdom at an extraordinary full meeting of the court, an institution singled out for the most elevated uses was born at the same time: the cortes and a fiscal system of incalculable historical consequences, i. e., taxes voted for by the representatives of the taxpayers.

With the birth of the cortes under these circumstances, certainly earlier than 1188 (in 1202 when the king's agreement not to coin money was renovated, it was said that it had *always* been done so), it cannot be surprising that the people reached their maximum intervention in the public life of León and Castile. Precisely because of the pressing need in which the royalty found itself of fiscal aid from the villages and towns of the kingdom, the cortes were converted into the medular institution of free *concejos* came to them. The other political forces of the nation were confronted at the cortes, and in exchange for their help in financing the Crown, they were able to assure the predominance of democracy in the state organization.

Because of the original nature of the cortes and the enforced benevolent attitude toward them by the royalty when in difficult straits, it is clear that the constitutional principle was wholly represented, and was already old by that time, so that no new taxes could be imposed without a previous voting on the *servico* by the *representatives* of the *concejo*. These *representatives* generously succored the Crown, but, not trusting in the strict and legitimate use of the resources that they time and again granted through great sacrifice, they were adept at finding advantage in the straits and crisis of royal power and forced the sovereign, or his regents and tutors to swear that they would use the same given for the ends that had been petitioned

(36) An ancient Castilian coin of varying value.

in cortes, that they would not collect greater sums than those that had been approved by the towns and villages, and that they would only collect during the years set aside for that purpose.

In order to assure the punctual compliance of these agreements the cortes asked for the creation of a legal ordinance for the vigilance of the very collecting of the *servicos* vote. Beginning in 1286 they received the promise that the collecting of the ceded resources would not be confided in Jews, Moors, noblemen, religious, mayor or officials who could abusively collect amounts different from those agreed upon. They were promised that the collectors would be settled and incorruptible inhabitants of the *concejos*. The Cortes of Carrión in 1317, and those of Valladolid in 1322 stipulated that the collecting not be confided to isolated individuals but rather to groups of two or more persons, surely for reciprocal vigilance, and that the collectors justify their accounts on determined dates.

The decisive fiscal aid of the cortes to the royalty added to their political and military help, allowed the Crown to salvage the acute crisis through which it passed during the last decades of the thirteenth-century and the first decades of the fourteenth, by obliging the royal power to tolerate the intervention of the cortes in national political life. This facilitated the conversion of the Castilian-León monarchy, for more than half a century, into a parliamentary monarchy with democratic characteristics.

The popular branch was, during these decades, the decisive factor in the play of political forces of the cortes and was made up of hundreds of laborers and tradesmen freely elected as *procuradores* by the towns and villages they represented and paid by them with the «expense aid» necessary so as not to fall into kingly bribes.

The cortes did not only vote the taxes and take measures for their honest and legal collection and punctual use, but also came to share the legislative power with the king.

The dispositions of the cortes of 1297, 1299, 1301 and 1307 seem to be the fruits of the coming together of the king and the cortes. In the cortes of 1305 Ferdinand IV promised not to revoke any law without previous agreement of these national congresses.

The cortes sketched out the norms and voted monetary resources but were not permanently in session. Their meetings did not last long and were not even convoked yearly. If the kings broke the norms agreed upon in the cortes, or badly used the resources granted them, only the cortes could legally protest such transgressions at a new meeting. In order to avoid these abuses of the royalty it was necessary that the cortes had some means of intervention in the organisms of the executive power, since from this position alone they could watch over the actions of the king or royal officials. For these purposes the Cortes of Guadalajara in 1297 decided to form part of the royal council with twelve citizens elected from the *procuradores* of the councils who were to continually dwell near the king's

person, assist the regents of Ferdinand IV in the government, watch over the tax collecting and use of the tributes and take care to orchestrate royal decrees with the interests of the nation. The Cortes of Palencia of 1513 agreed that four bishops and 16 knights and citizens would join the royal council and that Alfonso XI's tutors would take no measures without their previous consent. The Burgos Cortes of 1315 sent six nobles and six citizens to the royal council.

The judicial power corresponded to the king, but the Castilian people understood the danger that the encroaching use of such a power would have on the kingdom. For this reason, they did not only carefully stand guard over the organization and activity of the court of justice, but also attempted to confirm and widen traditional juridical guarantees which would safeguard the liberty and property of the citizenry, and also tried to make respect toward the juridical norm triumph over the principle of the judges' free will. The Valladolid Cortes of 1295 got Ferdinand IV to promise that no one would be condemned to death nor kept from his goods without being judged and that all would be judged according to the laws and *fueros* and by the judges in the place of the crime. Furthermore, the Cortes attempted to assure the free election of the judges to the communities or *concejos* and to take to the king's court of justice the mayors elected by the kingdom's *concejos* or communities. The Cortes of Zamora of 1274 were able to receive a promise that nine mayors designated by the municipalities of Castile, eight from León and six from Extremadura be named to the king's court of Justice.

The 1299 Valladolid Cortes achieved the firm confirmation of the trial guarantees of 1295. The Cortes of Medina del Campo of 1305 obtained respect for their municipal *fueros*, the promise that lordships or tributes would not be conceded over villages or hamlets, and the repeal of royal letters dictated to their prejudice. The Valladolid Cortes of 1307 got the royalty to promise not to appoint judges, mayors or *alguaciles* in the *concejos* without asking their permission, and that knights, from whom they might expect outrages not be named to such posts, but only people from the villages and towns. The Carrión Cortes of 1317 obtained the limitaton of payment of the ancient war tax and the devolution of sums collected without rights.

Carrying their audacity to the limits of incredibility, the 1295 Cortes of Valladolid demanded that the regents of Ferdinand IV render account of the use given to the sums voted by Sancho IV. The 1317 Cortes of Carrión examined the amounts of the tutors of Alfonso XI, and the 1319 Cortes of Madrid pointed out abuses by examining the treasury accounting. And some even dared to intervene in the royal expenses and solicited the king not to invest more than 250 *maravedís* daily in masses, not to put up strangers and to try and moderate the appetites of his retinue.

But the triumph of democracy in Castile and the sliding of the Castilian monarchy toward a parliamentary structure were only precocious blossoms.

When Alfonso VI reached the throne he reactivated the traditional religious, national and security policies employed by many of his ancestors. He resisted the African attacks, had a victory at Salado and tried to dominate the Straits. This policy conquered the popular enthusiasm by and of itself and made the defensive resources of the people be numbed. With a strong hand he was able to reestablish domestic peace in which the nervous organs tended to become paralyzed; the organs that shared the stimuli and incitement of the masses to intervene in public life.

The Castilian people had lunched themselves forward on the great adventure of political action and of intervention in the government of the kingdom giving way to two pressing door-calls: The urgent incitement of the royalty, moved by the anguished necessity of seeking out allies to be able to elude the ferocious jaw-snapping of the wolves of the aristocracy, and to search out the remedy for the dangers and damages that they suffered and faced in the civil strife when they saw their bread burned, their vineyards and oak forests cut down, their flocks stolen, their hamlets assaulted and their womenfolk raped. When Alfonso XI was able to restore peace to Castile both huge door knockers left off ringing in the ears of the inhabitants of villages and towns. The king, feeling secure, stopped asking for the assistance of his old ally and even turned his sword on him because he had charged too high for his aid. Although less dangerous than the aristocracy's help, their aid was frequently turned into tutelage, and royal power has never enjoyed accepting any restraint and had only tolerated it when it realized its impotence to break the chain. Moreover, with the country pacified, the people did not feel put out by the necessity to defend themselves which had been the stimulus to stand up for themselves and associate with the prince in the management of public affairs.

Alfonso XI attacked municipal autonomy in its foundation and primitive democratic organization. He forbade popular meetings of the open *concejo* under the pretext that they gave rise to banditry and disturbances. He concentrated the government of villages and towns into a reduced group of knights and citizens, to which he at times added, in exceptional cases, some tradesmen. In many municipalities he reserved for himself or his messengers the right of naming the *regidores* who were to make up the city government and that of the authorities and functionaries of the councils. He intervened in the municipal life through royal officials. Moreover, he gave in to the «Ordinance of Alcalá» over and above the local *fueros*.

At times the towns and villages resisted this centralizing policy of Alfonso XI. Torres Fontes has just studied the struggle of Murcia against the policy. In Ávila it must have motivated grave disturbances since I cannot come up with another reason for the king having condemned them with such strong language. Furthermore, I believe that the same resistance may be found in other *concejos* when the subject is exhaustively studied. Nevertheless, the resoluteness of the king later brought about a radical reform.

But the final decades of the reign of Alfonso XI were only a truce in the bitter struggle which had been going on since the days of the Learned King between royalty and nobility, that is, feudal structure and a new despotism, the past and future of Europe. And since immediately after Peter I had assumed the throne of Castile the old fight was renewed with more impetus than ever, and the Castilian people again heard the same two-sided call for the necessity of helping the monarch and the need for seeking their own safety. And how ear-splitting it sounded!

The struggle became one of life or death. The royalty was not now represented by a hesitating intellectual, nor an impassioned person with a bit of rebellion at the beginning of his reign, nor a prudent though weak woman, nor an inexperienced and impressionable lad. The crown of Castile rested on the raving temples of Peter the Cruel. The new king did not adopt a defensive, timid policy; nor did he ever try to negotiate and buy submission with favors. He was also adept and eagerly obtaining large sums from the cortes without begging for them. He therefore asked the people for more men and lances than tributes. The prince was a monster and yet the popular masses aided him with enthusiasm. It would be a difficult task to explain this zealous and vehement aid to the blood-thirsty king if we had not the foreknowledge of the mute rage of he good men from the kingdom's towns and villages at the misdeeds of the Castilians' Don Juans. I refer here not to the medieval predecessors of the Burlador of Seville, rather to the infante Juan, Don Juan the One-Eyed, Don Juan Manuel and Don Juan Núñez de Lara. These men, under the cover of their fights with the royalty, had upset Castile for many decades by thieving, burning, the felling of trees and violence all to the disadvantage of laborers, tradesmen and merchants. Don Pedro killed and killed and killed; often with his own hands which were spotted with the blood of kinsmen, relations and even step-brothers. But the red blood spilt by him was the blood of nobles, of the sons of those insolent magnates who for half a century had devastated the fields of the Castilian *concejos* and, moreover, had lined their pockets with their money, the very money they had granted the king under great sacrifices so that the kings could buy off the provisional submission of the rebels. The Castilian people looked on indifferently as one hateful noble head after another fell. Furthermore, the steady stream of blood fanned rather than extinguished the flames of those who, although the grandchildren of villeins, were also the descendants of warriors. For this reason the popular Castilian masses served Peter with fury and even with heroism.

But the monster's crimes finally brought about his fall and the people's. In Montiel the royal fratricide elevated the aristocracy over the throne. The bastard dynasty submitted itself to the caprices of the nobility and ruled according to its wish. The profitable favors doubled its strength and arrogance. However, neither battle nor triumph had sharpened its political sensibility and it continued just as clumsy and blind as always. It was

satisfied with becoming rich, increasing its lands, incomes, lordships and posts. It was satisfied with dominating the king to exploit the kingdom once it had risen above the throne. Among their leaders there was more than one literary talent; there was no political talent. As before, they did not even attempt to organize themselves. They did not feel any necessity to get the Crown to cede them juridical norms to assure their power in the State and make it lasting. Quite the contrary, they contemptuously left the cortes and allowed the law-makers to deal with the stipulation of rights. They took no care in legally guarding over the action which we today would call the executive power by intervening in its workings. Little by little the nobility was replaced in the royal council by prelates and jurists. The chancery appeared as an organ of justice but was handed over to the technicians of laws, not to the aristocracy. By withdrawing from the cortes the aristocracy lost all contact with public finance.

With their incomes, lordships, towns and de facto supremacy over some kings, the nobles thought their power to be guaranteed forever. They began to commit all gender of injustices and outrages against the king and the people. But since they were not careful to acquire juridical orders to secure their rights and intervention in the government of the State leaving the jurists, lawyers and law-makers be, although for a time they were the strongest in the kingdom, power legally escaped from their hands quite rapidly. So, when alongside the king there appeared a man of the temperament and political talent of don Álvaro de Luna, or when there appeared monarchs like Isabel and Ferdinand, the former making the crown temporarily the strongest and the latter making it so permanently, the nobility, lacking all legal basis, rapidly fell from the heights of its short-lived dominance over the nation, which was based on its influence over the prince, to a stunted position of mendicant courtliness before an omnipotent monarch.

And the people? Did they continue to exert any influence on public life during the reigns of the Trastamaras? Did they still show that same sharp political sensibility, the same ability to maneuver and the same hardened energy they had up till then? Two mirrors still show us their gestures and uncover their thoughts for us: Their intervention in the cortes meetings and their ramblings over the highroads of their towns and villages.

The days of Alfonso XI's minority were long gone. In those days «in some of the villages the working people would arise with the same voice to kill those who oppressed them. They took and destroyed all their belongings». With the triumph of noble oligarchy in the days of the Bastard, the people had to be prudent. They were forced to be so because of certain events such as the one told by Chancellor Ayala. Henry II had given several Castilian villages to his brother-in-law, Philip de Castro: «And when he was in these, his lands, he demanded that the village Paredes de Nava give him a certain amount of something. They could not settle with him so he went there to take some as prisoners and to teach some others

a lesson. The people of the village met him on the way, fought with him, and killed him.» Nevertheless, Don Pedro Fernández de Velasco first and next the king both punished Paredes with great cruelty. Other hamlets and villages were ill treated along with Paredes by the conquering noblemen. The *concejos* had to change from arrogant direct action to a humiliating defensive position. The chancellor Ayala himself, in his *Rimado de Palacio* describes a scene from the daily life of the king of Castile thus:

488
Saliendo de la camara, esta luego vn concejo,
Diziendo a grandes bozes: «Senor, si non pones consejo,
Que nos rroban del todo e non dexan pellejo,
La tierra que guardaba estaua como lumbre de espejo.

489
Rroban nos los ganados e los silos de pan,
E dizen clara mente que si el pueblo non les dan,
que biuos con los fijos asy nos comeran,
E que quemaran las casas con fuego dalquitran.

490
Anda el rrey en esto en derredor, callando;
Paresce que es vn toro que andan garrochando (37).

But in the streets of their villages and towns the people changed the lethargic silence of defeat to the high pitch of battle in two decades' time. After the victory of the rich and noble faction at Montiel (1369) the popular masses had to undergo the consequences of their defeat. However, in June of 1391 the demagogic sermons of the Archdeacon of Écija, Fernán Martínez, launched the vulgar people of Seville to attack the Jewish quarter. Within a few weeks the murders of Seville provoked similar actions throughout Andalusia and Castile. The Castilian people at times would witness the old multisided battle of the aristocracy and royalty without taking action, and at other times would passionately become involved in the local fights and struggles. For one century they contended, at times violently, against Jews and *conversos* (38).

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(37) When leaving the chamber you see a man of the council
With great shouts proclaiming: «Sir if thou dost not give any counsel
From us they'll rob all and leave our skins with nary an ounce full
The land he protected was as light, mirror-reflected and dull.
They steal our flocks and graneries for bread
And openly say that if the people let them not go ahead
«alive and with your children» we'll be eaten 'till dead
And have our homes burned with pitch fire of dread.»
The king avoids noticing this and is silent
It seems he's a bull who's been picked and is quiet.

(38) Jewish converts to Christianity.

When the Reconquest had become stagnant, the warring adventure paralyzed and the southern advance halted, there was no way of expecting, not out of the blessed enchantment of leisure, not out of the powerful handle of fortune, that the Castilians had many times received riches and well-being after conquering the Moors with their lances. The urban masses, therefore, attempted to open the way towards riches and well-being by means of the liberal professions, commerce and industry. In this attempt they soon tripped over the Jews who had been practicing some of these activities for centuries, some of whom had moreover accepted Christianity, out of good or bad faith, in order to escape persecution. They were used to seeing the magnates solve their problems with the sword and at times obliged to take up arms to defend their towns from the ambitions of the grandees. They were the grandsons of warriors who had fought against the Moors on more than one occasion and, from their multifaceted inheritance, their character as anything but soft and they were not at all frightened by the sight of blood or death. The sons of the Castilian people were less accustomed to the civil competition of the professions or industries of peace than to solving their problems with blows of the sword and brute force. Therefore, they tried to unplug the paths leading to riches and well-being with violence. In the fifteenth-century the popular masses of Castile dedicated a large part of their time to a violent struggle with the Jews and the «new Christians» in the streets of Castilian towns and villages which resulted in expulsion for the former and in the persecution of the Inquisition for the latter.

On the other hand, the Castilian people bared themselves as less sharp and wise, less firm and clever in the cortes than during the previous stage. John I swore respect for the assembly which was still the political axis of the kingdom. He was obliged to ask for the aid of the cortes during the difficult times in which he lived, since after the long and hard war he saw the defeat of his attempt to gird the Crown of Portugal at Aljubarrota and then had to defend his Castilian crown against the daughters of Peter the Cruel, married into the Lancaster family and supported by Portugal.

The knowledge of his branch's illegitimacy and other pressing matters made John I a model of parliamentary and constitutional kings. Royal dignity and the zeal of the cortes for public rights and interests were at the same level during his reign.

But soon the nature of the cortes of Castile were the reverse of the days of the reigns of the legitimate grandsons of Saint Ferdinand. Its composition had varied. Instead of hundreds of representatives from hundreds of communities there were dozens of *procuradores* from a reduced group of *concejos*. These *procuradores* were no longer mostly workers and tradesmen. Knights and educated people now predominated. There is interest in etiquette, chambers near the king's rooms are requested, whenever the cortes met Toledo and Burgos would argue over the first

positions as would the representatives of other *concejos* in order to attain a preferential position. Finally, the cortes were reduced to the *procuradores* of sixteen cities and villages, often elected by decree of the monarch.

The cortes did not share the law-making process with the king. Royal legislation, which before was supplementary legislation which developed the legal principles laid down in cortes, now became the fundamental legislation of the kingdom. There were no more representatives from the communities on the royal council. The chancery made the former group of mayors of the court impotent or cancelled it. Formerly it was partly made up of elected judges from the towns. The sovereigns never consulted the cortes about matters of international politics and were always able to bend the *procuradores* to their will in questions of national politics. The kings even imposed new taxes without the consent of the cortes. In 1420 John II unscrupulously collected six *monedas foreras* (39) and was not true to his word in the use of other *servicios* conceded to him for specific uses. Henry IV is not scrupulous either in the use of the amounts voted him by the cortes. The Cortes of Ocaña of 1469 reproached him for the fact that the tributes reached the hands of his favorites. The Catholic Queen herself, following the conduct of her father and brother, from 1480 to 1498 collected great amounts without permission of the cortes although she later repented of it in her will.

What had happened? By what magical arts had the change come about? Had the sensibility of the masses changed? Had their leadership been assumed by people having ideas and interests which blinded them to the new directions taken by royal politics or that paralyzed their stimulus to take action? Was the change to be charged to the insensibility or the incapability of the *procuradores?* Was it because of deeper causes which were removed from the personal conduct of the representatives of the people in the cortes?

The cortes often demonstrated an acute sensibility to clearly see the damage many of the aforementioned novelties caused for the interests of the people and to their own prerogatives. They often complained of the lawless conduct of the royalty.

In 1379 and in 1425 they requested that royal legislation be respected and complied with and that the laws agreed upon in the cortes only be cancelled by them. Others protested that the kings would give assent to their requests but would not comply with them later. The 1432 Zamora Cortes lamented the fact that the monarch had ordered laws included in the Cortes' register which had been voted against the *procuradores.*

They protested against the increase in taxes and, in 1447 even stated that they would have to emigrate if the taxes continued to increase. They bartered for and got reductions on the amounts demanded by the king.

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(39) Tribute paid every seven years to the king in recognition of his royal lordship.

The 1406 Toledo Cortes decreased the requested one hundred million to forty-five million. They complained to the monarchs if they let their incomes decrease (Salamanca in 1465) or if they granted *hidalguía* (Zamora in 1432) because their income would diminish if the number of people with exemptions because of their status increased and, in order to compensate the loss of crown income, they were forced to increase their tax demands. The cortes rose up if the kings collected taxes without their consent as in Valladolid in 1420, and obliged them to cancel their orders. Moreover, they were sure to give warning (Ocaña, 1469) when the amounts voted upon were used for different ends than those proposed by the king to the *procuradores.*

Therefore, the representatives of the towns and villages in the cortes always clearly perceived the damage that the new political attitud of the Crown signified for the rights, liberties, freedoms and interests of the people. However, in order to salvage themselves it was not enough to raise innocuous, formalized, vague and respectful protests before the free-handed attitude of the king. They would have needed audacity, maneuverability, energy and tenacity, all qualities that were lacking in them. It was easy for the cortes to navigate with the wind at their backs while they had the kings submitted or docile; they lacked the bravery and ability to sail in such rough waters.

They came to commit tremendous tactical errors. They asked the kings to reinforce the replies to the cortes' requests with royal decrees; in other words that royal laws give the force of law to the laws of the king and the people. They naively asked the jurists of the royal council, delegated for such cases by the princes, to fix the contradictions in the legal texts by which they admitted themselves to be incapable of legislating. Under the pretext that the expenses brought about by the trip to the cortes made by the *procuradores* were excessive, many *concejos* stopped sending their representatives to them. In order to save such expenses other *concejos* asked the king for «expense aids», and received them, for their representatives. By this fact they tied them to royal service giving rise to the great bribery of members of the cortes. The *concejos* permitted the sovereigns to intervene in the election of the *procuradores* by means of the *corregidores* of the towns. They even obeyed the royal letters which ordered them to send determined persons to the assembly. The *regidores* bought and sold votes in the election of their representatives and even some of them sold their commission. Some of the cortes, for example Palencia in 1431, requested that the election of hamlet dwellers or people of «small means» as *procuradores* be prohibited. The 1432 Cortes of Zamora which had raised so many protests against royalty, complained that hamlet dwellers had been admitted to their session. Both agreements reveal the fact that the representatives of the towns had stopped truly representing the people and were representing the voice of a directing or patriarchal minority of the urban masses.

How can we explain the transcendental change in the organization of the cortes that are shown by their new outline? How can we explain the crisis, if not of sensibility at least of the conduct of the representatives of the *concejos* in cortes? How can we explain how the daring, wise, brave, skillful and valiant cortes of 1188, 1215, 1256, 1274, 1305 and 1307 changed the docile, timid cortes of the Trastamaras?

These questions have two different answers. First, because neither in the extremely favorable days of the minorities of Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI nor during those still propitious days of the reigns of Peter I or John I were the people able to get the king to approve a juridical ordering of the cortes which would set its composition, meeting dates, functions and powers. Second, because during the difficult days of Alfonso XI, John II and Henry IV they did not tighten the strings of their pocketbook in order to oblige the kings to capitulate; since, though their *procuradores* would protest the conduct of the princes, they would then approve the taxes.

But these two immediate and superficial reasons make us see a transcendental and distant reason in which the key to the enigma is to be found. This is the explanation of the clumsiness of the representatives of the Castilian people by not getting the signature of the king for a legal ordering of the life and attributes of the cortes in the good days. It also shows the reason of the weakness they later showed before the encroachment of royal power on parliamentary juridical traditions of Castile in times of trouble.

Castile had changed in many ways. Her old social structure had lost its flexibility and given way to stiffness. The pause in the Reconquest had closed the gateways to higher social rankings by means of heroism in the battles against the Moors or through the magic of repopulation. Since the border remained static and great warlike adventures were not undertaken, fortune and well-being could now only be hoped for through great power. The noble oligarchy closed into itself. From the radical reform of municipal life by Alfonso XI, the Castilian *concejos* had gone down a great deal towards being submissive to the kings. The knightly minority became the masters of the government of towns, excluding the commoners. The people had not really lost their primitiveness nor their impetus. The disappearance of the Islamic threat and the consequential numbness of the fight and the distance from the battle front paralyzed their bellicose aptitudes. But they had not lost their vitality. They still conserved their ancestral pride. Those from Paredes de Nava killed the brother-in-law of Henry II. Those from Ávila burned their crops in order to frustrate the royal tax collectors and the tithe collectors of the bishop. The Galician *hermandiños* and the Castilian *hermandades* committed great outrages. Those from Mohernando locked up their lord, the count, in the church and forced his sons to escape. The insolent inhabitants of Cuaco resented that

Charles V should reside in Yuste, catching their fish, cattle and eating their cherries. Many other cases of the daring and contempt of the rural Castilian masses toward the crown could be cited. But the strength of the aristocracy had become enormous. The kings did not dare to put a stop to their atrocities and outrages, while the people themselves only exceptionally would snap at them, the same people who earlier would passionately defend their liberty and express themselves politically.

With the government of the towns and villages of royal domain being transferred and often submitted to the rule of the grandees, the common government was reduced to silence. There was no robust and skillful bourgeoisie in the *concejos* able to take the part of the common people. The texture of the economic life was not very thick except in a few places such as Burgos, Medina, Toledo, Seville, etc. In the majority of the places monetary matters were in the hands of the Jews who could not enter into the public life of the community, or in those of the *conversos* whom the people hated. The government of the municipalities fell to the oligarchies made up of the grandsons of the knighted nobles, already old nobles in the thirteenth-century, and the citizen Knights, with privileges granted by Alfonso X and who had already forgotten their villein origin.

The people were no longer represented in the cortes. Members of the municipal oligarchy attended. The overall view of the *procuradores,* their psychic reactions and functional structure were knightly. They still confronted the upper aristocracy from their special point of view and in defense of the interests of the town or village whose fate was tied up with their own. They denounced the violence, abuses, usurpations, thefts, outrages and murders of the aristocracy. They still firmly protested against the bad government and outrages and injustices of the royal representatives who would naturally damage the people when they had the riches and well-being of the community in their hands. But the truth is that the *procuradores* were no longer the authentic representatives of the people and had begun to sail the ships of the noble minorities and to participate in their factions.

The distant and mysterious reason of the decisive change of the political sensibility of the organism which, up to a century earlier, had been the legitimate representative of the people, was thus reduced to the historical fact that Castilian democracy was a rural democracy. Towns and villages of Castile and León were, in their overwhelming majority, fortresses and temples. The majority of these urban centers were not born and did not thrive according to a normal biological process and Castile, therefore, was lacking a bourgeoisie.

Chapter XIII

FRAGILITY OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN MEDIEVAL CASTILE

1. Background and Contrasts

The most recent studies have blended and mended the theories, yesterday valid, concerning the profound recession of the economic life in the European towns of the Occident, upon the fall of the ancient world, and the total interruption of traffic in the Mediterranean, as a corollary to the imperial explosion of Islam. But even as the return to the natural economy and the total break in the millenary communications of the Italian coasts and Gaul with the Near East in the early Middle Ages are not admitted today, no one denies the great crisis endured by the urban life, by the monetary, industrial and mercantile economy and by intercontinental commerce for long centuries. Every day we better understand the last period of medieval history: the slow prosperity of the cities over the rural areas, the slow rebirth of industry, trade, of financial business and the gradual formation of a new social class and a new ideal of life: the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois spirit. The course of this double historical process in Spain is yet to be scientifically studied. Nevertheless, neither one was exceptionally decisive in the forging of the essential Spanish contexture. It is not licit to continue hurling into the air seductive theories of our national incapacity to approach matters without peering into that unoccupied scenery of our past. In the complex movement of forces that have been shaping and remaking our history and therefore stamping our temperamental heritage with many incentives and spiritual desires, the odd curve of our economy through the centuries plays an important role.

The nature of the soil and subsoil of Spain and her situation in the confines of the ancient world were not able to favor in her the development of a taste for the industrial transformation of the products of the land. Her mining and agricultural wealth soon magnified inordinate appetites in foreign nations. This exaltation blocked the route of her own creative

objectives. Secluded from the fruitful cultural routes of the Mediterranean, the standard of life in the authentic *Finis Terrae* of the Peninsular Northwest must have been very low. This lack of vital appetites made the growth of autarchical manufacture and commerce of the Peninsula very difficult. The eccentric emplacement of Hispania in the map of the Mediterranean civilization deprived her of the markets and the zones of economic influence which might have moved the weight of her activity towards industrial enterprises.

The conquest and colonization of Hispania by Rome not only did not cure but really accentuated these evils. The metropoli looked on her only as a source of raw materials, men and a zone of expansion for its goods. The extensive mining exploitation in Spain continued and even grew. The export of agriculture and livestock products to Italy increased —oil, wheat, wools... along with foodstuff products such as pork and dried fish. Finally, the recruitment of Spanish soldiers increased, primarily in the fierce North. A greater and greater number of industrial products were imported from Rome. It is even recorded that the primitive shipments of Spanish cloths to the metropoli were slowly replaced by shipments of wool and dyes which were accompanied by the growing import of foreign cloth. The maintenance of activity in the Peninsular mines and the accent on recruitment in the Peninsula for men-at-arms, constituted two powerful magnets that attracted thousands and thousands of Spaniards to activities that were unfavorable to the development of a taste for the transformation and manufacture of things. We also lacked subsidiary markets for the industrial products that the more culturally developed zones of Hispania produced. The subjugation of the fierce North was slow and we did not have inferior neighbors —the Gauls found theirs in Germania or Brittany, for example— to imperialize economically.

As in many other aspects of the Spanish existence, the lordship of Rome affirmed more than modified the temperamental heritage of primitive Spain. The fall of the Roman regime in the Peninsula was not able to favor our economic autarchy. It was provoked by the entrance to Spain of peoples with minimal cultural desires and coincided with the great economic crisis which they had promoted: On the one hand, the decline of urban life, simultaneous with the growing ruralization of the world, and on the other hand, the social fall of the urban masses and the gradual disappearance of the free small landholders were dual processes which determined an abrupt descent in the standard of living and in the necessities of the seven or eight million Spaniards. Perhaps our fall was not so vertical because our society had not reached a similar level to that of the other nations of the Occident. Perhaps the occupation of the South and the Southeast by the Byzantine Greeks for some decades helped to maintain active, in those regions, the urban tradition and its economic corollaries for some time. But we cannot go beyond conjectures because of the poor knowledge we have of the economic life of Gothic Spain. It is not possible

to historically reconstruct Gothic Spain basing ourselves on the erudite Isidorian patchwork as is usually done. We cannot be sure if the past reflected in the *Etymologies* was really still in force.

During the centuries which followed the Arabian invasion of the Peninsula, the historical process of economic life in Spain was completely different from that of the other nations who, like her, had been part of the Roman West. The campaigns of Tariq and Muza and the later Christian reaction divided Hispania into two neighboring enemy zones, of very different extensions and of dissimilar historical life. Al-Ándalus, the Hispania subjugated by the dominion of Islam, was included in the orbit of the Moslem world which extended from the shores of the Atlantic to India. After the chaotic period of invasion and civil wars, Saracen Spain quickly recovered from the disasters. The Hispano-Islamic towns, far from becoming depopulated and yielding to the tide of ruralism, at that time prevalent in the West, were soon able to rise from the crisis and enjoy a period of great splendor and intense economic activity. The maritime traffic which from the most remote antiquity had united the Spanish coasts to the Oriental ports of the Mediterranean Sea, not only endured but was able to revive and grow. The Muslim fleet ruled the habitual routes of the Mediterranean and, although by the middle of the thirteenth-century the fall of the Ommiads in Damascus and the triumph of Abd al-Rahman I in Córdoba broke the political ties which up till then had bound Muslim Spain to the vital centers of Islam, the Koranic pilgrimages to the holy places in Arabia prevented the interruption of vital, cultural contacts with the Orient. Trus, ships loaded with men and merchandise continued coming and going from Al-Ándalus to the other corner of the old sea of civilization.

Those contacts were important for the economic revival of Muslim Spain; and so was the jealousy of the Spanish Ommiads towards the Abbasid dynasty which had displaced them and ruled Islam from Baghdad. What we could call the law of the communicant cultures soon provoked the vitalization of the Hispano-Muslim economy. This process began with the reign of Abd al-Rahman II (822-852). The beginning of the intensive orientalization of Spain is due to him. He organized the Hispano-Muslim state following the model of the state of Baghdad. Thanks to the reform of the public treasury —the public revenue in his era reached a million dinars— and to the increase of his own private treasury, he was able to give free reign to his reformist spirit, patronage and his taste for art, science and luxury. Scarcely on the throne, he sent a scholar from Córdoba, Abbas ibn Nasih, to the Orient, to find and order copies of the scientific works of the Greeks and the Persians. He ordered the purchase of valuable jewels in Baghdad, rare books and rich cloths, and succeeded in bringing to Córdoba an exact copy of the longitudinal unit used in the Orient. He surrounded himself with sages and artists. He promoted the study of medicine and astronomy. He harbored the physicians of the Oriente and a

great musician from Baghdad and, with their cooperation, succeeded in easternizing the customs of the Andalusian society. He ordered the writing of historical annals. He founded a conservatory. However, what now interests us most is that he promoted the economic reactivation of Muslim Spain. He organized a mint or money house. He effected great urban works in Córdoba, Seville, Jaén, Mérida, Saragossa... He changed the exterior appearance of the capital of Al-Ándalus. He ordered the construction of new cities: Murcia, for example. He restored bridges, fixed roads, drew up underground springs and built public fountains. By intensification of noble and courtly extravagance he increased the necessities and appetites of the opulent class and, thus, the demands on the industries of the country. He established silk and tapestry factories and dockyards for the promotion of naval construction. He attended to the feeding of his people by importing African wheat when necessary. He endeavored to acclimatize new fruits from the Orient, etc., etc.

The cultural and political center of the Islamic lordship had been established in the zone with the oldest urban tradition, where, for milleniums, a refined civilization had flourished; and it presided over the Spanish masses most habituated to the arts of peace. The policy of Abd al-Rahman II, continued by his son Muhammad (858-886) —he secretly ordered the preparation of Iraqi cloths in Baghdad which were later imitated in Córdoba— and later continued by his grandsons during the caliphal epoch —Abd al Rahman III (912-961) and Al-Hakam II (961-976) followed their grandfather's example— was based on a fertile land and a people well-disposed for his experiments. Thus, he rapidly succeeded in the economic transformation of Al-Ándalus. Private interests in technical and industrial affairs were furthered. Abbas ibn Firnas invented glass in the second half of the ninth-century and Muhammad ibn Ubaid (d. 926), under the pretext of a study tour to Baghdad, learned the elaboration of brocade and later began to manufacture it in Córdoba. The cities grew, general wealth increased as did the taste for luxury. Abn al-Rahman III began to mint gold coins. The Mozarab immigrants to the Spanish Christian kingdoms imported along with them their devotion for the Andalusian industrial products. They established a foothold in Africa and the fame of Al-Ándalus extended beyond its borders. In that way new outlets for the national merchandise were opened and little by little the sustained growth of Hispano-Islamic industry and commerce continued.

The narrative passages, the geographical descriptions and the accounts of travelers in Al-Ándalus have permitted Lévi-Provençal to draw a global picture of the Hispano-Muslim economy until the fall of the caliphate. He could have probably presented us a much more detailed image if he had not intended to write a global history. His words are sufficient to give us an idea of the economic development of Muslim Spain coinciding with the lowest point of the European economy in the West.

As during the lordships of Rome and the Visigothic monarchy, as always, under the government of the emirs and the Ommiad caliphs, Spain was above all an agricultural and livestock country, although it also had a flourishing merchant and industrial life. During the first centuries of Hispano-Muslim history, the exploitation of the great mineral wealth of the Peninsula persisted. The recollection of esparto-grass continued in the Southeast. Great cultivations of textile plants were realized; flax in Elbira and the Ebro and cotton in Seville, superior to the Nile cotton; as were those plants producing dyeing materials —in Valencia— and of odoriferous plants —everywhere. Plantations of white mulberry-trees that permitted the breeding of silk-worms were cultivated on a great scale— in Jaén and the Alpujarras (Guadix and Baza). Taking advantage of these cultivations and of the abundance of wool in the livestock zone of Al-Ándalus (Cuenca and Chinchilla), a rich and varied textile industry developed with silk being the most predominant product. The industries of furniture, tapestry, peltry, shoemaking, ceramics, perfumery, glass-making —we must remember Ibn Firnas and his invention of glass— gold and silver work —which competed with that of Byzantium—; leather —the embossed leathers soon became famous in the world; parchment, mosaic and ivory— the Hispano-Muslim chests were highly regarded; copper —beautiful specimens are conserved; and even a paper industry based in Játiva from the tenth-century; all these flourished in Al-Ándalus. This industrial development was not limited to Andalusia and the coast of the Levant. Silk was woven in villages such as Guadix, Baza and Fiñana and wool in the port of Pechina. Industrial life extended to most interior and most northern cities such as Toledo, Cuenca, Calatayud and Saragossa. Toledo was dedicated to the manufacture of arms, Cuenca was celebrated for its rugs, as was Calatayud for its golden ceramics, and Saragossa specialized in the linen industry and the treatment of hides, of which beaver-pelt and dressed marten skins were the most exported.

It was a money economy. Silver-plated dirhemes were minted very early and oriental gold circulated during the eighth and ninth-centuries. Beginning in 928, the caliphs of Córdoba ordered the minting of excellent gold dinars. Silver as well as gold coins served as the base of the social, political and economic life of the community. All transactions were paid for in coin as were excise taxes and also wages, day-hire and rents.

The workers of the different industries and markets were organized in corporations which were headed by trustees called *amines* or *arifes* who were designated by the authorities and responsible to them for industrial and commercial integrity within the corporation. In the cities, a weekly or daily market called the *suq* was held. It was the place where the suppliers of the town took their products and, in the midst of the people, cooked the meat and fish and sold sausages, cheese, cakes and pastries. Some luxury shops were grouped in large bazaars called *Qaisariyas* —raw silk exchanges. The *funduk(s)* or hostals were made up of four buildings

each having several floors. They had galeries which looked onto a rectangular patio. The lower floor was used as a warehouse for the markets and the other rooms were rented to travelers. There were not only general markets but also clothes —*marqtal*—, grain, slave and even book markets. A prefect and judge called *Sahib al-Suq* was at the head of all these. Named by the central power, he supervised the merchants and money-brokers, kept order and resolved the lawsuits that rose between merchants and purchasers.

Commercial activity overflowed from the somewhat small market-place and embraced whole neighborhoods. Some were inhabited by artisans dedicated to the same skill. This ocurred in Córdoba with the silk weavers, the shoemakers, the potters and also with the neighborhoods of the parchment makers and perfumers who gave their names to the two doors of the city wall. In Córdoba, as in other cities in the tenth-century, many streets were named according to the products manufactured or sold on them: the tailor's street, bookseller's street, wool-comber's street, launderer's street, etc., etc.

The great majority of the workers who labored in the different trades were new Muslims —*maulas*— or Mozarabs —Spanish— as were, for example, all the weavers of Córdoba. Also, the greater part of the merchants were Mozarabs and apostates.

The industrial products of Muslim Spain naturally circulated throughout the Caliphate. They were also exported to Christian Spain and were sold in Carolingian lands, in Barbary and the Orient. In the midst of the revolts which bloodied Al-Ándalus in the ninth-century, the habitual departures of merchant caravans which crossed the Peninsula were not always interrupted. We know this by the testimonies of monks from beyond the Pyrenees who traveled with these caravans in Spain. Close to the period of Christian martyrdoms, the Mozarab merchants traded beyond the Pyrenees. Saint Eulogius traveled to Navarre with the intention of continuing to France to inquire about two of his brothers who traded in Maquelonne. It is recorded that in mid-century, oriental merchants came to Spain: One of them, a native of Raz (Persia), established himself in Córdoba and founded a dynasty of historians: the Rasis. In the past I demonstrated the circulation within the kingdom of Asturias and León of the very varied trades of Al-Ándalus and even of the Islamic Orient. Lévi-Provençal has noted some of the Andalusian products which were sold in African or oriental lands.

The most diverse industrial items of Al-Ándalus were exported to the Christian kingdoms. Silk cloth was sent to Egypt and even to Khorāsān. Wool cloth was sold in Egypt, in Mecca and in Yemen. The Maghreb —Argelia and Morocco— imported leather, cloth and other varied Spanish products. Andalusian oil was consumed in the Maghreb and the Orient.

Seville soon became an important international port that was communicated with Córdoba directly via the Guadalquivir. Her influence was

based on the fertile western Andalusia. Spanish trade to the Maghreb left from Seville and Algeciras. However, the key ports for commerce to the Orient were Pechina and, later on, Almería. They were frequented by ships from Egypt, Syria and Byzantium. Ships from Al-Ándalus left from there. In Pechina the number of hostals or *funduk*(s) reached the thousands.

Al-Ándalus experienced an authentic urban civilization. Numerous rich and populous cities arose. Seville, Ecija, Algeciras, Silves, Málaga, Pechina, Almería, Murcia, Valencia, Saragossa, Cuenca, Toledo and others enjoyed an intense city life, in the strict sense of the word. Córdoba, the capital of Al-Ándalus, reached an extraordinary extension and population in the tenth-century. The medina, the city, and its twenty-one outlying districts were inhabited by a half million souls. Three thousand mosques arose, three hundred public baths were reserved for the women. According to a census in the days of Almanzor —somewhat before the year 1000— there were 60,300 houses occupied by the grandees and dignitaries of the court, 213,077 occupied by the rest of the town, 80,455 shops or workshops, and innumerable inns and rooms to rent.

Dozy has already discussed the formation of the urban bourgeoisie and proletariat in Córdoba. Without these, the revolutions of Córdoba would not have exploded or followed the routes they took. The last stages of the revolutionary process are even a testimony of the logical waverings of proletarian movements. If we had saved concurrent information of the other cities of Al-Ándalus, we could also have found in them evident traces of a bourgeoisie and a proletariat that were not too different from those of Córdoba. The pages of the Cid's history of Valencia at the end of the eleventh-century and the news of Ibn Abdun of the Seville of the early twelfth-century permit us to be sure of it.

It has already been stated that the immense majority of the craftsmen and merchants of Al-Ándalus were Spaniards by race; the Islamic Spaniards of Oriental origin constituted the dominating oligarchy. These were the Spaniards who had kept their Christian faith or who descended from those who had converted to Islam. Neither their race nor the official religion under which the inhabitants of Muslim Spain lived were obstacles to their dedication to industrial or commercial tasks; for their slow and humble relations with things. The meeting of a propitious human tradition —the millenary civilization of the Baetic Valley— of a favorable transitory geographical position —in the Mediterranean world and between two zones of embryonic economy: Christian Spain and Africa— and of a State which was zealous in its fomentation of the national wealth permitted the Spaniards to advance technically, while living a style of life centered on belief; a belief which, more than any other, bound man to the supreme divine will. It will therefore be necessary to look for other paths than those pointed out by the essayist-turned-historian in order to explain the absence of a bourgeoisie and a bourgeois spirit in Christian Spain. These

paths cross the wilderness of the economic history of our Middle Ages that only recently have we begun to cultivate and whose revival I have encouraged my disciples from either side of the Atlantic to take up. The most recent fruit of this encouragement is the excellent book by Valdeavellano: *Sobre los burgos y los burgueses de la España medieval.*

2. War and Economy

The Reconquest began in a country without a lively urban tradition. The tribes that inhabited the mountainous and maritime zone of the North of Spain when conquered by Augustus did not have any urban life, as Strabo has confirmed. Hardly any *civitates* or municipalities appeared during the long centuries of Roman lordship; a fact attested by both the persistent silence of inscriptions and the lack of archeological finds. Numerous and important cities did not arise south of the Asturian-Cantabrian Range or in Galicia near the Miño —to which the kingdom of Oviedo later extended— either before or after the Roman conquest. First, the Germanic invasions and the battles among the invaders; next, the campaigns of the Goths to subjugate the Cantabrians, Asturians and Basques and to conquer the kingdom of the Sueves; later on, the undertakings of the Muslim leaders in the Duero Valley and in Galicia; and finally, the great forays of Alfonso I and his son up to the central range of Spain; all ruined most of the urban centers which might have emerged in the zone before the fifth-century. The ruins of some, at a distance from the modern towns, have been explored but others have left no trace. The long series of invasions, conquests and wars, along with their natural sequel of depopulation and disasters experienced by the lands from where the Reconquest began, and again when first occupied by the Christians in their advance to the South, contributed to prolong the traditional pre-Roman style of life in which cities played no important role.

The kingdom of Oviedo, embryo of the future Spain, had therefore to rise and thrive over a society that overflowed the valleys and mountains of Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria and Vasconia —the regions in which geography demands a human population distributed in small nuclei—. It was a kingdom solely protected by small fortresses or *castella.*

Something changed the social landscape in the middle of the ninth-century when the mountains were crossed and, after the battle of Polvoraria (878), the Duero line was won and fortified. The enterprise was arduous and slow. Since the middle of the eighth-century, the lands south of the mountains were wasted and deserted; it was necessary to revive them. The colonization of León and Castile could not be carried out like that of Austria in her Carolingian or Ottonic periods, when a great empire and powerful lords could move an abundant mass of vassal population to the new lands. The desert of the Duero was populated by fortuneless im-

101.—*The Shop of Aniol, the Shoemaker,* by Destorrents. Retable of San Marcos of Manresa. Capitular Museum. Even though in the fifteenth-century the decadence of the painting of the Levant begins, there are still some masters of merit. The economic development of Catalonia turned the guilds into patrons of the arts. One commissioned Destorrents to paint «The Shop of Aniol, the Shoemaker», which formed a part of the Retable of San Marcos de Tarrasa. Like all Spanish artists have usually done, the Catalan painter combined a religious theme with the details of daily life in his painting.

102.—*Henry IV*. Miniature of the «Voyage to Spain», by J. Ehingen (Library of Stuttgart, Germany). Henry IV, the Impotent. Weak-willed, depraved, incapable of reacting like a man, he indirectly recognized the illigitimacy of his daughter who was called «La Beltraneja». Did he really beget her? The distant resemblance of doña Juana to the Catholic Queen is not enough to consider her to be her niece: both were daughters of two princesses of the house of Avis. And the first wife of Henry returned to Navarre a virgin.

migrants who reached the plateau from the maritime and mountainous region where the Reconquest had begun and by Mozarabs who emigrated from the South, fleeing from the persecutions and civil wars of Al-Ándalus. The desert bloomed with towns inhabited by free men —*enfiteutas* on royal land, non-noble small proprietors and *infanzones* or blood nobles—, grouped around some castles, under whose protection boroughs began to grow and intermingled with a few, gradually developed, lordships of reduced geographical extension.

Yet it was necessary to battle without rest against the Muslims. There was no time for peaceful undertakings. Life was poor and was based on an economic regime of agriculture and stock-raising because the great seigneurial concentrations, which could have served as a center for small and luxurious courts, were missing. The indispensable necessities of daily life were satisfied by means of home industries. This commerce was of so little importance that coinage was not introduced. The Roman dry measure of wheat, sheep or silver pieces weighed in *sols* served as the money of account. The whole country revolved inside the economic orbit of Al-Ándalus or the Carolingian empire, with the Mozarabs and the Jews as monopolists of the international commerce of luxury items.

There were hardly any urban centers worth mentioning during the tenth-century. During this period some began to thrive. Only León, the «royal seat», had some importance. Being surrounded by a rather extensive country district, food and various utensils were bought and sold at the weekly market, which was organized at the doors of the *civitas* —in front of the Arch of the King—. The farmers brought their products; the coopers, shoemakers, tile-makers and blacksmiths of the city brought the products of their industry; and the dwellers of some villages in the country district, who because of their trade were called *Olleros* (potters), *Tiraceros* (silk tapestry weavers), *Roderos* (pasturage-fee collectors), *Torneros* (lathe-makers), *Grulleros* (crane keepers) and *Macellarios* (butchers) also sold their products. Within the city of León some stores would be opened —only one of the owners had an arabic name and was therefore a Mozarab immigrant—. And it can be suspected that no few Hebrews traded and negotiated interest loans within the walls of León.

This economic regime initiated what is called a municipal economy, where the cities and their limits constituted closed units in which the wealth was produced, distributed and spent. But this image of life in León should not confuse us; we cannot consider it as an archetype of a generalized style of life for the whole kingdom. The «royal seat» was an exception in a society of shepherds and peasants who inhabited the land from the Duero to the Cantabrian Sea, and from the Atlantic coasts to the borders of Navarre. Oviedo, Lugo, Burgos and Zamora could not compare to León; they were still nascent cities. León was a reflection of the great metropolis of Al-Ándalus, where a monied economy flourished. Southern

Mozarab immigrants of a rooted urban and civic tradition and for centuries isolated from bellicose activities, converged on León along with Jewish immigrants whose rule of life was dedication to the tasks of trade and credit. León had become a prosperous nascent city in the strict sense of the word. A long time ago I studied the León of a thousand years ago.

However, this millenary León was a unique case in the kingdom. The rest of the country was landscape, i. e., fields barely sprinkled with some rare urban spots, fortified in the Duero Valley for the defense of the frontier line. It is only far away, in the heart of Galicia around the sepulcher of the Apostle Saint James, who by now was attracting some pilgrims, that the nucleus of a future *civitas* was being born.

The borders of the kingdom receded during the terrible years of Almanzor, were re-established during the first half of the eleventh-century and suddenly, in a tiger's jump, advanced up to Toledo in 1085. Between the Duero and the Tagus Rivers, a long series of communities of large *concejos* were set up, whose extensive municipal limits were presided over by strong cities. Within the kingdom new urban centers arose while others thrived. Yet all these old and new cities had been founded for military ends. Some were built on sharp hills in the shape of a ship which seemed to attack the horizon; others upon high hills, enclosed or caressed by the bed of a river; others upon flat plains, with rocky borders within limits of a mountain range; and not a few, upon steep hills, isolated in the wasteland. They dominated the prairie, defended the passage of a river, guarded the crossroads, watched the mountain passes or protected the entrances to valleys or other important regions. That is how all the cities were born; upon the ruins of remote Celtic fortresses, ancient Roman camps or old Visigothic forts. Otherwise they came to be in uninhabited areas which, like the others, were geographically suitable for the defense of the kingdom and, at the same time, were determined by their exceptional military position. All the cities were enclosed within strong walls and crowned by haughty fortresses. They were populated with robust churches whose towers, at times, linked with the shoulder-belt of the city's embattled enclosure. They were frequently protected by a number of more or less distant castles, all set up in the manner of granite watchtowers. It will not be difficult for anyone who knows Castile to back up each of these indications with names.

The inhabitants of the both fortress and temple cities, would leave for the frontier conscious of the perils but urged forwards by necessity and hope. The majority had to become, above all, warriors and shepherds; warriors because the Saracens forced them to attack and defend and shepherds because there was not enough manpower to intensively cultivate the lands that were taken from the enemy. By nature adventurers —if not, they would not have abandoned their tranquil plots in Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria or Vasconia to run the dangers of frontier wars— their new rank as stock-farmers and soldiers had to accentuate and even exalt their

restlessness, audacity and taste for bellicose enterprises. A few would dedicate themselves to industrial chores and local commerce in the cities which requires a slow and daily effort. Though not implying great risks nor demanding heroism, it does not encourage hope for quick changes of fortune nor does it offer horizons to satisfy the temperamental appetite for adventure.

We possess a very important document to judge these urban foundations: the *Crónica de la población de Ávila.* This and some other texts permit us to venture into the lives of these cities of Castile and León during the twelfth-century.

They seem to be born in a historical conjuncture that was truly favorable for their transformation into important economic centers. The fall of the Caliphate, its corollary of anarchy —Ibn Hazm describes it in lively colors— the political fractioning of Muslim Spain, the wars between the *Taifas,* the predatory Christian expeditions and the Almoravid conquest and occupation, undoubtedly provoked a great economic crisis in Al-Ándalus —post-caliphal Córdoba must have seemed like an anticipation of the image of Vienna after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire— and this crisis must have had the repercussion of an invitation to self-sufficiency in the Christian North.

Throngs of ultra-Pyrenean immigrants then entered León and Castile, established themselves in the new and old cities of the kingdom and strongly harmonized Hispanic with Western Christianity. This entrance coincided with the growing animation of the European economy provoked by three great historical processes: the resurrection of Mediterranean commerce, the industrialization of Flanders and the beginnings of an intense terrestrial trade between Lombardy and the Flemish ports, through western France and the Rhineland. The old Muslim and Mozarab population, which had always been urban, remained in some frontier cities of the Tagus Valley. It has been shown that great masses of Jews, compelled by Almoravid persecutions, abandoned Al-Ándalus well-instructed in the techniques of the rich and prosperous Islamic cities, as well as in literature, and came to Castile.

Everything seem to foretell a propitious climate for a new economic life and a new industrial and mercantile population, i. e., the development of a Castilian and León bourgeoisie. However, this did not occur. A bellicose functional structure had become ingrained during four centuries of war with Islam. Even though the Almoravid and Almohad invasions deterred the decisive advance to the South for one century, the Castilians and the Leonese never despaired of pursuing the Reconquest. If the *Cantar de Mío Cid* was not written to feed such hope with the memories of those who had triumphed in difficult times and situations, it undoubtedly contributed to lift the hearts and spirits and, restore confidence in a tomorrow. The brief conquests by Alfonso VII —he was able to win

Córdoba and Almería— must have reinforced the belief that the hour for the fortunate exodus was again at hand. The entrance of the Almohads in the Peninsula soon ruined the fruits of all his successes. Nevertheless, soon after his death (1157), his sons, the kings of Castile and León, in May of 1158, amicably divided up all of Muslim Spain, which they hoped to reconquer. The kingdoms of Mérida, Badajoz, Évora, Mértola, Niebla, Silves and half of Seville were to go to Ferdinand II of León; and Sancho of Castile would dispose of the rest of Al-Ándalus. The lands of Cuenca were conquered during Alfonso VIII's reign (1177) and although such a conquest would be no more than a small morsel for the national voracity, it continued to fire of deluded hope in the approaching assault. In Cazola (1179) Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso II of Aragón again divided the hide of the bear they were going to kill; the Moorish kingdom of Valencia up to the pass of Biar was to belong to the Aragonese. The Christian frontiers often advanced towards the South —they were able to penetrate the Valley of the Guadiana— and, although they retroceded just as frequently, the kings and the people never lost the hope of conquering the Muslim territories.

While a long century of continuous fluctuation between hopes and failures elapsed, the national energies not consumed in the flames of civil dissent were used in the blazing war against the Moors: They were flames kindled by Spanish passion and the traditional inclination for battle now exalted by four centuries of military activism. The *Historia Compostellana,* the Toledano, Lucas de Tuy... give us news of these strife contentions. The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris,* Sahib al-Sala and the *Crónica de la población de Ávila* give us detailed accounts of the military movements of the inhabitants of the great cities between the Duero and the Tagus during the twelfth-century.

The cities continued to be both fortresses and temples; they did not become economic emporiums. They lived from war and for war. Horsemen and footsoldiers left to do battle with the Muslims and would carry out great and adventurous campaigns. There was no room for choice. The Almoravids and Almohads pounded the frontiers. The royal troops were defeated more than once, and the Tagus Valley was desolated. Toledo was besieged in three different occasions. In the beginnings of the century, the Almoravids crossed the central range and ransacked the lands of Ávila at will and after Alarcos (1195), the Almohads still continued to fight at the foot of the mountain-ridges of Ávila. The frontiersmen from between the Duero and the Tagus would take the war to the Moorish territory so that the Islamic enemies would not bring it to their lands. Organized into powerful militias, they sometimes penetrated into Andalusia.

The less inclined to the risks and heroics of war dedicated themselves to the peaceful arts and weaved cloth, tanned hides, worked with leather, iron, wicker or wood and traded within the city-fortresses or with the inhabitants of the municipality. The majority remained farmers, shepherds

and soldiers. It was the minority of citizen knights who claimed the government of the community and it was the knightly and warrior ideals which triumphed as archetypes within the old and new municipal *concejos* of Castile and León.

Yes, the small, northern manicipalities of the Duero and the great municipal *concejos* between the Duero and the Tagus, continued to be communities of farmers, soldiers and stock-farmers. This is accredited by the unanimous silence concerning industrial and mercantile life as seen in the short *fueros* granted before 1200 to Santa Cristina (1062), Burgos (1073-1085), Palenzuela (1074), Sepúlveda (1076), Nájera (1076), Logroño (1095), Miranda (1099), Toledo (1107 and 1118), Guadalajara (1133), Balbás (1135), Lara (1135), Oreja (1139), Roa (1143), Madrid (1145), etc... This silence contrasts with the dispositions such municipal laws offer us when dealing with livestock or land. This is further confirmed by the nature of some references to artisans and merchants in the short *fueros* and the explanation of such references. They are dealt with in the *fuero* of Sahagún (1084), populated by Franks. The shoemakers receive exemption from the payment of taxes in the *fuero* of Burgos (1124), a town entrenched on the road to Santiago. Craftsmen receive legal equality with their neighbors in Escalona (1130), a town where there were Mozarabs. This trend is further testified by news we received from the short *fueros* granted during the thirteenth-century to Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma, Alba de Tormes, Coria, Cáceres, Usagre, Soria, Madrid, Alcalá, Zorita, Cuenca, Uclés, etc., etc. They help us discover the authentic character of the economic life of these communities. In the more detailed and modern *fueros,* all questions referring to the cultivation of wheat-bearing fields, vineyards or vegetable gardens, and to irrigation, pasturage, beehives, pigeon houses, the forests or hunting are all carefully regulated.

The work of the laborers, the bee-keepers, gardeners, shepherds, the keepers of breeding mares, etc., was regulated. The supply of the city and of the system of windmills, butchershops, bakeries and taverns are taken care of. The peace of the weekly market is guaranteed. The same rights are offered to the store-keepers as to the other townsmen. The accuracy of the weights and measures is tended to. Sometimes, statutes are passed concerning money-brokers; and interest loans are restricted and regulated. In many of the *concejos,* judging by the total silence of the *fueros,* we could say that no local industries of any kind existed. It is only in the *fueros* of Cuenca-Zorita that we find regulations concerning the work of carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, skinners, tailors, potters, tile-makers, bakers, weavers and gold or silver smiths. Legislation is passed in Madrid concerning the wool weavers and combers, and regarding those who wove pure or silky flax. It is only in the *fuero* of Alcalá that we find allusions to the manufacture of cloth, head-dresses, rugs... However, in all the *fueros* we can see that the greater part of these craftsmen ordinarily limited

themselves to working with raw materials: cloth, leather, gold, silver, iron... which they received from their clients.

The Ordinance of Jerez by king Alfonso X, dated in 1268, presents the same simplistic picture of the national industries. While appraising the labor force we discover that it only comprises cloth-weaving, clothing and shoe workmanship, the tanning of hides and leather and the manufacture of weapons and horse harnesses. Judging from the ensemble and proportion of all the dispositions of the *fueros* and the related decrees of Alfonso concerning, on the one hand, the agrarian and livestock activities, and on the other hand, the Castilian and Aragonese mercantile and industrial life, we can deduce that the craftsmen of Castile and León could not begin to completely provide for the necessities of the population of clerics, farmers, shepherds and soldiers who inhabited the towns and villages forming part of the *concejo* they lived in.

We know that, in the thirteenth-century, cloth for local consumption was woven in Madrid, Alcalá, Palencia, Burgos, Cuenca, Soria, Murcia; Alfonso the Learned's ordinance shows that on the date of its publication, there is some cloth being manufactured in the cities of Zamora, Ávila and Segovia to be sold in all markets over the country. Yet evidently not even these cities produced at a large scale, judging from the influx of foreign cloths into the kingdom. It can be deduced that their quality was far from excellent if we compare their value, according to the royal appraisal, with that given other non-national cloths present in Castile. Although we ignore the date when manufacturing began, we can licitly suspect that production initiated, or at least developed, due to the great economic crisis in all the kingdom; a crisis provoked by the conquests of Ferdinand III. Besides, it was the time when the cities between the Duero and the Tagus no longer found themselves on the frontier and were able to enjoy days of peace and tranquility.

Few cities in the kingdom of Castile and León deserved to be called so. León experienced its greatest splendor and the beginnings of its decline in the twelfth-century. The economic profile I outlined of the León of a thousand years ago, persisted. Yet, in front of its old walls, in the place where the old market had been celebrated as was the custom in all other towns during that time, the «burgh of the franks» was established. This was a new quarter inhabited by ultra-Pyrenean immigrants, in great part dedicated to industry and commerce; immigrants who came to León within sight of the court and who, along with the Jews also established there, increased the economic importance of the old Royal Seat. Burgos began to experience prosperity. It was a prosperity attached to its early commercial development favored by its excellent location on the road to Santiago, whose traffic was growing day by day, and by its proximity and relation to the *marismas*, i. e., the Castilian ports in the Cantabrian Sea. In the twelfth-century, many craftsmen already worked in Burgos —they are cited in the documents of Huelgas— and many foreign merchants

frequented it. By mid-century, Al-Idrisi describes Burgos in this way: «A big city, divided by a river into two sections, each with its own walls, and one is dominated by the Jews; it is strong, opulent, has commercial establishments, market-places, supply warehouses and is frequented by many travelers, either as a stopover or as the end of their expedition.» Only the early contacts of the city with the *marismas* can explain Alfonso VIII's concession, in 1192, to the bishop and the Cathedral of Burgos of a tithe from the toll-gates of Santander, Castro Urdiales and the other ports of the diocese.

After its conquest by Alfonso VI the already millenary life of Toledo continued. It did not suffer any grave demographic crisis which could have reduced its vitality. Its population grew. Throngs of immigrants from the northern parts of the kingdom of León and Castile, no few Franks coming from beyond the Pyrenees and, directly after, a great number of Andalusian Jews who took shelter within the walls of Toledo, fleeing from the Almoravid persecutions were added to the Toledan Mozarabs who had firmly resisted in their faith four centuries of Muslim lordship and the Toledan Muslims, who continued to live in the city in great numbers. Yet, underneath its bellicose armor and even though the African incursions into the Tagus Valley would soon convert it into the Castilian watchtower facing Muslim Spain, Toledo was also the important industrial and commercial center of the kingdom. The Mozarab documents published by González Palencia certify this point.

Surviving in Toledo were the industries of transportation, food, dressing apparel, hats, shoe-making, construction, weaponry, harnesses, leather, furs, esparto-grass, wool, silk, embroidery, iron, wood, pottery, glasswork, gold and silverwork, wax, paints, and wood carving... The number of workers in each trade is not only shown by the frequent grouping in districts to which they gave their name —there was even a dyer's district— but also by the existence of *zocos* or special markets: markets of the butchers, the fishermen, the tailors, the shoemakers, the mat-makers, the potters... Other different products were sold in the inns or special shops: for coal, iron, parchment, linen, flour, porcelain, or burnishing... There were shops for the potters, herb sellers, tailors, green-grocers, butchers, flour-makers, bakers, wine-merchants... and even drug-stores and barbershops. Also, the great number of inns that existed in the city, some with annexed shops, and the presence of money-brokers in them certify that peoples from diverse towns and nations came to Toledo.

Nevertheless, León as well as Burgos and Toledo were rooted in the field and, at the same time, in the warrior and courtly life of the Alfonsos and Ferdinands and of the whole kingdom. During the twelfth-century, only one city in the kingdom of León and Castile lived with its back to the fields and saw the birth of a numerous bourgeoisie within it: Compostela. Keeper of the sepulcher of the Apostle Saint James and the magnet of an intense stream of travels and pilgrimages, she became an international

center of great importance, frequented by a large floating population. This great affluence of pilgrims was the origin of intense industrial and mercantile economic activity. A race of innkeepers, money-changers, wax-chandlers, jet-makers, drapers, shopkeepers rose... Isolated from all rural, warlike and court activities, they felt within themselves, as true burghers, the birth of bourgeois ideals and fully experienced the problems of the city.

Perhaps some ultra-Pyrenean merchants entered the kingdom with the pilgrims going to Santiago. These pilgrimages and the massive Frankish immigrations to the Duero lands, all along the road to Compostela, joined León and Castile to the towns beyond the Pyrenees more and more intimately. The prolongation of the bitter struggle with the African invaders contributed to fortify those ties, as the peaceful contacts with the industrial centers in the South became progressively more difficult. The economic horizons of the kingdom changed. Products, which before came from the South, were now sought from the North. This change of horizons coincided with the growing industrialization of Flanders. And during the last third of the twelfth-century, the imports of cloth to Castile through the Cantabrian ports began.

In the *fuero* of Santander, dated in 1187, Alfonso VIII prohibited the retail sale of cloths brought by sea, to foreigners unless the venders were citizens of the town. Therefore, before that date, Castilians and foreigners already imported Northern cloth across the Atlantic and, at times, even resold it in the same port where they disembarked.

The beginning of an important foreign trade through the northern Cantabrian ports must have convinced Alfonso VIII to assure royal lordship over them. In 1181 he declared San Vicente de la Barquera to be perpetually under royal jurisdiction, and in 1192 he bought the seigneurial rights over Castro Urdiales from the Huelgas of Burgos for 400 gold maravedís in rents —a very important amount at that time. This same king Alfonso VIII (d. 1214) later prescribed some «attitudes» or ordinances prohibiting various foods, cattle and metals from leaving the kingdom, yet exceptionally authorizing their export if the exporters guaranteed to return half of the value of the exported product in silver. We know this due to the preliminary words of Alfonso X at the ordinance he prescribed in the cortes of Seville in 1252, and also to the privileges granted by the same sovereign in Burgos, on the 23rd of Febuary 1281, to the merchants who traded in his kingdoms. In the beginnings of the thirteenth-century, the first Spanish merchants appear in the fairs of Champagne. During this same period, commercial companies among the merchants who lived in Burgos began to be formed: in 1228, Ramón Bonifaz was able to acquire property due to the production of the company he had formed with Arnalt Almeric.

If the delay in the Reconquest and the pugnatious isolation from the Arabized Spain had been prolonged, if the people of Castile-León, and

with them, the Aragonese, Navarrese and Portuguese had been forced to compete in the economic front as they had been doing on the war front, the reactivation of the Peninsular economy probably would have proceeded slowly, yet not with continuity, due to the necessity of spending a good part of the national energies in the wars against the Moors. The change in Spanish history after the triumph of the Navas de Tolosa (1212) interrumped this transcendental historical process by re-opening the front and once again launching Peninsular Christianity into the traditional national adventure of conquest and repopulation. This time it was seduced, as never before, by the myth and illusions of the South and, as never before, confronted by the most formidable prey it had ever encountered in its way. In 1252, Alfonso X told of the great wars and «great prizes» which made one forget laws and agreements. By means of a concession he made to the merchants who traded in his kingdoms, dated in Burgos the 25th of February of 1281, we know that since 1220 the laws concerning exports which obliged the merchant to bring back into the country half of the exported product's value in silver were not being carried out. The warrior and colonizing hiatus had begun.

3. Alfonso the Learned and the Directed Economy

Yes, the hour of triumph and fortunate emigration after the victorious expedition to the Navas de Tolosa (1212) had begun. In the course of a few decades La Mancha, Extremadura and the Andalusia of the Guadalquivir were won and Murcia was occupied. Except in the case of Murcia, the majority of the conquered lands were left empty by their former Hispano-Muslim inhabitants who fled, before or after the conquest, to the South. All the great urban centers in the regions won from Islam were also left empty. Cities as rich and populous as were Cáceres, Mérida, Badajoz, Baeza, Úbeda, Jaén, Córdoba and Seville were emptied. It was necessary to repopulate them, to populate many other areas in the Valleys of the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir with other cities and to establish Christian masses amid the Moors of the kingdom of Murcia in order to assure their submission. This new colonizing enterprise produced an intense migratory current coming from the Valleys of the Tagus and the Duero, and even from Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria and Vasconia, and going towards the extremely abundant southern lands. This migration could not help affecting the economic life of León and Castile. In less than forty years the national lands had practically doubled. Even agriculture was weakened because suddenly the same inhabitants who up to now had lived and cultivated only in the northern zone of the kingdom were forced to inhabit and till the lands north and south of the Tagus River. A short time after coming to the throne, Alfonso X had to face the reality of

this crisis, as seen by the ordinances dictated for the kingdoms of Castile and León in the Cortes of Seville, in 1252 and 1253.

The crisis must have been still more acute in the newly conquered regions. Yes, great agrarian, industrial and commercial centers had been occupied, but these were practically empty of their farmers, craftsmen and merchants and were disconnected from their habitual zone of commercial expansion. In 1255, Alfonso X granted tax exemptions to all those who took wool, cattle, wine, or foodstuffs to the fairs of Seville. The decrease in the vitality of the South of Spain must have been so brusque, the fall so vertical and the crisis so great, that, two decades after the conquest of Seville (1248) by Ferdinand III, the ordinance of Alfonso X of 1268, continually distinguishes the lands situated north or south of Toledo or the Puerto de Muradal — i. e., north or south of the Tagus River or the Sierra Morena— when fixing the rates for the day-wages and merchandise. The lack of manpower and manufactured objects in the zones occupied after the Navas must have been so great that the Learned King, in his appraisement laws, sometimes doubles the prices of the merchandise and the amount of the wages for the farmers and craftsmen who lived and trated there.

The long half-century of wars, conquests, migration and repopulation that followed the battle of Navas, had transcendental consequences for the future of the Castilian economy and, as does all the Peninsular economic history —the essayist-turned-historian has not suspected this—, also for the forging of the Spanish style of living. Who will dare doubt that this gigantic leap, pregnant with many grave demographic, social and political problems, could keep from influencing the lives of the Castilians even if it had not provoked the economic disorder which will be mentioned in detail?

For some time, foreign merchants had traded in Spain, in Al-Ándalus as well as the Christian kingdoms. I have referred to this trade before. Alfonso VIII (1159-1214) and Ferdinand III (1217-1252) legislated on this foreign commerce. They must have smelled the favorable conjuncture that the conquests, migrations and the economic crisis had offered them and were quick to take advantage of it. Flemings, Walloons and Frenchmen inundated with their merchandise —and there is no hyperbole in the verb— the old and new lands of the kingdom of Castile. For half a century, the indispensable industrial products for the Castilians entered through the Cantabrian ports; from the most varied cloths, hides, iron works, luxury items or religious objects to the more ordinary utensils for the house, bedroom, table and for domestic or personal use. This did not exclude dressing garments and harnesses and even the most insignificant sewing material, such as buttons, needles, scissors or thimbles.

Cloth from Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Saint-Omer, Douai, Arras, Lille, Étampes, Provins, Valenciennes, Amiens, Cambrai, Réims, Abbeville, Bailleul, Beauvais, Poperinghe, Châteaudun, Montreuil, Rouen, Blois,

Chartres, Parthenay, Montpellier... entered the kingdom. Other imports were: expensive furs —sable, ermine, otter— and ordinary furs; silks: taffeta or gauze, dyed purple cloths and damasks or tunics; cotton fabric; thread or hemp fabric; sheepskin, trimmings, ribbons and gold, silver or silk thread...; spices, dyes, resin, sulphur and realgar; diverse dressing garments: capes, hats, coifs, cloaks, belts, gloves, purses; various adorning objects: buttons, brooches, crystal beads, bells, buckles; different table utensils: glasses, grails or goblets, bowls, plates, spoons... or bedroom material: mattreses, quilts, bed-spreads or curtains; some sewing gadgets: needles, scissors, thimbles; various harnesses: headgear, reins, leather straps, brakes and spurs; many metal objects for domestic use: keys, caldrons, pans, chains, axes, hoes, etc.; combs and sponges; writing desks, parchments and books; falconry utensils, religious objects from Limoges: crosses, thuribles, wine vessels for Mass; candle-sticks...; or other uses: locks, scales, knives, night-stools, etc...

The tariff exemptions granted in the custom houses of the four ports of the North —San Vicente, Santander, Laredo and Castro Urdiales— which applied to dozens and dozens of different objects of normal use in all homes —that is, all the above mentioned except for the cloths and the material from Limoges— give credit to the depth of penetration of the Flemish and Walloon merchandise in Castile, and the effect it had throughout the kingdom. These two realities are confirmed by the statute of the Learned King regarding the appraisement of merchandise in which fabrics from Friesland, Flanders, Artois, Picardy and other regions of France are mentioned; not only luxury fabrics but also others of inferior quality, judging from their prices. That statute also attests that these fabrics were being sold throughout the whole kingdom including the regions recently conquered from the Moors —Andalusia, for example— where their value had a surchage of fifteen per cent more than in the northern lands.

While the Flemish, Walloons, English and French traded by means of the northern ports, the Italians —mostly from Piacenza, Lucia and Genoa but also from Venice and Pisa— did so through the Castilian ports in Andalusia and Murcia. Due to the Reconquest of both regions, these Italian traders must have reached them with the same celerity and numbers as the northern merchants when they reached Cantabria. We know that in 1251, three years after the conquest of Seville, they obtained an important privilege from Ferdinand III. The Learned King authorized the Genoese to populate a complete district of the newly-won city, with its corresponding church, public granary —used both as an inn and as a warehouse—, bakery and bath house. He permitted them their own consuls to judge their own litigations. From the moment repopulation began, merchants from beyond the Pyrenees also established themselves in Seville. By 1251, there was already a Frankish district in the city, to which Ferdinand III granted the privileges of the Knights of Toledo and at the same time, others concerning exchange and merchandise. The *Partida* III 18.78

(laws compiled by Alfonso the Learned) mentions a Company Charter signed by Pedro de la Rochelle and Don Alberat, Sevillan merchants «to jointly buy colored consumer fabrics and sell them in remnants, on the street of the Franks of Seville». Don Jordan, a shipmaster who rented his ship to Alemán «the merchant» to take hides to la Rochelle, probably lived in this same district. (*Partida* III 18.77) Merchants from other countries also settled in Seville: from English Gascogne —there was a street for the merchants from Bayonne; from England— in 1260 a Per Arnalt from London is mentioned; from Marseilles and other areas of Provence, and from Flanders itself. Their presence is accredited by the documents of Alfonso X.

The Genoese not only settled in Seville: thanks to the *Cantigas* and a document of the Learned King in 1280, we know that they also established themselves in Puerto de Santa María. Their presence is accounted for in other Andalusian cities: Córdoba, Cádiz, Jerez, etc., cities which also had colonies of merchants from other countries: Italy, France, England and Flanders.

The northern merchants, as well as the Italians from Genoa, Piacenza, Lucca or Pisa, would bring the merchandise in their own ships or the ships of their countrymen —«because the masters of the ships are from other lands», Alfonso X writes—, and on the return trip, they would either take the value of their products in gold or silver, or they would load their ships with raw materials from the Peninsula which were bought at ridiculous prices or, in any case, greatly beneath those prescribed by the law of appraisements of 1268 for the imported manufactured goods.

The invasion of foreign merchants and merchandise into the kingdom of Castile created a double current of emigration: great sums of gold and silver and great quantities of raw materials. The first current provoked a bankruptcy of the currency, due to the lack of precious metals and the crisis of the public treasury, and carried with it as a natural corollary, the impoverishment of the State and the private citizens. The loss of large quantities of raw materials during this difficult moment for the national economy determined a higher cost of living and had as its inevitable sequel, the increase of the cost of wages and credit which were in the hands of the Jews and the Genoese.

The invasion of foreign merchandise, the loss of precious metals and raw materials, the rise in the cost of living and the cost of wages and credit —the interest on money loans was reduced to 33 % per year although the Jews really loaned at a rate of 100 to 1400 % per year— coincided with two other social processes of serious economic proportions: the unbridled appetite for a life of ease and luxury and the attempts by both national and foreign merchants and craftsmen to catch profits in the confused river of crisis.

The devotion for wealth in goods and chattels was traditional in León and Castile: jewels, luxury cloths, rich riding-horse mounts and exquisite

weapons. Besides, the vital and cultural development of the century helped exalt that old national weakness —that taste for the most varied luxury items was evident before the tenth-century, as I proved in my *Estampas* of León. In the great conquests which followed the battle at Las Navas, many became rich and many attained positions and prebends— there was abundant territorial and bureaucratic booty in the new lands for the nobility, clergy and the people. This enrichment or improvement in positions nourished a proud appetite for ostentation and pleasure during the first moments of collective euphoria. The occupation of the rich Moorish cities and the circulation of Flemish or Italian merchandise throughout the kingdom exposed many to beautiful and refined sumptuous objects which up to then, had only been available to and enjoyed by the grandees. Many were tempted to possess them. The spirit of imitation of noble habits and ideals which were triumphing in a nation of cities, beginning to be governed by a knightly minority, moved many to try to emulate the magnates in their garments, jewels and private life.

Now, luxury and the taste for a life of pleasure which had triumphed in Castile as a result of the coincidence between the traditional devotion to wealth in goods and chattels, seigniorial pride, the euphoria of the parvenus and the well-to-do, their acquaintance with the Oriental, Italian and Flemish sumptuous products, and the simian spirit of the urban patriciate contributed to aggravate the economic ills of the kingdom. The demand for imported products increased, provoking the exit of precious metals. The consumption of raw materials and objects manufactured in the country incremented at the time when the number of those who worked the land and those who created wealth was decreasing. The stupid struggle to show ostentation and pomp forced many to turn to usury, which would raise the value of money.

It has been stated that in the twelfth-century, while the frontier did not move, the people of Castile and León had to work to make a living. The ferment and example they received from the immigrants from beyond the Pyrenees, the Mozarabs, *mudéjares* and the Jews, complemented the necessity to supply the new cities and their districts, and gave birth to a group of craftsmen who worked on commission for different clients or for the warehouse in the market-place and who originated different merchant groups which completed the craftsman's labor. It has also been stated that none of these incipient local artisan works, budding urban shops, the growing movement of peddlers or traveling merchants can be compared to the contemporary industrial or mercantile movements in the West. However, these groups of craftsmen, shopkeepers and merchants soon became acquainted with the guild practices beyond the Pyrenees and began to associate. We know that in the time of Alfonso there already existed many associations or guilds: the tailors of Betanzos; the shoemakers, money brokers and jet makers of Santiago; the craftsmen of Sahagún; the skinners and shoemakers of Burgos; the shopkeepers, muleteers and

weavers of Soria; the muleteers of Atienza; the tailors, exchange brokers and sea people of Seville... Many others must have existed, although we have no report of them. They associated for religious, social assitance, the reform of the practices of the trade or for economic purposes. The craftsmen associated to fix the price of their «business», so that only those who were received «into their companies» could work in that trade and so that only the descendants of their lineage would be taught the trade. The merchants associated to determine the selling price for a *vara* (40) of cloth and every unit of other merchandise. At the same time, other merchants —hagglers or brokers— plunged into the hoarding and resale of foodstuff products and construction materials. Naturally, whenever the craftsmen and merchants decided to raise the amount of wages and the price of goods and launch into hoarding and resale, they clearly contributed to the increase in the cost of living and accentuated the national malaise. By closing their organizations to strangers and refusing to divulge the knowledge and practice of their art, they impeded the industrial and mercantile development of Castile, a development necessary to overcome the crisis and liberate the kingdom from the economic colonization it had fallen into at the hands of Flanders and Italy.

At an imprecise date, Alfonso VIII (1159-1214) had initiated a protectionist economic policy prohibiting the exit of some essential products for the supply and the wealth of the kingdom. In 1250, Ferdinand III had tried to put an end to the guild development which was favoring the increase in the cost of living. But it was Alfonso X who attempted to overcome the crisis and put a remedy to the economic ills of the kingdom through a series of measures which mark his reign at intervals, beginning with his arrival on the throne. In them, protectionist and interventionist dispositions are intermingled. This double policy, uncommon in the Europe of that time, had Peninsular antecedents from the beginnings of the century and had been later practiced by Frederick II, in Sicily —might it have been of Islamic origin? Yet this series of wise and modern measures, though braking the dearth temporarily, could not provoke a real change in the economic framework of the kingdom and, instead, enabled the perpetuation of some of the traditional manners of living.

To build a dike for the dearth, Alfonso X stabilized the currency after devaluating it; he fixed and unified the weights and measures as much as was possible and in the Cortes of Jerez, in 1268, he dictated a severe law of appraisement, repeating, compiling and correcting some of his earlier dispositions. This law was so detailed that it bordered on exaggeration. In it the prices of the agricultural, livestock and mining products were fixed, as those of national and foreign merchandise, of various and sundry industrial products, of wages and of the most different jobs. Since this state intervention in economic life of the kingdom was not sufficient to

(40) A measure of length of about 33 in.

overcome the crisis, the Learned King completed the law with a series of disparate precepts.

Some of the precepts tended to put a brake to the excessive expenditures of the powerful and their imitators, with drastic luxury prohibitions. In various succesive cortes, he cracked down on the pomp of the grandees and the rich, especially that of the Jews and the Moors. Ostentation in garments, harnesses, homes, food and parties was proscribed. Even wedding gifts, except for wedding bands, were prohibited. The number of guests and the days the wedding reception should last were limited. It was even ordered that no one could eat more than two fish and two meats, except if the animals were eaten by the same person who caught them.

Neither the law of price-fixing or appraisement nor the sumptuary prohibitions were sufficient to remedy the economic ills of the kingdom, as they could easily be evaded. To reinforce the state action, intervention in international commerce of the frontiers was decided. The decrease in production and the increase in consumption —due to the wars, the depopulation of the conquered lands and the subsequent emigration to them by the inhabitants of the northern lands— had persuaded several kings of Castile and León —Alfonso X, among them— to prohibit the exit from the kingdom of the products most necessary for the equilibrium of the national economy. These were products that, because of their great importance in the daily life of the Castilians, their great value, their rarity, the difficulty of their manufacture, their necessity in war of for other similar reasons, were indispensable to all. Alfonso the Learned prohibited the export of gold, silver, mercury, horses, live or dead cattle, hides, wool ready for spinning, silks, wheat, wine, and all sustenance goods. Yet, since the currency was needed, as well as certain merchandise, especially cloth, which was still scarcely produced in León and Castile, and perhaps had been diminished by the war, Alfonso did not remove the foreign merchants from his kingdom. He limited and regulated their activities to safeguard the economic interests of the community and he authorized them to buy and export those things that would least impair the national supply and wealth. However, in order not to harm the national wealth and armed with a rigid criterion for defense of that wealth, it was decreed that the merchants could only export merchandise of the same total value as that which they had brought into the kingdom. This was due to the fact that the imported products were luxury items and manufactured goods, all expensive, while the products which could be obtained in Castile were raw materials, at relatively lower prices. To control the execution of these precepts the following measures were adopted: The ports dealing with foreign trade were named— Fuenterrabía, San Sebastián, Castro Urdiales, Laredo, Santander, Avilés, Ribadeo, Vivero, Ferrol, Coruña, Betanzos, Noya, Padrón, Pontevedra, Bayona, La Guarda, Tuy, Huelva, Cádiz, Vejer, Elche —and the shipmasters who carried products and merchandise to and from the Peninsula —the majority were foreigners because we lacked a

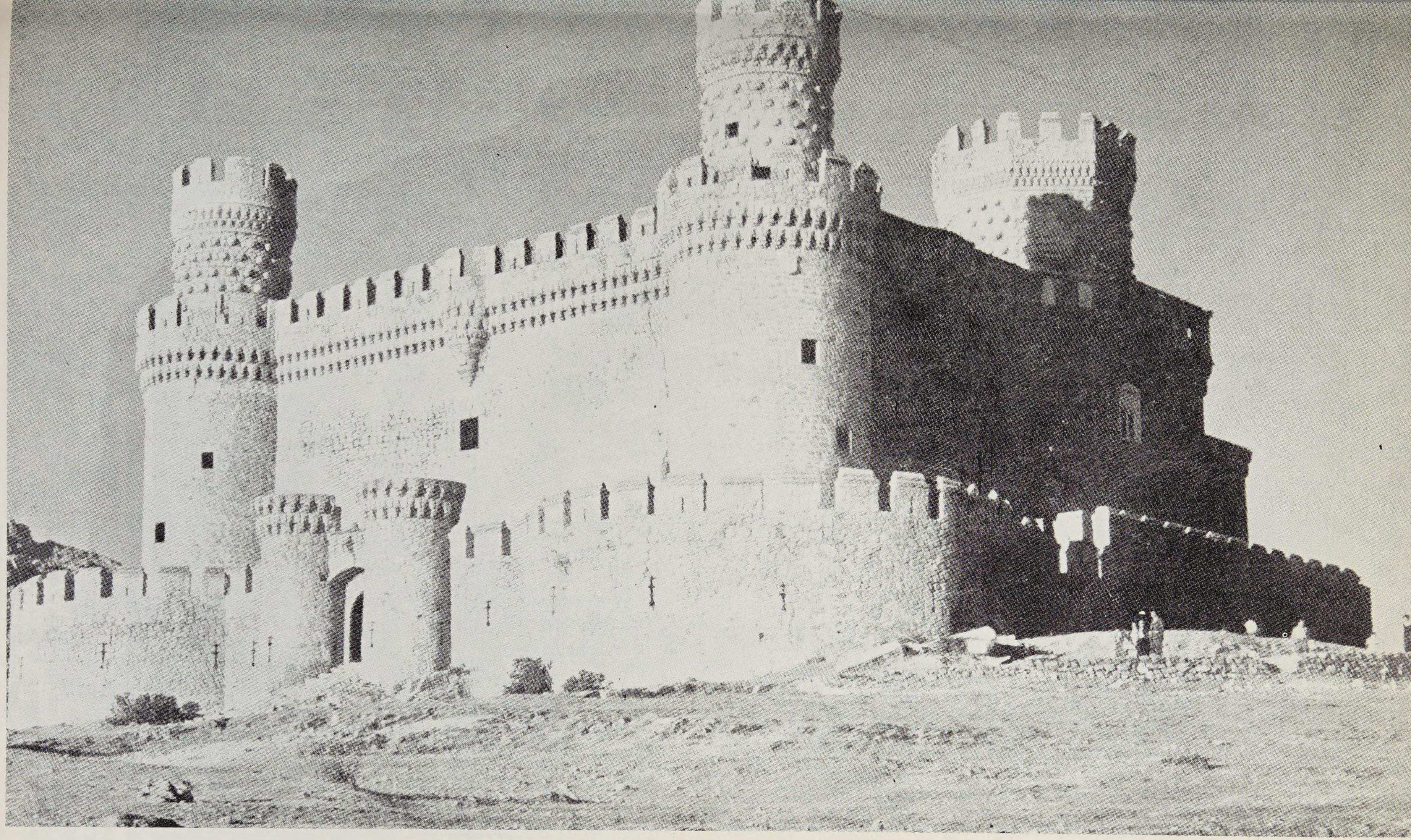
national merchant marine— were obliged to render vouchers which would guarantee clearing. Royal inspectors were named to many of the ports of entry and exit. Transgressors of the royal decrees were threatened with harsh penalties and high rewards were offered to the informers of the infractions committed by the offenders.

In order to thwart the efforts of the craftsmen and merchants —to increase the price of merchandise and wages, to close their ranks and prevent the dissemination of their craft, and to hoard and resale raw materials—, Alfonso X, in the cortes of 1252, 1253, 1256, 1259 and 1268, prohibited, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation, the associations and the «*cotos*» (agreements) among the merchants and craftsmen; and he also prohibited the resale of certain raw materials. In the *Partidas* (V.2.7) he later insisted on the same prohibitions, dictated norms to protect the free internal trade and authorized the celebration of fairs in many cities: Seville, Badajoz, Alcaraz... At the same period that Saint Louis was approving the guild codification of the Paris Provost, Stephen of Boileau, Alfonso X was legislating for the safeguard of a free industry and commerce. There is no testimony more precise than this one to see the differences which separated the economic ideas north and south of the Pyrenees.

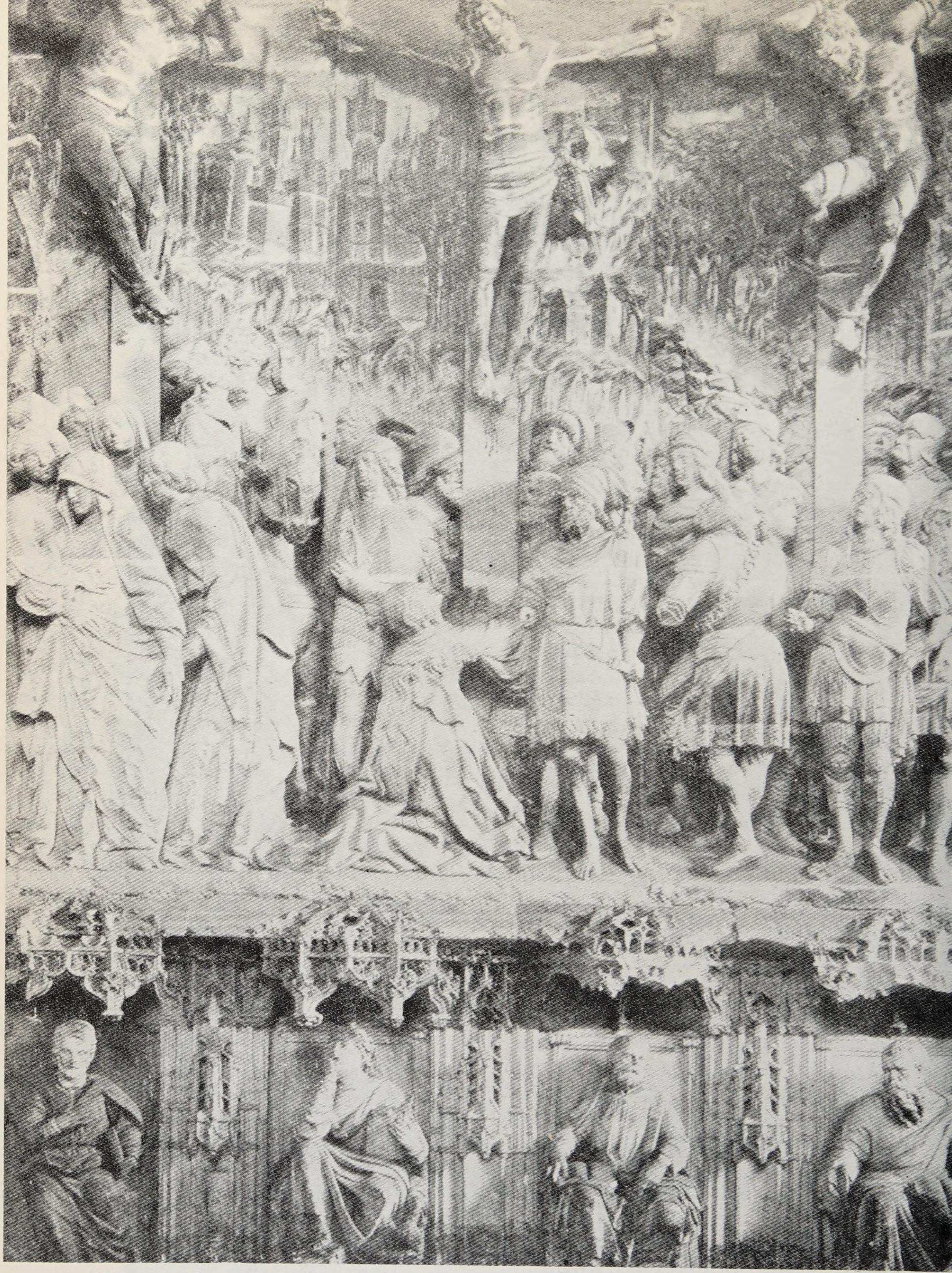
Alfonso the Learned also favored the creation of a national navy. This creation had already preoccupied his father, the Holy King, when he granted *fuero* to Seville giving extraordinary liberties and privileges to the sailors who formed armies at sea, in the service of the King. He went so far as to grant them the privilege of the Knights of Toledo. Alfonso X established some dockyards for ship construction in Seville and incited the coastal dwellers of his kingdoms to construct and men ships, by granting them exemptions and royal favors. For example, he granted knighthood to the people of Alicante who would do so.

The Learned King completed this series of measures with others which were no less transcendental for the future of the Peninsular society. The Reconquest had been, in part, an ongoing duel between the Christian sheep and the Arabian horse. With the victory of León and Castile and the occupation of La Mancha, Extremadura and Andalusia, the sheep triumphed over the horse. Alfonso X confirmed this victory with the organization of the «Honorable Council of the Mesta».

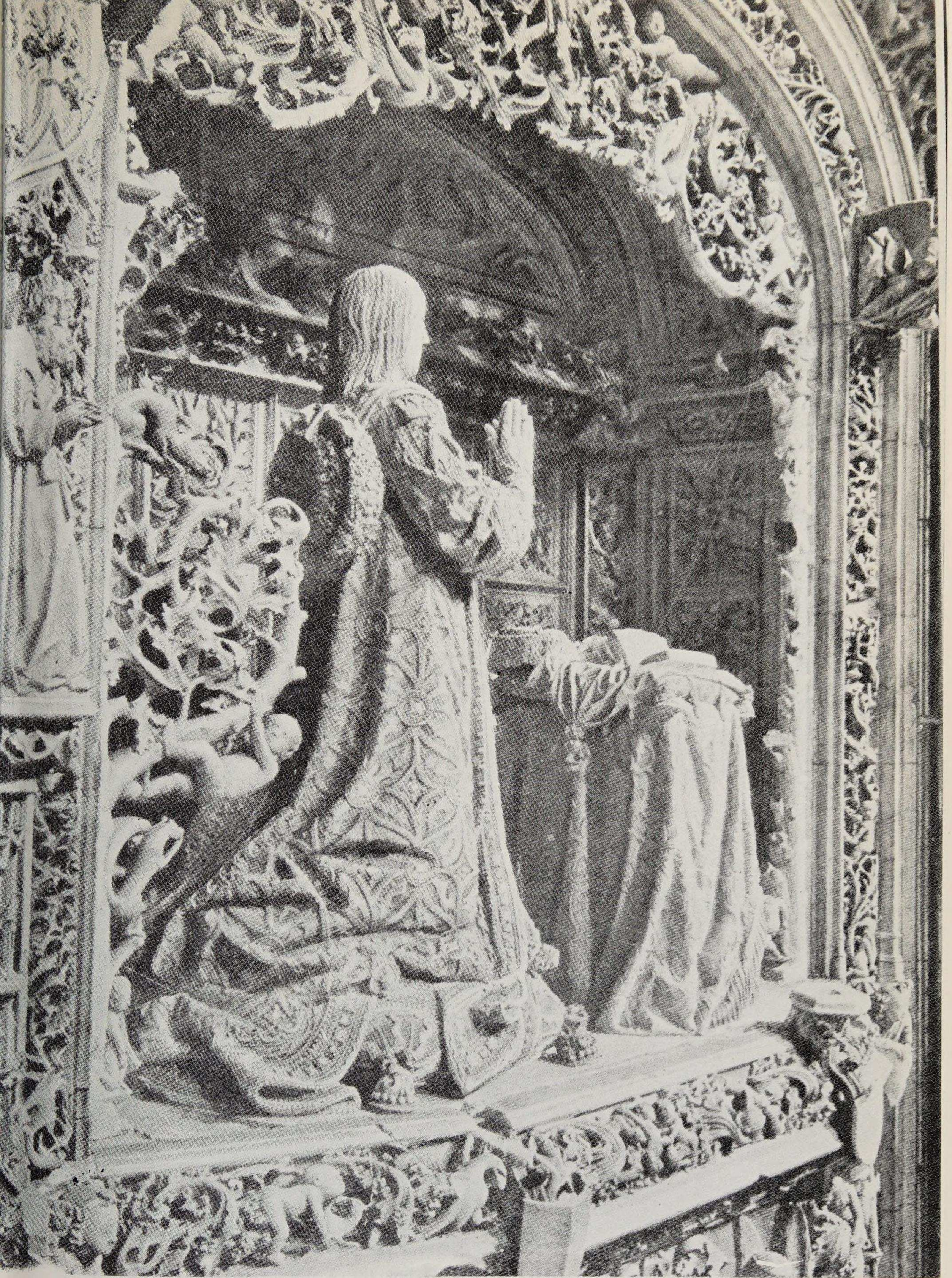
Transhumancy was perhaps as ancient as the sheep itself in Spain. Its origin was undoubtedly due to the climatic differences which separate the many Peninsular regions, due to the complicated vertical configuration of Spain. The Visigothic laws testify to its great development. The Muslim invasion and the Christian Reconquest must have interrupted or obstructed its growth for centuries. When the Duero Basin was repopulated, stock-raising must have again reached a considerable development because, when population is scarce and there is an excess of land, the easiest and sometimes the only possible system for land exploitation is found in pasturage.



103.—*Castle of Real de Manzanares* (Madrid), begun during the reign of Henry IV (d. 1474). It reflects the changes that the new art of war and the triumph of noble ostentation imposed on the fortresses of the age –remember those of Coca, La Mota and Escalona. It is a synthesis between the Gothic and the Moorish art of Christian Spain which was characteristic at the end of our Middle Ages. Juan de Guas worked on it, like he did on San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo.



104.—*Crucifixion*, by Philip of Burgundy (Cathedral of Burgos). At the end of the fifteenth-century great writers and artists arrived in Spain, attracted by the credit of the Spanish kings. Among these are two Flemish sculptors: Gil de Siloé and Philip of Burgundy. They worked on the sculpture of the rich retables and central choir-stalls that began to characterize our churches. For example, we owe the altar of Miraflores to Gil de Siloé. Philip of Burgundy left traces of his art in the Cathedral of Toledo and in that «Crucifixion» that adorns the Cathedral of Burgos.



105.—*Tomb of the Infante Don Alfonso,* by Gil de Siloé. Cartuja de Miraflores (Burgos). Brother of Henry IV and of the Catholic Queen, he was proclaimed king of Castile by the turbulent aristocracy in the gardens of Ávila. Defeated in Olmedo, he died shortly thereafter in Cardeñosa. For the good of Spain, Divine Providence or fate took him out of the path of his sister Isabel. This is his sepulcher, done in a flammiferous Gothic style, the most beautiful remembrance of his meteoric life.

106.—*Madrigal de las Altas Torres* (Ávila). Isabel the Catholic (1451) and Teresa of Jesus (1515) were born in Ávila. This is the birthplace of the queen: Madrigal de las Altas Torres. It is a hamlet in the flatlands of Castile: ice and sun and millions of furrows where wheat grows. It is a village of adobe houses and Moorish churches: lack of rock makes the use of clay and brick common. The transhumance of the Castilian court –Castile was never centralist– made the kings and princes be born and die anywhere in the kingdom, at times at the foot of an oak tree.

The use of sheep as money of account for public or private payments in the kingdoms of Asturias and León reveal the growth of sheepherding in the kingdom during the tenth-century. The pushing of the frontier to the Tagus Valley must have given hope to the sheep owners of the cold plateau of Castile and León to find winter pasture in the temperate lands south of the mountains. However, the halt in the Reconquest for a century, due to the Almoravid and Almohad invasions, and the frequent attacks on the Toledan zone, made the satisfaction of such hopes impossible.

The conquest and repopulation of La Mancha, Extremadura and Andalusia in the thirteenth-century offered enormous, uncultivated expanses of land which could be used for sheep to the avarice of the northern head shepherds. Thus they began to practice transhumancy on a large scale. Alfonso the Learned was perplexed by the difficulties that the necessity of importing great quantities of foreign cloth caused to Castilian wealth. Due to this and in order to assure the use of the many deserted lands of his kingdom while favoring, at the same time, wool production in his estates and promoting the manufacture of new fabrics, in 1273 he assembled all the shepherds of Castile and León into a national association: the Mesta. He gave it a privileged charter. From this date on the sheep industry developed. It was an industry that, more than protected, was pampered by the kings. The number of sheep in the Castilian lands quickly increased and their breed was bettered with the import of sheep from the Beni Amer empire —this is why the Castilian sheep are called merino, as Roberto López had proven—; and therefore, the quality of the wool obtained was also bettered. Sheepherding became one of the pillars of the national economy for centuries. It decisively influenced the future economic organization of Spain and the forging of the functional structure of the people of the Peninsula.

Late in his reign, the Learned King again passed legislation concerning foreign trade. In 1281, the merchants delivered the sum of a hundred thousand maravedís to the king, as an indemnification for the damage suffered by the national treasury during the years they had broken the traditional fiscal laws. Alfonso X promised that once the tithes on the merchandise that entered the country were paid, they could feel safe and secure without fear of harassment. He forgave the fines they might have received for contraband or piracy. He freed them from the tithe on objects of personal use and on private gifts brought into the country. Finally he gave them authorization to purchase and export national merchandise whose exportation was not prohibited.

Perhaps he attempted to encourage his subjects to devote themselves to commercial ventures, by protecting their exports. Since the days of Ferdinand III the merchants entering and leaving the kingdom paid a tithe *ad valorem*. The representatives at the Cortes of Valladolid in 1351 (§ 9) reminded Peter I that it had «always been customary for those merchants

of my kingdom, who traveled by sea, who brought and paid tithes on cloths and other such tithable articles, that they might be allowed to take from our kingdom without tithes, any merchandise which they might want to carry elsewhere outside the kingdom, just as though they had paid the tithe». And they asked the king to order the tithers to respect this practice. This freedom which allowed the national merchants to export Spanish products up to the same value as those imported by sea, without paying customs duties, must have been a very old freedom if we consider that it had «always been customary» in 1351. Alfonso X does not mention such exemptions either in the Cortes of Jerez in 1268 nor in his decrees of Burgos in 1281 when he legislates on the national and foreign merchants. In 1268, the Learned King writes: «Since it is necessary to import gold, silver, copper and cloths from outside the kingdom, those merchants who state having paid the entrance tithes can export all the goods in the kingdom...», except those whose export is prohibited (§ 14). There is no mention, either when regulating the entrance and exit of foreign and national merchandise or later, in 1281, when protecting the importers who paid the tithe from new extortions, which could allow us to attribute with certainty the concession in which the «customary exemption» was based, an exemption considered in 1351 to be remote. Nevertheless, this practice was already in effect during the reign of Sancho IV. The tariff list of Orio and Oyarzun of 1291 prove this. It states the names of different Basque and Castilian merchants who took, duty free, numerous quintals of iron upon presentation of documents justifying payment of the equivalent entrance tithes. As we have no knowledge that Sancho IV carried out an interventionist policy, it can be suspected that it was Alfonso X who, after 1268, granted the national merchants the valued privilege of exporting, free of exit tithes, merchandise from the country up to the equivalent value of that entering the kingdom. It was a privilege which, by being an incentive to their mercantile activities, inevitably awoke their commercial and maritime vocation.

The intervention of Alfonso the Learned in the economy of Castile failed. He could not halt the rise in the cost of living provoked by the currency devaluation, itself a result of the flight from the country of a great amount of precious metals in payment for the ambitious international policy of the sovereign and of the great volume reached by imports. The remedy could not be found through sumptuary or valuation laws, nor through the ban on export of gold, silver, cattle, diverse foodstuff products or military merchandise... from the kingdom. A total pruning of the state expenses would have been necessary including the abandonment of his imperial dreams and a great tariff on imports. Neither of the two policies were proposed. Foreign cloth would not, or could not, be done without, nor could the healthy rents which the custom houses of the country provided the national treasury. The reasons that made expenses unproductive and unprofitable would not, or could not, be understood and

it was not possible to discontinue the only legitimate and urgent expenses, those concerning the extension and securing of the frontiers against the Moors.

Inflation continued making Castilian life difficult as it was easy —it has always been and is still so— to ignore the dispositions concerning appraisement and the sumptuary laws. When referring to the valuation of merchandise of the Learned King, the chronicler, to whom we owe the history of his reign, writes thus: «And although it was very difficult to get products before the measure, more difficult was it after, because the merchants and the men who had goods to sell, kept them and would not display them. Because of this all the people found themselves in terrible straits; and, therefore, the king had to eliminate the fixed values and ordered that goods be freely sold at the price agreed upon between the interested parties.» And although the chronicle does not say so, it is just as certain that by the death of Alfonso X, all the economic problems which he attempted but failed to resolve not only remained but also worsened.

4. The Mercantile Apogee of Castile

The civil discords that shook Castile in the last years of the reign of Alfonso X, during a good part of that of his son Sancho IV and throughout the turbulent minorities of Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI, and the military campaigns of the three sovereigns did more than just make an economic transformation of the kingdom impossible. They did not even allow the country to confront and stop the crisis that the Learned King sought to overcome in vain. My disciple, María del Carmen Carlé, whose work I will be following frequently from here on in these pages, has recorded the vertical fall of the value of money and the accelerated increase in the cost of living during all of that period. Besides, the accounts of the court of Sancho the Valiant bear witness to the continual inundation of the country by foreign merchandise.

We possess the detailed registries of the tithes received in the customshouses of San Sebastián from January to October of 1293 and of those collected during various months of the same year in Orio, Oyarzun and Fuenterrabía. The information they give us regarding the quantity and value of the Flemish and Walloon cloths that entered Castile via the sole port of San Sebastián, in the course of that year of the reign of Sancho IV, are impressive. The detailed addition of the cost of these cloths would surprise or, better, would frighten the most incredulous among us. Besides the French fabrics from Toulouse, Carcassone, Narbonne and Montpellier, rich Italian fabrics from Lucca and from Venice also entered the kingdom, as did the English scarlet cloths and great amounts of the most diverse and varied merchandise: herring, dates, sugar, pimento, saffron,

indigo dye-stuffs, incense, brass bassinets, cattle-bells, trout hooks, iron hooks, needles, knives, swords, glasses, rings, combs, mirrors, both glass and Parisian buttons, nails for chairs, punchers, thimbles, thread, otter skins, hats, chests... and even dice and toothpicks. The majority of this merchandise —including the dice and the toothpicks— entered several times a year and in not small number: for example, 3,000 trout hooks were imported, as were several thousand combs, 12,000 nails, several sacks of rings, many thousand needles, many large buttons...

If from January to October we find such an enormous quantity of cloths and so numerous and varied merchandise entering only through San Sebastián, it seems not overly daring to speak of the inundation of Castile by foreign goods. The customs duties of San Vicente de la Barquera, Laredo, Santander and Castro Urdiales show that the same products arrived in Castile through these four Castilian seaports on the Cantabrian Sea. And from the Ordinance of the Learned King we can deduce that merchandise entered the country via other Atlantic and Mediterranean seaports.

Alfonso X would not have been able to industrialize the country as if by magic even though he would have tried, which he did not do. The national industry was very little developed. The historical reality does not here coincide either with the thesis of the essayist-turned-historian. He maintains that, in order for the Christians to live in a lordly manner, the Moors and the Jews did the work for them. The Jews, Moors and Christians participated in some trade activities but not enough to supply the whole kingdom. Neither Christian nor Moors, nor Jews did many things as shown by the fact that they had to be brought from abroad.

Thus, a great and varied quantity of foreign merchandise continued to be imported for long decades. International commerce continued to be a most important factor in the Castilian economy. But, since they were no fools, the subjects of the king of Castile soon discovered the wealth brought by the import of foreign products. Since the Spanish temperament caused them to pour their vitality into the rivers of any type of adventure, they soon dedicated themselves to commercial enterprises outside the Peninsula. The Christians from the North, used to the intense traffic of the pilgrimage road to Santiago, were the first to take up navigation and commerce through foreign seas and lands. The Christians? Yes! Once again against the thesis of the essayist-turned-historian, they were the ones, and not the Jews, who energetically took up mercantile activities outside of Spain. All this is not surprising because the commercial and maritime enterprises through the seas and lands of the North brought with them many risks and the Hebrews in those days were not fond of anything but safe business which produced sure and quick profit. The «*padrones*», i.e. the registers of the tithe charged from the foreign merchandise which passed through the customshouses of San Sebastián, Orio, Oyarzun and Fuenterrabía during some months of 1293, reveal the names of the merchants who

brought the imported products. Among these names we find a minority of foreigners, dozens of Basques and dozens of Castilians, some Catalans and only one Jew: Don Davit Almeriq, who traded through *interposita persona,* through an agent or employee.

In the registry of the customshouses of San Sebastián the following appear importing foreign cloths: Pero González, Lope de Roncesvalles, Pero Ortiz de Osunsulo, Juan García de Frías, García de Areiza, M. Aznarez, Juan de Ochoa, Pero Ochoa de Guevara, Pero Sierra, M. Moro, Guillén Domínguez, Juan Pérez de Carrión, Juan Guillermo, Gonzalo Farín, Fortún de Soria, Ferrán Ibáñez de Vitoria, Pero Esteban, Pedro Juan Bravo, Ibáñez de Gubileta, Juan Pérez, Ibañes Darescurevaga, M. Martínez de Trama, M. Orduña, Enego Pérez de Callo, Pero Pérez, Juan López de Monguía, Martín Pérez Barleros, García Dorbaez, Don Pero de Cariquegui, Garcí Sánchez, Domingo de Berrio, Pero Sanz Dulín, Pero López de Guerez, Don Juan de la Parada, Juan López, Miguel Sanz de Roncesvalles, Pero D'Olaso, Juan de la Puerta, Juan Bono el Zapatero, Domingo de la Tienda, Ibáñez de Burgos, Gonzalo Pérez de Amat, Juan García de Manda, Pero Pérez de Monziat, Alfonso Díaz de Santiago, Pero Goya, Pero d'Açaga, Pascual Sánchez, Juan de Beunza, García de Bitoria, Lope de Vitoria, Juan Ortiz de Leaburo, Juan de San Juan, Garcí Juanes de Ayala, Juan de Cuentaría, Domingo Pérez son-in-law of Don Juan García de Ayala, Juan de Çaraiz, Juan Ochoa de Guetaría, Pedro de Guetaría, Andreo Carlo, Yannez d'Ayala, Pero Arnaot de la Tienda, Pero Arnaot de Hica, Lope de Torneçaga, Juan Zeñeguez de Vitoria, Pedro de Burgos, Sancho de Studiello, Don García de Sariguren, Sancho Galla, Juan son of Juan Beunza, Juan de Vitoria, Pedro Vidal de Lascuín, Lorenzo García, Juan Fernández, Pedro Pérez de Scaracoyta, M. Yáñez de Gamarra, M. Pérez de Mondragón, Romero Pérez, Martín Pérez Digüeldo, Martín Ibáñez de Sagarduí, Juan García de Ongaceat, Nicolás Pérez... And not a few of these merchants —Lope de Roncesvalles, Juan García de Frías, Domingo Pérez, Juan de Beunza, Juan de Vitoria, García de Sariguren, Lope de Vitoria, Martín Pérez Digüeldo, Juan Pérez de Carrión, Domingo Berrio, Juan Ochoa, Pedro de Guentaría...— appear importing merchandise into the kingdom at different dates during the several months covered by the registry of San Sebastián; and some of them also appear importing through other ports whose registries are also available to us.

As against this long series of Castilian or Basque importers, only 25 names of foreign merchants, at the same time established in the country and residents of the Castilian cities on the Cantabrian Sea, appear in the registry; and the only Jew already mentioned. The number of national and extra-Peninsular merchants is similar in the brief «*padrón*» of Fuenterrabía, only residents of the country are mentioned in those of Orio and Oyarzun, and in none of them do Jews appear. The text itself of the registries in question clearly show that the Basques and Castilians were not in the service of the foreigners. When the agent worked under another,

it was promptly noted that he was an agent. We read for example: «On this day, Juan, the agent of Juan and Gonzalo Faryn, imported... The first day of March, Juan García, the agent of Bernalt de Condon, imported... This day Enegote, manservant of Pero Cariquegui, imported...» And those I have mentioned were either direct importers or operated with the help of their own manservants or agents.

It is clear therefore that during the second half of the thirteenth-century Castilians and Basques turned *en masse* to commercial adventures navigating over the Atlantic towards the North. We could not doubt it, even if we did not possess the detailed registries published by Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros. We could not doubt it because we posses documentary testimonies, both national and foreign, that accredit the development reached by the Castilian merchant marine and commerce throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries.

In the twelfth-century, brotherhoods of navigators of the Cantabrian coast of Castile had been formed. Around the same period a strong current of maritime traffic existed in Vizcaya and in Guipúzcoa, ruled at the time by the king of Navarre. Towards the year 1227 the Biscayans transported wine from France to England; and during the siege of Seville (1248) the sailors from San Vicente de la Barquera, Santander, Laredo and Castro Urdiales showed their drive. With the passing of time, Castilians and Basques —Guipúzcoa voluntarily became part of Castile around the year 1200— increased their maritime activities: mercantile in times of peace and pirate whenever necessary. In 1292 the king of England complained of the plundering of the Biscayans. In 1308 Edward II wrote Ferdinand IV requesting him to do justice against the sailors and pirates of Santander, Laredo and Castro Urdiales. And in 1324 Bayonne and Biarritz, then under the lordship of the English, signed cease-fires with Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya and Santander.

We know the names of numerous Biscayan ship constructors and outfitters in the first decades of the fourteenth-century: Arriaga, Begoña, Sangroniz, Ibarra, Arbolancha, Basurto, Zurbarán... and we also know of the fame achieved by the Castilian sailors on the Cantabrian Sea.

Castilians and Basques continued to cross the sea with merchandise. In Harfleur, between February and June of 1338, we find no less than 13 Spanish ships. A Spanish fleet reached Sluys in 1343 and obtained special privileges from the Flemish authorities and remained under their safeguard and that of the cities of Ghent, Ypres and Bruges.

From time to time the ships of Cantabrian Spain collided with English ships. In 1343 Edward III complained to Alfonso XI of the abuses of the Castilian navigators. In 1345 the sailors of Bayonne took over a Cantabrian vessel filled with cloths, jewels, gold and silver. In 1348 two ships from Castro Urdiales were captured by the English. In 1350 the squadrom of England cut off, in Winchelsea, 40 commercial vessels from the North of Spain which were returning from Flanders. In 1354 Edward III

signed a perpetual peace with the sailors of Laredo, Castro Urdiales, San Sebastián, Guetaria, Motrico and Fuenterrabía. Soon the clashes were renewed; Castile was allied with France against England. The Castilian squadron fought many times sucessfully against the English squadron: the armada of John I was able to victoriously penetrate the Thames. In 1399, the English fleet attacked a Castilian convoy that carried wine to Flemish ports.

During the fifteenth-century the sailors of Cantabria continued to travel the commercial routes. We know that shortly before Lent of 1407, 52 Spanish vessels arrived in Harfleur: in the North Sea, Spain was Castile. In the years 1408 and 1409, 10 Hispanic ships entered Dieppe. In 1436, not having any large vessels, a Castilian convoy returning from Flanders was forced to avoid combat with another English fleet. In 1439 pirates from Zeeland took over 15 Cantabrian vessels off the shores of Blanckenberg. Basque ships and navigators penetrated the Mediterranean and navigated along Spanish, French, Italian and African coasts and even through the seas of the Levant. Pero Tafur was saved from a shipwreck by some Biscayan sailors off Chios.

Although the Andalusian fleets had to be used mostly in bellicose enterprises, both offensive and defensive, in the Straits and in struggles, not especially sporadic, against neighboring Portugal, from the end of the fourteenth-century they too began to turn to commerce in the Mediterranean and to frequent the northern and western coasts of Africa and the Canaries.

The development of mercantile traffic outside the Peninsula was correlative to the development of the Castilian merchant marine. Castilian merchants appear in Flanders as early as the thirteenth-century. In 1267 the countess Margarita names them along with those of Portugal, Aragón, Navarre, Gascogne and Catalonia, upon resolving the difficulties among them. Shortly thereafter, in 1282, they lead the representation of all the foreign merchants in Bruges, in a general complaint that caused the writing of a regulation regarding public weight. At the end of the century they receive a statute from the count of Flanders that assures their personal safety and guarantees their interests; and, through him they get from the king of England a safeconduct to go, come and trade in his kingdom until St. Michaels day, 1294. In 1312 seven Castilian merchants act as witnesses on the occasion of the reclamations that the English had presented. Among them we find: Juan Lenze, Conrado de Frías, Lenze Pérez de Santamarina, from Castro Urdiales; Diego Martínez, from Santo Domingo; and Garcí Pérez, from Camargo. Observe that they were neither Basques nor Jews. During the war between the English and the Flemings, from 1333 to 1338, the traffic between Castile and Flanders decreases and, at times, stops completely. It recovers quickly, during the period of the alliance between England and the Flemish bourgeoisie (1339-1348), and also after the re-establishment of the authority of count Louis de Mâle in his country. Remember that in 1343 the Castilian fleet and merchants were

protected by the cities of Bruges, Ypres and Ghent; and that on their return from Flanders, at the time hostile to England —1350—, a convoy of Castilian vessels was attacked in Winchelsea by the English. In 1361 the Castilian merchants wanted to abandon the country, though we know not why. In 1367 they obtained great privileges and franchise The changing relations between England and Flanders at times hurt their activities. In 1384 Philip of Burgundy confirmed their ancient exemptions. In 1414 merchants from Burgos built the chapel of Santa Cruz in the convent of the lessor friars of Bruges as a home for the merchants of the Castilian nation: Castilians and Basques. The war between England and France, who had Castile as an ally, made the situation of the merchants difficult. Later they were to confront the Hanseatic League until they were able to impose a peace on it in 1443. This agreement was signed by the ship-masters of 23 vessels and different Basque and Castilian merchants.

Castilians and Basques had always formed one sole brotherhood. It was transformed into a guild by concession of Philip the Good, in 1424. John II of Castile wanted them to name consuls to it but Basques and Castilians resisted the decision and defended their right to name whomever they pleased. However the common Hispanic pride divided those who had remained united up until that point: they fought over questions of priority in the chapel of Santa Cruz. Later the Castilians and Biscayans organized independently and each group had its own consuls.

The Castilians also traded in France. They had already attended some of the fairs of Champagne: we know of their presence in Troyes and Provins. They also frequented the French coasts on their way to Flanders. They set up shop in Brittany after the expulsion of the Jews during the thirteenth-century. The presence of numerous foreign merchants irritated the natives. In 1363 Charles V took the Castilian merchants and sailors under his protection Yet by the middle of the fifteenth-century there were important Castilian mercantile nuclei in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Nantes and Dieppe. They were especially plentiful in Brittany and Normandy. The dukes of Brittany signed several commercial agreements with them and granted them diverse privileges. Abundant testimonies of them remain in Nantes. We know the names of many. The Rocas, the Aranda, the Miranda, the Contreras, the Heredia... are among them. They enriched themselves and took up roots in the city. Many Castilian ships anchored in Harfleur and in Dieppe and in both the Castilian sailors and traders enjoyed privileges and exemption. In Rouen there was an important colony of merchants from Burgos. Finally the pact signed in 1443 with the sailors of the Hanse, who promised not to trade in La Rochelle, testifies to their predominance there.

While not with the same intensity, the subjects of the king of Castile also traded frequently in Provence and especially in Marseilles. The wars between the Provençals and Catalans favored the success of the Castilians in such far away lands —distant because not only the Sevillans visited

them. They were also frequented by Biscayans, along with Castilians from the Cantabrian coast, from San Vicente de la Barquera, for example, and even the Galicians: the consul of them all in Provence was Vasco Gómez de Santiago. They took easy-to-sell Spanish products to Marseilles and provided it with merchandise from different Mediterranean ports: from Valencia, Barcelona, Genoa, Sardinia, Corsica... and even from Alexandria. And in their trips from one land to the other, they would unload and load different types of cargo in each one.

Castilian ships and merchants traded from a very early date in England and Portugal and later in Italy. Commercial relations with England began in the twelfth-century: in 1172 Henry II prohibited the import of Castilian wool. But this traffic seemed never to stop. Twice in 1293 British merchants and goods arrived in San Sebastián; in 1294 Castilian merchants obtained a safeconduct to trade in English lands; and we know that in 1303 Castilian goods reached Southampton, Sandwich and Portsmouth. The competition between Castile and England, due to the wool trade, and later, due to the Hundred Years War, were to frequently interrupt the already secular commercial current between the two countries. But in the doldrums that occasionally occurred in these hurricanes and especially when the hostilities ended, the subjects of the king of Castile exported iron, dyes, cordovans, silks, candles, wines and fruits. For example, after Winchelsea, Edward III signed a cease fire with the Castilians and Basques which was ratified by the Cortes of Valladolid of 1351; and in 1354, a perpetual peace with the Cantabrian sailors from Laredo to Fuenterrabía.

Mercantile relations with Portugal appear from the beginning of the reign of Alfonso X. In those days Castilian products were already being sold in the fairs of Guimaraes.

The Genoese of Seville carried Andalusian olive oil to Italy from shortly before its conquest by Ferdinand III. Later the sailors of Cantabria carried Castilian wools, highly esteemed by the Italian factories, and kermes dust for their dyeing. Soon the sailors of Seville were carrying elaborated leather and preserved tunny. In the middle of the fourteenth-century the chapel of the Spaniards was built in Santa María Novella in Florence and, in it, some merchants from Burgos were buried.

In none of the three countries, however, did the Castilian traders obtain the importance or the freedoms they had received in Flanders or France. In Portugal they were treated at times with hostility, understandable due to the frequent political conflicts that separated the two kingdoms. In Genoa, for example, they had to pay extraordinary excise which did not weigh upon other foreigners: perhaps due to the fact they shared with the Genoese other European markets: in England and Flanders, for example. Spanish vessels and traders from the Cantabrian coast also traded with Ireland and Germany, where some merchants from Burgos were imprisoned.

Sailors and merchants from Cantabria imported into Castile all types of cloths, varied manufactured products, luxury items and even tapestries and works of art. What did they export in exchange? The same as before, as after, and as now: raw materials. This sharp and precise reply sums up the great fault of the Castilian, we might say Peninsular, economy throughout the milleniums. I say the Peninsular economy because Portugal and the Crown of Aragón were not exporters of industrial products and Catalonia was, only at a very early date.

No Castilian town of any importance lacked a more or less numerous group of tradesmen during the thirteenth and the fourteenth-centuries. The Mozarabic documents of Toledo, the inventory of the real estate possessed, in 1306 in Ávila, by the cathedral chapter, diverse Sevillan documents, the laws of valuation dictated by Peter I in 1351, those of Henry II in 1369, numerous municipal ordinances and many other documents of the period speak to us of the work in the towns and cities of the kingdom of León and Castile: stone-cutters, lime-makers, tile-makers, masons, flagstone-makers, painters, carpenters, black-smiths, locksmiths, coppersmiths, carders, weavers, cloth-workers, cloth-shearers, dyers, linen-drapers, embroiderers, tanners, tailors, makers of mail-covered doublets, makers of bonnets, jewellers, skindealers, shoemakers, stocking makers, sandal-makers, harness-makers, belt-makers, packsaddle makers, bridle-makers, horseshoers, potters, makers of water jars, makers of casks, mat-makers, makers of espartowork, basket-makers, parchment-makers, millers, lathe-makers, engravers, bakers, oven-keepers, mixers of mead, cheese-makers, butchers, sword-cutlers, cuirass-makers, burnishers, cutlers, silversmiths, candlemakers, jet-makers, muleteers, carters... Naturally, the number of trades of each town or of each city and the number of workers of each trade varied according to the importance of the city or town. At times the artisans of one of these local industries were numerous enough to give their name to the street or neighborhood they lived in, and at times they had their own market. Their work helped satisfy the most imperious vital necessities of the urban center they lived in and the supply of the rural zone surrounding it. Frequently the majority of those tradesmen limited themselves to transforming raw materials brought to them by their clients: the Ordinances of Peter I clearly bear witness to it. Only a few, at first, and more, with the passing of time, worked for a store in the local market or for sale in the shops of the city or the town. Very rarely were some paticulary important industrial nuclei able to sell its products in other parts of the kingdom: we only know that fabrics from Ávila ,Segovia or Zamora, silks from Toledo or Seville, hats from Segovia or Toledo, Sevillian soap, Cordovan leather goods, Toledan arms, ceramics from Talavera, glass from Cadalso... were sold in the whole country. Sales outside Castile of the Andalusian cordovans and soaps and tinted glass for churches were surprising exceptions. Only thanks to Tafur do we know of this unsuspected export of this merchandise.

The sailors and traders from the kingdom of Castile carried to Flanders, to France, etc.: wines, fruits, rice, olive oil, wax, preserved foods, sweets, leather goods, dyeing materials, alum... and, above all, the two national treasures of those days, Biscayan iron and Castilian wool. The iron had been a gift from God to Cantabrian Spain. The wool had bettered in quality and had increased in quantity since the organization of the Honorable Council of the Mesta by Alfonso X. Castile possessed two precious raw materials for the development of two of the most important industries of all time. Yet neither of the two reached the development among us that they logically would have achieved if the Castilians had wanted.

Perhaps these last words are unjust. The moment in which the iron industry could acquire great importance was still far off. Moreover at one time the Castilians did want to have a textile industry, but they failed. It is easy to throw out a simplistic theory to explain our failure. The once again contradicted essayist-turned-historian is not familiar with the economic history of Castile and attributes the Castilian industrial and mercantile activities to the Jews. Yet we must remember that, as has been proven by Miss Carlé, the number of Christian tradesmen in the kingdom was great. He also roots our problems in our lordly style of life and in our incapacity to objectify ourselves in scientific and technical achievements. The enormous volume reached by our international and internal commerce contradicts his double theory.

Our lordly style of life, the same that triumphed among the nobiliary minorities in the West around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and our supposed incapacity for technology, did not impede the development of Castilian mercantile traffic either inside or outside the realm. While the national vessels carried the raw materials of the country across the seas and brought back products manufactured abroad, herds of mules and sometimes ox-driven carts transported from one land to another and between different cities of the kingdom the most varied merchandise. The seas around the Peninsula were not tame, not even the Western Mediterranean, as Braudel has shown. They were agitated by piracy and by war. The interior roads were harsh and difficult. They were cut by, blocked by multiple and heavy gate tolls (*portazgos*) and by groups of villein bandits: in 1352 don Tello, bastard son of Alfonso XI, robbed in Aranda the herd of mules of Burgos that was going to the fair at Alcalá de Henares. Nevertheless the national traders either crossed the seas to points further than Bruges or Alexandria, or tirelessly advanced along the land routes of the kingdom. Numerous alien testimonies bear witness to those commercial crossings. Some of the suits arising in Castilian lands because of the collection of the transit taxes or *gabelas* reveal the existence of this interior movement: there is one presented in Ávila by the merchants of Lorca. The figures of the amount of sales realized in some of the Castilian fairs during the reign of Sancho IV tend to confirm the importance of

internal commerce. In the relatively little-known fairs of Brihuega, transactions valueing almost one million maravedís were carried out in 1293, according to the calculations of Miss Carlé.

If, as has been shown, the Jews were not the subjects of the king of Castile who traded in the North Sea, we know that the Hebrews were not the majority of the merchants who came and went along the abrupt Castilian roads. Ferdinand IV affirmed that *all* the inhabitants of Burgos thought of nothing but buying and selling: María del Carmen Carlé has proved that the majority of the wealthy traders of Burgos in the late Middle Ages were old Christians. The sources we possess regarding the fairs of Medina del Campo confirm the fact that the Jews made up a minor group of those that attended them.

Yes! Not even the lordly style of life nor that supposed incapacity for objectifying ourselves in technical and scientific creations, capriciously given us, were able to stop the intense development of commerce. In her study on the *Mercaderes en Castilla* Miss Carlé has studied the upward movement that made Burgos into the great commercial emporium of the kingdom during the thirteenth to the fifteenth-centuries.

By the end of the thirteenth-century it was already an important mercantile center. In 1281 the national and foreign merchants, based there addressed Alfonso X requesting protection. Years later María de Molina went to the Castilian merchants of the «highroad of San Llorente» in search of economic aid to save the throne for her son. The statutes of what was later the brotherhood of the merchant knights of Santa María de Gamonal, founded in Burgos in 1285, date from 1305. These statutes thank the Virgen for her favor shown the brothers «both on land and on sea»: words that confirm all we know regarding the integral dedication of the merchants of Burgos to commerce both inside and outside Spain. They chartered the Castilian and Biscayan ships to carry their merchandise in convoys to the North. From Burgos came a good part of the traders established in the ports of France and Flanders: the Frías, Astudillo, Villegas, García de Castro, López de Gumiel, Pardo, Carrión, Díaz de Arceo, Gómez de Morales, Curiel, Miranda, Compludo, Sevilla, Salamanca, Maluenda... Some appear in Nantes, others in Rouen, others in Paris, others in Bruges. Some appear in these centers and also in Spanish commercial centers like Seville. In the fifteenth-century they were already wealthy; they had climbed the social ladder —their old brotherhood of Gamonal became the brotherhood of «merchant knights»—; they participated in the government of the city; and they prolonged their memory in mansions, chapels, altars and tombs. Yet their way of acting had not changed: they were bourgeoisie and that is how they acted. Don John II forced them to open their pocketbooks and give him an important loan, under the threat of confiscating the vessels chartered by them, whose arrival from Flanders they were expecting. In order to win the goodwill of the then omnipotent counstable don Álvaro de Luna, in 1436 they decided to

make him a gift of a ceremonial litter, adorned with luxurious ornaments. And when the partisans of the infante don Alfonso, proclaimed king in Ávila, against Henry IV, urged them to take his side, they replied that they were inclined to do so, but that they would not reveal their intention before the mule herd with the bundles of wool destined for Flanders arrived in Burgos. They built the «Merchant University» from which came the initiative to create the *Consulado* (41) of Burgos.

Around the same period the fairs of Villalón and Medina del Campo acquired enormous importance and reached an international category similar to that of the most important fairs of Europe. This is shown in the book by Paz y Espejo on them: a book which, today, can naturally be revised and amplified. They were attended by merchants from Burgos, Toledo, Segovia, Riaza, Santa María de Nieva, Palencia, Valladolid, Ávila, Cuenca, Agreda, Laredo, Bilbao, San Sebastián, Sevilla. Generally all the other lands of Spain were represented: León, the two Castiles, Navarre, Aragón, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia and Andalusia. Portugal was represented as were all the industrial and mercantile centers of the West: especially Flanders, Genoa and Florence, but also, France, England, Ireland and even Alexandria. In these fairs the most varied goods from all the countries were bought and sold totalling vast sums of money.

5. Wool: the King, the Cortes and Economic Problems

Yet if our lordly style of life and our supposed incapacity to objectify ourselves in concrete things did not impede the development of our mercantile trade both inside and outside the kingdom, why did we never have an industry of any importance? Years ago I ventured a theory to explain the weakness of our medieval economy; I reiterated it earlier. I said then, and I still believe today, that the task of reconquest and repopulation created in Castile, and also in the other kingdoms of Spain until the end of their respective reconquests, a climate of illusioned hopes of obtaining quick advancement, as if by magic, whenever the frontier advanced into Moorish lands. All of Castile must have dreamed of the both easy and difficult conquest of wealth with blows of the sword and of the emigration to the South in search of new lands under new suns, paying no heed to the ambition to accumulate riches by means of long days of hard and patient effort. In that psychic climate the people of the North, long since removed from the rumble of war and from the fertile fields of the South —theirs were far from being an orchard—, used to the intense and continuous traffic of the road to Santiago and with now few drops of blood from

(41) A merchant guild created in Burgos in 1494 by the Catholic Monarchs which combined the functions of a guild and that of a mercantile court. It was modeled on the earlier *Consolat de la Mar,* established in Valencia in 1283, Majorca in 1343 and Barcelona in 1347.

beyond the Pyrenees in their veins, felt the calling of mercantile activity. It provided adventure and the promise of rapid enrichment, if God and fortune were propitious.

The slow and plodding tasks of industrial life, which rarely provided for more than one's daily bread, were unable to attract with the same force the Castilians from the North and those who lived in the far South, near what we might call, without recourse to any hyperbole, the «promised land». The nation of warriors, shepherds and peasants that was Castile, would have always had to make a great effort to overcome the obstacle of its temperamental heritage and dedicate itself to tasks that, up till then, had hardly ever been practiced, at least among them. However only those who believe in the inalterable duration of the vital context of nations can reject the idea that the Castilians could realize this change which, besides, had nothing magical nor prodigious about it. Up until the thirteenth-century England had been a country of lords, shepherds and peasants. The wool of their sheep crossed the Channel and was elaborated in the looms of industrious Flanders. The English weavers could not compete with the products manufactured by the Flemish with their own fleece. Besides, English industry did not have a very brilliant history. At the beginnings of the fourteenth-century England annually exported 30,000 sacks of wool to Flanders and some 5,000 pieces of cloth to countries more industrially backward than she was. In the sixteenth-century the number of sacks exported each year had decreased to 4,000 and the pieces of cloth sent abroad was more than 100,000. National industrialization was slow but magnificent. It was initiated and encouraged by the kings. Edward II adopted the first protectionist measures by placing obstacles to the entry of foreign cloths not destined for the nobles. In 1331 Edward III contracted specialized Flemish weavers to better the textile industry of the country. When he was preparing the invasion of France he prohibited the export of wool to Flanders (12 August of 1336) in order to oblige the Flemings to come over to his side. Successful in his attempt —to save the textile industry from ruin, Jacques D'Artevalde, a wealthy cloth merchant from Ghent, roused Flanders to rebellion and allied with the English—, Edward III abolished the measure. The Hundred Years War did not favor the rapid economic transformation of England but it did not detain it, even though the export of wool helped to finance the military campaigns. The English policy changed unceasingly under the pressure of royal needs, of the rival interests of English subjects and of the opposition between them and their overseas allies. Trial periods of protectionism and free trade were attemped, often at strange intervals... The «mercantilist» era had not yet arrived and a set protectionist policy was not adopted. Yet, as the English historians recognize: «The country gropingly advanced towards it».

In 1381 Richard II was already reserving English boats for the transport of national merchandise and, though the measure could not be maintained,

the increase in the marine of England ended up making the monopoly possible. The artisans brought from Flanders, possessors of the secrets of the trade, were protected; and privileges were granted to the English cloth-makers. With the Jews expelled by Edward I in 1290, the financial necessities of war facilitated the birth of a whole spectrum of English speculators and capitalists. Many of them became entrepreneurs who, with their money, pushed along the development of the textile industry. The kings favored its definite triumph with their economic measures.

In 1455 the entry of silks in England was prohibited as was, in 1463, the export of wool; in 1464 even the purchase of any type of cloths on the continent was forbidden. Less than two centuries of intelligent protectionist policy forever changed the economic life of the previously livestock-oriented England.

In Castile a similar policy was not enforced. The kings understood the inquieting aspects of the Castilian economic ills; but they either did not know how to, did not want to, or could not remedy them. Why their negligence and that of their subjects? Due to their temperamental incapacity and clumsiness and that of their subjects? No! I must insist that simplistic theories do not explain the complexities of history. Right in the middle of the road to our industrialization a complex group of concurrent causes intervened that would have overcome the most discrete and vehement inclinations of the most willing of countries.

At the end of the thirteenth-century cloths were manufactured in diverse cities of the realm: Palencia, Zamora, Ávila, Segovia, Soria, Alcalá, Madrid, Toledo, Cuenca, Murcia, Córdoba and Seville. There were probably others in cities whose factories are still unknown to us: it must be pointed out that an exhaustive study of the documentary sources of the late Middle Ages in the local archives of the Crown of Castile is yet to be done. We had wool, alum and dyeing materials, all of which we exported, and we would have normally been able to increase the not at all embryonic picture of our textile industry, if our path had not been blocked by... Fate and Chance. The need to work in order to survive during the bisecular doldrums of our Reconquest would have encouraged, and did so, many Castilians to intensify their industrial activities. But...

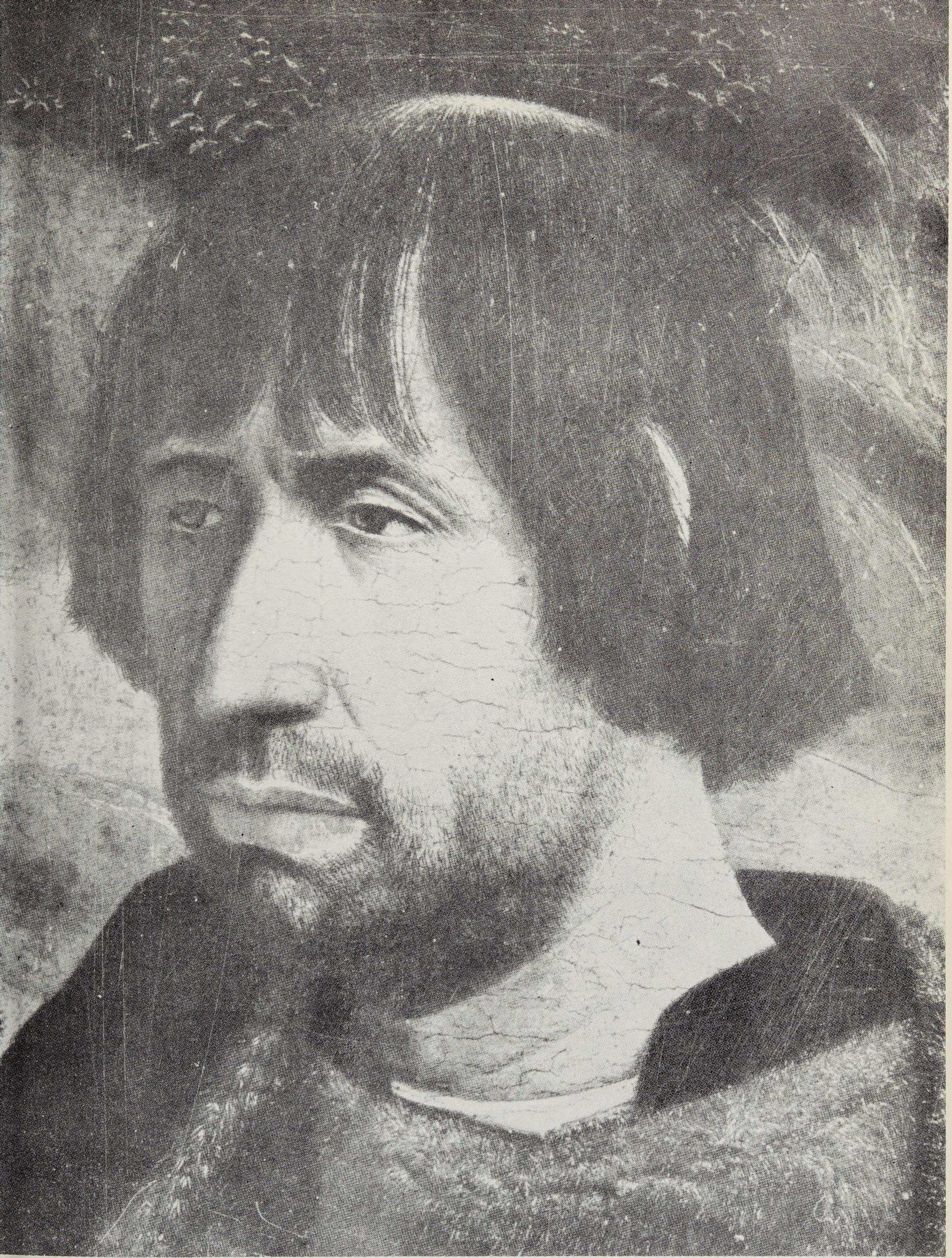
The way to our initial industrialization was blocked by: the sustained industrialization of England, the consequences of the Hundred Years' War on the wool trade and the eternal fiscal straits or necessities of the kings who, if not advancing the frontier line, continued to struggle against the Moors and had to defend themselves from the attacks of enemies from both outside and inside the kingdom. The increasing difficulties that the war created for the supply of the Flemish and Walloon factories and the protectionist policy of England intensely affected any possible economic transformation of Castile. Flanders, deprived of the English wools, to maintain its textile industry, sought wool wherever it could, and found it in the great livestock kingdom of that time: Castile. The Castilians

found money entering the doors of the kingdom as though it were a gift from God. The promised land of the South was still not ripe for conquest. The people could not gain wealth and prosperity with their swords. The Moorish dogs continued firmly in the cragginess of their mountains, resisted all attacks with the help of the African Islamites, and from time to time, took the initiative in the battle. To conquer a position on the Straits of Gibraltar in order to cut off the passage of the Beni Amer took long months, sometimes more than a year, of difficult, but not always victorious, siege. Algeciras was besieged thrice before being conquered by king Alfonso XI after 22 months of combat. But soon the loud knocking was heard of a no less promising enrichment than that afforded by the Reconquest of the latest Islamites sector of the Peninsula. Nobles, monasteries, knights and burghers were able to sell their wool at a high price; the merchant adventurers of the North could make magnificent business buying it without bargaining and sending it to the markets of Flanders in vessels from the Cantabrian coast ; and the kings could continue to obtain abundant revenues from the *alcabalas,* excises, *portazgos* (gate tolls), pasturage fees, ferryages, bridge tolls... that were levied on transit and mercantile transactions, and from the tithes from the cloths and the other merchandise that entered the country from abroad.

The protection, or better, the pampering, given by the kings to the livestock industry was accentuated. Transhumance increased daily along with the hopes, or realities, that sheep business provoked. The *Honorable Council of the Mesta* became an extremely powerful force in the kingdom. Wealth provided by wool multiplied. That wealth ended up being like a curse for Castile. A curse? Let us avoid words that are too harsh. Wool aggrandized Burgos and many other Castilian towns. Without the wool the architectural beauties of many Castilian towns would be inexplicable. Wool increased the mercantile trade of Castile and of its merchant marine and situated it firmly within the economic and financial currents beyond the Pyrenees. But that wealth which entered Castile abruptly, together with the never satisfied necessities of the millstone of the public treasury, made difficult, or better, it made impossible the industrialization of Castile and besides affirmed its ancient temperamental heritage.

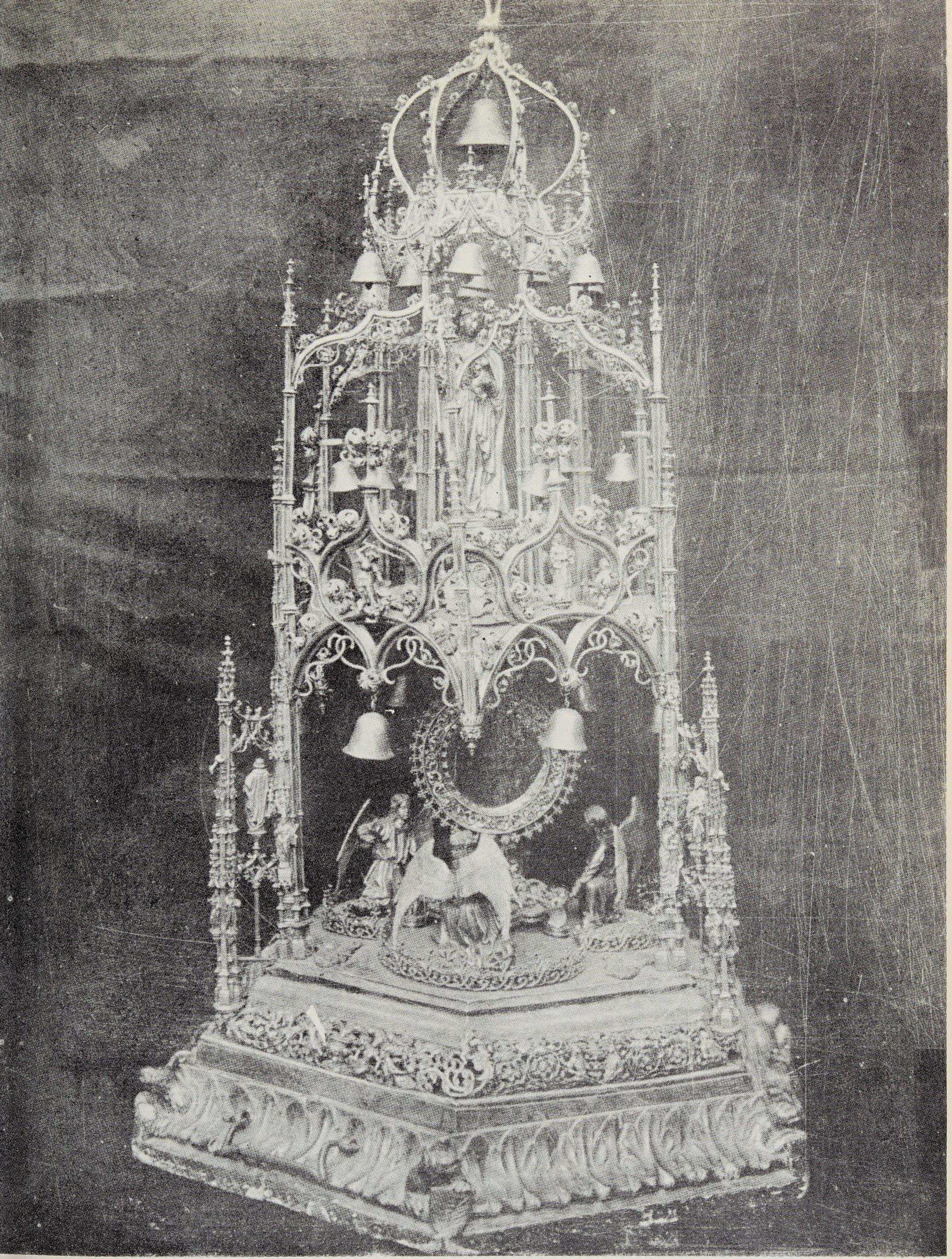
Reconquest and repopulation thrice offered the Castilians over the medievaly centuries, but especially after 1212, great stretches of empty space which could only be exploited by sheep. It had contributed to creating a society of livestock owners and soldiers, without taste for long industrial work days. Ant the wool that those reconquering and colonizing enterprises had given Castile, due to the conjuncture that chance had offered them in the latter part of the medieval centuries, ended up fortifying the age-old vital structure of Castile.

The purchase of wool in Castile was probably begun by the foreign merchants who brought cloths into the kingdom. They were probably quickly imitated by the Castilian and Basque merchants who began to

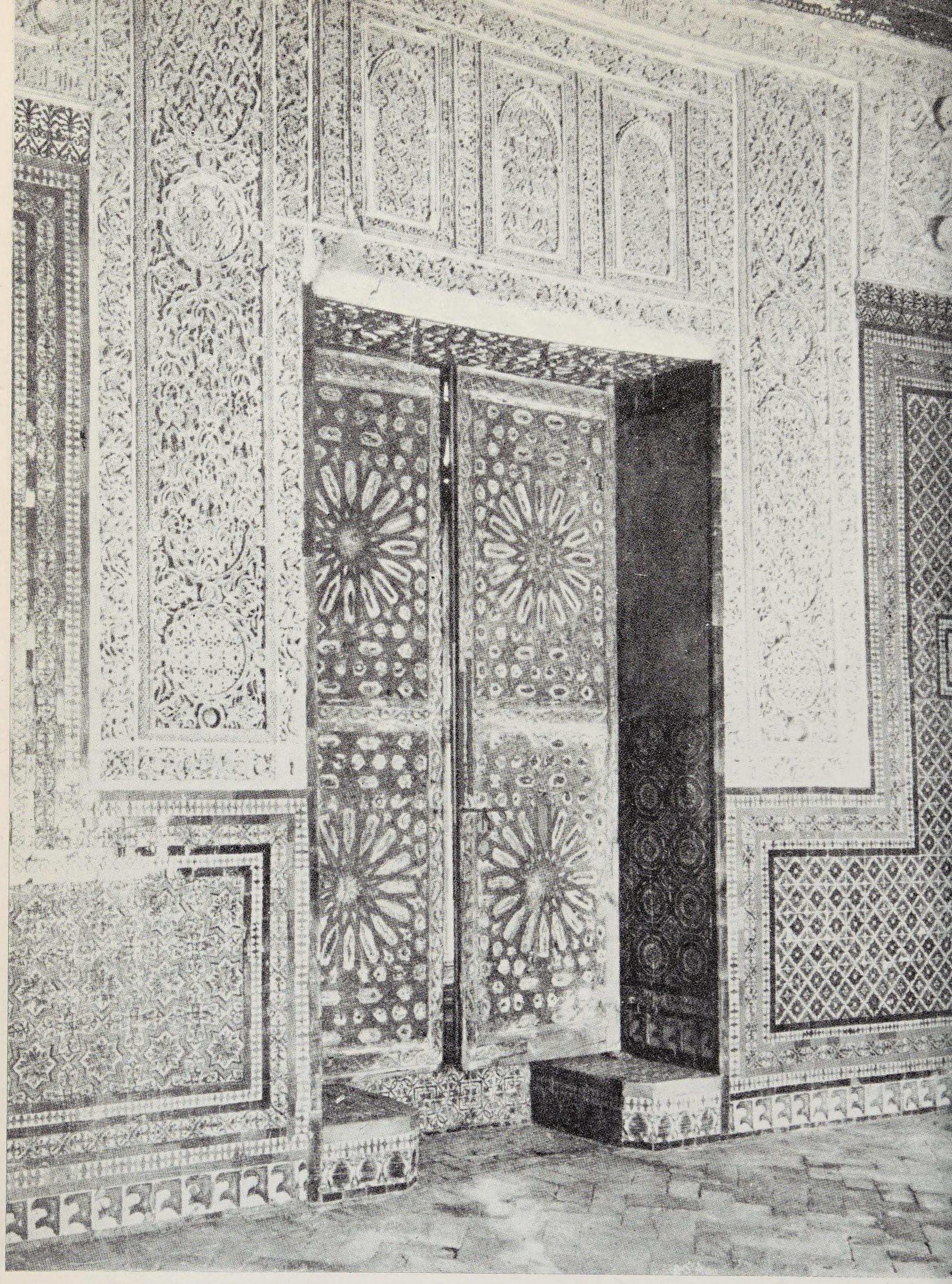


107.—*The Archdeacon Desplá in the Tabla de la Piedad,* by Bermejo (Cathedral of Barcelona). The moving about of painters and artists becomes accentuated. An Andalusian painter in Catalonia, Bermejo, did this portrait of Archdeacon Desplá for the Tabla de la Piedad (1490) in the Cathedral of Barcelona. May there be any doubt of the «Spanishness» of the subject? The richness of decoration and the physical portraits of the donors have been pointed out as an ethnic character of Spanish retables. We might even say Hispanic altarpieces if the triptych of Nuño Gonçalvez, a Portuguese, is considered.

108.—*Page from the «Book of the Confraternity of Knights of Santiago»* (Municipal Archive, Burgos). In few Castilian cities did the nobility and the bourgeoisie intermingle as they did in Burgos. Being an intersection point for wool commerce, there were noblemen who became merchants, while some merchants soon ascended the scales of nobility. Alongside the confraternity of the merchant Knights of Santa María, was this one named for Santiago. Nevertheless, the bourgeois spirit triumphed in all. They refused to fight against Henry IV if the flock of sheep they were awaiting had not arrived.



109.—*Monstrance of San Benito in Sahagún* (León). The fervent Hispanic devotion for the sacred Body of The Lord, which incited them to pompously celebrate Corpus Christi since the fifteenth-century, and the public taste for manifesting this devotion in solemn public processions, inspired beautiful monstrances to be fashioned. Magnificent examples of these have been preserved, some of which are signed by the Arfes. Among those done in Gothic style the one from San Benito in Sahagún stands out.



110.—*Door of the Patio of the «Casa de Pilatos»* (Seville). Mudejar mosaics, inlaid tiles and marquetry in the «Casa de Pilatos» of Seville. Constructed in 1500. The beauty and lavishness characteristic of «Mudejarism» is in contrast with the ornamental simplicity and coldness of Gothic interiors. These elements united to the Castilian nobility's taste for ostentation saturated Andalusia and New Castile with Mudejar palaces. The art of the conquered became mixed in with that of the conquerors.

frequent the seas and lands of the North. According to Klein, wool had already been exported to Flanders by the thirteenth-century. The business had grown and grown when the Flemings needed to substitute English wool with ours: the attack by the English squadron of the Castilian fleet at Winchelsea (1350), coinciding with a crisis in the relations between Flanders and England, was probably to take revenge for the arrival of Castilian wool in Bruges. The revenues that the wool brought had probably grown as the English industrialization had developed and the export of wool from England to the continent had increased. The obliged use of Castilian wool, a wool of rather short fibers, determined the industrial transformation of Flanders because it was necessary to manufacture light cloths and only the rural looms could adapt to the change. The great riches provided by the export of wool to Flemish and Walloon lands had soon encouraged the Basque and Castilian merchants and sailors to sell them in other European markets: in France, in Italy and even in England. The French factories in Paris, Amiens, Arras... were amplified with Castilian wool by the initiative of Louis XI. Thus, in the course of two centuries, the sending of national fleece abroad probably intensified and, with it, the export of Spanish alum and dyeing materials. If the Castilians had not exported their wool, they would have inexorably had to weave it in Castile which would have become a first-rate industrial country. It is legitimate to affirm this.

Only with an intelligent and sustained state intervention, and not without overcoming great difficulties, would Castile have been able to reverse this triple current: of the agricultural-livestock tradition of the country, of the healthy and quick earnings afforded by the sale of wool and of the concentration of cash in the hands of the Jews. If the livestock and farming tradition of the country and the good business made by the exporters raised serious obstacles on the road to industrialization, the Hebrews felt no urge to renounce their fabulous credit deals to become industrial entrepreneurs, as the English capitalists had done after having freed themselves from the Israelis.

The Alfonsos, the Sanchos, the Ferdinands, the Johns or the Henrys of Castile, who would have given their souls to the devil —they sold themselves to the Jews as we will see later— in order to obtain a few thousand doubloons to buy the failing loyalty of the nobles and to resist or attack the Muslims, never even dreamed of adopting the drastic measures taken by their contemporaries the English kings. The fiscal anguish of the sovereigns of Castile deserves a book. When studying the Hebrew problem in Spain I will refer to it. War was very expensive. We can guess it by the sums that went to different Castilian Jews: some of the leases of royal rents; by the well-documented straights and excesses of Sancho IV to finance the undertaking of Tarifa; by the budget calculated by two officials of the court of the Valiant King of what the siege of Algeciras would cost for a half of a year —its siege by Alfonso XI lasted

more than three times as long—; and from another series of most diverse testimonies from the reigns of all and each one of the sovereigns of Castile. Alfonso XI even nationalized the business of exchanges to his own profit because, given the volume reached by international commerce in Castilian lands, many money exchanges had to be carried out and these exchanges produced great revenues. By favoring the industrialization of the country the kings would have increased the national wealth and therefore the tributary potential of their people. But they could not wait. It was urgent to maintain oneself on a throne fought for by the noble jackals and pursue the struggle against the Moors. The kings would have had to give up very healthy revenues if they had prohibited the export of Castilian wool and the import of foreign cloths. They never even dreamed of starting such an adventure. Edward III did not give up the sale of wool abroad, despite having commanded the great sums that the ransom of the king of France, John the Good, had procured for him.

Whenever the protests of the people against the rise in the cost of living were strongest, the kings of Castile recurred to the useless method of Alfonso the Learned: they rigorously fixed the prices of merchandise and wages and prohibited the export of precious metals and of livestock, meat, cereals, etc. ...They used the method of the Learned King and that used after our king by other sovereigns of the West, in difficult historical moments, in order to contain, by means of the increasing inflation, the increasing malaise of the people provoked by the repeated devaluation of the money. The measures dictated by Philip IV of France in the fourteenth-century and in the fifteenth by Louis XI are examples of this.

In the first years of his dramatic reign, Peter I dictated a detailed law of valuation. In the Cortes of Valladolid of 1351 he established the maximum prices for livestock, domestic animals, cereals, and other food products; and the maximum prices for cloths, clothes, arms, harnesses, construction materials, ceramics, etc... and the salaries of the workers in the most diverse professions. The valuation was different for Asturias, León and Galicia, for Old Castile, for the kingdom of Toledo and for Andalusia.

In the Cortes of Toro in 1369 Henry II modified the prices and salaries established by Peter I and only established regional differences for cereals and wine. Yet this disposition met the same fate as that of Alfonso X: it had to be repealed due to popular protests. Hardly a year after promulgating it, the Bastard King spoke in this way to the Cortes of Medina del Campo: «You and others of the cities, towns and villages... say that this ordinance is harmful, and that, if repealed, the meats and other things will return to normal; we grant this petition and retire the said ordinance.»

All of the descendents of the Learned King repeated these prohibitions of the export of precious metals, livestock, cereals, and foodstuffs. But the decreasing value of money was not detained. Vives some years ago and Mateu y Llopis more recently have studied the gradual descent of the basic monetary value in Castile from the gold maravedí to the *blan-*

cas (42) of Henry. This barbarous and cruel inflation continued to the very end of our Middle Ages. This was because the great sums of gold and silver continued to leave the kingdom in payment for the cloths and other goods brought in. Some cortes called the attention of some of the kings regarding the necessity of a favorable balance of payments: either by encouraging practices that perhaps went as far back as the days of the Learned King, or by adopting new protectionist measures with the national monetary wealth. I have already referred to the petition presented to Peter I by the Cortes of Valladolid in 1351 in order that the immemorial custom of allowing the national merchants to export duty-free merchandise of the same value of that brought in by them be respected. This incentive stumbled on the abuses of the tithers bent on charging the entrance tithes and also the exit one. The Cruel King only replied: «I shall order it known and observed in such a way that my right and that of our nation be kept.»

The struggle regarding the defense and increase of national wealth between the cortes and the king had begun, that is, between the people and their princes. The fiscal and economic ideas of the cortes deserve a monographic study. It is easy to note in them the increasing interest for such questions, a not at all clumsy vision of the faults of our economy and a frequently correct suggestion of remedies.

The presence in Castile of numerous foreign merchants, coinciding with the increasing cost of living provoked by the constant inflation, created in the kingdom a growing hostility towards foreign merchants, who obtained great profits at the expense of the impoverishment of the country. That hostility had caused frequent acts of violence. In 1306, for example, the neighborhood of the Genoese in Seville was assaulted. In times of Henry III the movement of xenophobia increased against the freedom of movement throughout the country of the foreign merchants. This freedom of trade made the sale of cloths manufactured in the kingdom and that of those imported by Castilian merchants difficult. In order to avoid that double competition the Suffering King dictated an ordinance to the effect that foreign importers sell in the customshouses the cloths and other merchandise brought by them into Castile and that they use the profits from the sales for the purchase of national merchandise. And in 1398 he decreed that foreign merchants preferentially use national vessels, that is, from his kingdoms, over foreign ones when shipping their merchandise.

The ordinances of Henry III fell in disuse during the minority of his son. The Cortes of Madrid of 1419, the first ones that John II called when he began to reign in Castile, requested that he confirm the first of his father's precepts. However the young prince answered with one of the habitually evasive replies used by the kings to refuse the petitions of the *procuradores* that did not please them.

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(42) Old copper coin valued at half a *maravedí*.

Meanwhile the Castilian textile industry had continued to grow. In the first third of the fifteenth-century not only were cloths woven in the aforementioned urban centers; they were also manufactured in some small towns of the bishoprics of Sigüenza, Osma and Calahorra: this we know thanks to an edict of John II in 1435 regulating the commercial contacts with Navarre and Aragón with which these lands formed a common frontier. Cloths were also manufactured in towns of Castile, León and Andalusia, of the category of Baeza and Baena, for example, and even in other much smaller ones like Valderas of León. In 1436 the Cortes of Toledo (§ 3) said to the king: «In the kingdom there are many cities and towns and villages which live from the profession of textiles, making cloths, from which great revenues are obtained by the towns and villages where they are made.» And, if we follow Lozoya and Colmeiro, in some cities, like Segovia and Toledo, thousands of workers already worked in the fabrication of many and varied and rich fabrics.

The enthusiastic dedication of the subjects of the king of Castile to maritime and overland trade and the gradual development of national industry provoked an sustained economic nationalism. Affected by it, the cortes presented numerous petitions with the purpose of getting a removal of the obstacles blocking the industrialization of the country and the vitalization of its commerce. In the fifteenth-century that nationalism increased its pressure. John II received very prudent demands very soon: Regarding the extraordinary excises that the Castilian merchants had to pay in foreign countries —Valencia (Ocaña, 1422, § 19; Madrid, 1435, § 16 and others), Portugal (Palenzuela, 1425, § 41), Aragón (Madrigal, 1438, § 5), and Genoa (Valladolid, 1442, § 35). Regarding the difficult situation of some cities of commercial and maritime importance: of Seville and Castro Urdiales, for example (Ocaña, 1422, § 41, and Burgos, 1430, § 27). Regarding the laxity in the fulfillment of their duties of the agents charged with watching for prohibited exports (Zamora, 1432, § 41, and Toledo, 1436, § 41). Regarding the abuses committed in the collection of the excise on transit (Zamora, 1432, § 15, and Madrigal, 1438, § 42). Regarding the concession, by the lords, of tax-free fairs in their lordships, to the detriment of the great national fairs (Burgos, 1435, § 25). Regarding the damages inflicted on the commerce and industry of the kingdom by the decreed collection of the *alcabala* at both the origination and destination of goods sold in the tax-free fairs (Madrid, 1433, § 37; Madrid, 1435, § 40; Toledo, 1436, § 3, and Madrigal, 1438, § 14). Regarding the need to unify the weights and measures (Madrid, 1435, § 31, and Toledo, 1436, § 1). Regarding the urgency of building ships large enough to defend the national fleets on their trips to Flanders (Toledo, 1436, § 4, and Madrigal, 1438, § 15). Regarding the utility of navigating together in convoys, once having overcome the disputes among the shipmasters (Toledo, 1436, § 5). Regarding the necessity of moderating the luxury that was ruining the popular classes (Palenzuela, 1425, § 31; Madrigal, 1438, § 38, and Valladolid, 1442, § 37).

Regarding the return to the cities and to private individuals of the loans made to the Crown (Palenzuela, 1431, § 7; Madrid, 1433, § 5; Madrid, 1435, § 6). Regarding dearness (Madrigal, 1438, § 40). And regarding another series of questions dealing with the increase in the fiscal duties of the productive classes: due to the exemptions received by many by becoming knights (Zamora, 1432, § 34) or by their condition as tonsured priests, that is, their shameful clericalism (Madrid, 1433, § 20).

Frequently John II did not accept the sensible requests of the cortes or he replied with vague and unfulfilled promises. His negative answers be they tacit or expressed, truly harmed national political economy whenever they referred to two intelligent efforts of the *procuradores* to encourage the industrial and commercial wealth of Castile. One dealt with the just regulation of exchanges and the other with state protection of the textile industry.

The problem of the money-changers frequently received the attention of the cortes. They complained to the king that different weights were used for buying and for selling gold and silver coins and they requested that, in the whole kingdom, the Castilian doubloon, the Aragonese florin and any other coins issued have the same weight (Madrid, 1435, § 32). They spoke against the damages implied by the concession by the king of exchange monopolies in some cities to whomever he pleased. Those favored by these monopolies bought and sold coins at whatever prices they wanted. For this reason the cortes pleaded for the re-establishment of the old freedom of exchange (Madrid, 1435, § 32). They insisted in their complaints against these monopolies; they presented others against the lease by the king of exchanges in some villages, since such leases had made the price of gold and silver increase: the leaseholders had to obtain double profits in order to pay the fiscal canon and increase their own profit, all at the expense of private individuals. Again they solicited complete freedom of exchange (Toledo, 1436, § 8). Their tiresome persistence got from John II a rectification of his policy which ended up granting freedom of exchange and regulating the profession of the money-broker. But the new, free money-brokers found subterfuges to obtain illicit earnings and the cortes again denounced their stratagems (Madrigal, 1438, § 56).

Some singularly intelligent and capable *procurador* must have attended the Cortes of 1438, called by John II in the small village of Ávila of Madrigal de las Altas Torres, where the Catholic Queen was to be born a few years later. Besides insisting on the subjects that had been bothering them since the beginning of his reign, the Cortes of 1438 presented to the king some petitions of great economic importance. They solicited that an end be put to the amortization of goods in the hands of the Church, due to the grave damages this implied of the national wealth (§ 33). Faced with the great amount of gold coin that left the kingdom for the court of the pope, a loss that contributed to the increase of the price of gold in Castile,

they said to the king: «If in your kingdoms there are some persons who possessed the exchanges in Genoa or in Venice or in Florence or in Saragossa or in Barcelona or in Valencia, and they also possessed other exchanges here in your kingdoms it would be wise that so much gold money did not leave the kingdom except in merchandise; we request Your Majesty to deal with some merchants of Burgos or of Seville or Toledo or some other places that they take this charge (money-broker), from which the service of Your Majesty would increase greatly.» (§ 35). John II, who had responded to the petition regarding ecclesiastical amortization by saying: «I shall order this to be pleaded with our Holy Father», here answered: «You speak well and I order it discussed in such a way that my service and the common good of my kingdoms is fulfilled.»

But the cortes presented a much more important petition which, if it had found any sort of a favorable response in the government, would have been able to change a part of Castilian history. After recording the tremendous rise in the prices of cloths in recent times and having explained the evils occasioned by it to the king, they write: «And in order to sidetrack these (evils) something which we think will be very favorable to your service, because in your kingdoms very inexpensive cloths are made and each day more and better ones will be made; it seems to us that Your Majesty should order that none of the woolen cloths of any type at all be able to enter in your kingdoms either by land or by sea nor shall they be sold in your lands, except the cloths made in our kingdoms, which should be reasonably permitted. And that Your Lordship order that none of the woolens be permitted to leave your said kingdoms by land nor by sea nor any other way, under grave punishments. Most powerful lord, while at the present some of your rents will decrease with time much more profit will be gained, because many people will have something to live from and your kingdom will increase in population and become ennobled greatly; moreover because after the other cloths are not sold, your *alcabalas* will be worth much more, and many officials from other parts of your kingdoms will come before long to buy the good cloths made here and will take them to other lands. May it please Your Majesty to order this done.»

The *procuradores* gathered in Madrigal in 1438 had hit the nail on the head. They had finally understood where the key to the economic malaise of Castile lay. The increase in the value of precious metals and their leaving the kingdom; the increasing difficulties that weighed on commerce due to the complex series of indirect contributions paid by it such as the frontier tithe of entry and exit, the transit excises, the *ad valorem* percentage on the amount of sales *(alcabalas, sisas...)*, the local duties of fairs and markets (the *posamientos* and judge's fees...), fiscal burdens aggravated by the extortion of the functionaries and the abuses of the money-brokers; the resulting rise in the cost of living; the general misery; the plague of usury... all were truly tightly related to the meager development

of Castilian industry. This was the backwardness that the *procuradores* wanted to overcome with the adoption of drastic measures. This backwardness was also related to some social processes of fourteenth-century Castile known to us: the escape from tributary oppression through the loophole of knightly ennoblement of the most fortunate; the refuge found in lordly service by those who could not scale the fortress of *hidalguismo;* the increase in the number of vagabonds and *pícaros* (rogues); the growing number of «tonsured priests». «There are few left in our kingdoms who do not have a tonsure and many of them are ruffians and thieves», said John II in 1433; the growth of banditry on the roads and in the cities and, what was still worse: the lack of a bourgeois spirit among the urban patricians, along with all the problems that this lack provoked in the organic context of the community.

Finally an audacious and intelligent protest was heard. England was becoming industrialized by means of analogous measures to these proposed with clarity and sharply reasoned by the Cortes of Madrigal of 1438. The nation saw the way to salvation and through their spokesmen, the *procuradores* of the cities and towns of the kingdom, requested from John II, that is, the government, a decisive change in the historical course followed up to then by Castile. However the revolutionary measure solicited was not accepted by the king.

The Castilian inability to overcome the lordly style of life and to objectify itself in technical achievements? National incapacity for economic questions? Let us avoid, once again, overly simplistic theories. The *procuradores* in the cortes were not bourgeoisie in a fourteenth-century sense of the word; they were knights, because the knights already monopolized the government of the Castilian cities and from among these governors came those who attended the cortes. But their knightly position and spirit did not keep them from clearly seeing the economic horizon of the kingdom. It is only the overly theoretical essayist who can consider the ways of being in the life of nations as closed and indelible. These are never unchangeable.

The revolutionary measure which the Cortes of Madrigal requested was left unheard by the king, but not due to any psychic impediment of the Castilians. John II did not approve it because it would have harmed many interests. The first to suffer would have been the fiscal interests of the monarch: the importation of foreign cloths procured many good revenues for the public treasury; the prohibition of their entry into the kingdom would have also separated him from the foreign merchants and this would have supposed the interruption of the import of other foreign products, with the resulting decrease of the customs duties, *alcabalas,* gate tolls, etc. It should not be forgotten that the wasteful Castilian State of the late Middle Ages lived mostly from the product of indirect taxes. The closing of the frontier to foreign cloths and the prohibition of the export of Castilian wools would have also caused grave damages to the Castilian

merchants established outside the country and would have ruined those of Burgos who exported national fleece: with reason the *procuradores* from Burgos in the cortes, years before the proposal was submitted, had tried to win the good-will of the omnipotent don Álvaro de Luna with an expensive gift. They would have also damaged the interests of the livestock breeders grouped together in the Mesta: the interests of the magnates, the churches, the monasteries and the knights among others, that is, the ruling oligarchy of that time, as never before, in control of the country. Naturally the exporters payed the prices for the wool that the weavers of the cities and towns of Castile would have never been able to pay. Finally these measures would not have favored the money-brokers, tax gatherers and usurers, be they Jews or *conversos,* because the money-brokers did good business with national and foreign importers and exporters and the usurers had nothing to make for the increase in fortune of the urban masses of the country.

The interests of the king, of the livestock breeders and of the merchants and the interests of the tax gatherers, traders and usurers, whether Jews or *conversos,* prevailed over those of the nation and the future history of Spain. Caught in the swamp of their personal appetites and paying no attention to anything but power struggles, plentiful sources of riches and control, they did not realize, they could not realize, that by disdaining the intelligent measure proposed by some intelligent representatives who understood the industrial backwardness of Castile, they were perpetuating something more than an economic system. They were prolonging one of the faults or impediments of Castilian society that was to most affect modern Spanish history.

Clearly, the adoption of the proposal of the Cortes of 1438 would not have industrialized Castile immediately; but it would have marked the beginning of the decisive turning point in the life and psyche of Castile, the nation which most influenced the Spanish being in the period of the forging of the vital structure of modern Spain. It would have favored the formation of a bourgeoisie attuned to the economic interests of the community. Having initiated this transformation almost a century before America was to offer Spain a formidable conjuncture for its commercial and industrial development on a large scale, this extraordinary and unique occasion, the greatest that has ever suddenly been presented to any nation, would not have been lost. Moreover since a century could not castrate the national warlike drives, this transformation would not have harmed the creation of our American empire. Furthermore the industrialization of Castile would have permitted its intelligent exploitation and would have helped maintain Spain in Europe.

The Castilian bourgeoisie —a small class whose history, full of surprises, is yet to be written— clamored in vain in 1438 as it had done for decades and would continue to do in the future. Against the foolish policies of the

Trastamaras it raised its clear voice many times. It was caught between the wolves of the aristocracy, who with their gnashing teeth devoured Castile, and an enslaved nation which was half enraged half roguish. The man of government who knew how to listen to that clear voice and would subdue the interests created by the oligarchy never appeared. From the political swamp no head stood out, not even that of Don Álvaro de Luna, increasingly less justifiable. And everything continued as it had up to that point. Castile continued to export wools and import cloths, its textile industry continued to be unable to overcome its initial lagging behind Flanders, Italy and England, and the bourgeois spirit continued to struggle to open its way against the weight of an adverse temperamental structure which was already centuries old.

After 1438 the cortes did not cease to point out to the crown the most pressing economic questions. Those of Valladolid of 1442 (§ 43) revealed that, already in those days, the foreign merchants, disdaining the official monetary unit of value, were demanding payment in gold for their goods; later they sidestepped all the restrictions placed on the export of precious metals. Thus the bleeding of Castilian wealth continued. The *procuradores* requested John II to order that all contracts be written for the value: «Of your usual money of *blancas* which is called usual for that reason... from which it follows that the said foreigners in order not to take the said money in *blancas* which is small and weighty receive in payment for the goods they bring, other merchandise of your kingdoms so that they might take it with them.» Once again the cortes proposed a correct measure to favor exportation and to rectify the balance of payment. The king replied that he would order that the frequent and much abused prohibition of the export of gold be observed. Regarding the essential subject brought up by the *procuradores* he merely replied that he would see about what was most useful.

The Cortes of Valladolid of 1447 (§ 52) again dealt with the problem of the foreign merchants, complaining that by means of artifice, normal today, they avoided selling their goods so that, lacking on the market, their price would increase; and they delayed their purchase of goods in the country so that need would oblige the vendors to lower the prices. They accused the Genoese of practicing agio and asked the monarch to establish the maximum period of residence in the kingdom for foreign merchants of one year. The king replied, as usual, with vague promises to study the case. Far from giving in to their requests, in 1449 he granted royal security and privilege to any foreigner who wanted to come and sell merchandise in his kingdoms, without any temporal limitations nor pressures to avoid the practice of agio *(Nueva Recopilación,* IX, 31, 4, § 61).

In the Cortes of Burgos of 1435 (§ 13 and § 14) the representatives asked John II to recover for the public treasury the tithes of the ports of Cantabria which he had granted in favor: «Since these rents are among the greatest and most principal of all your kingdoms.» They asked him

also to defend Castilian money, because: «The money coined in your kingdoms should not have less importance than that coined abroad.» The king said that it seemed like a good idea, but we do not know that he did anything to remedy the two problems.

For a half century the cortes had continually made prudent proposals. Neither the king nor his government listened to their demands. Only fiscal measures came out of the royal council; most of them clumsy as the *procuradores* of the cities and towns of the kingdom never ceased to remind John II. The comparison between the economic policy of the kings of England and those of Castile is cruel. And the responsibility of the kings is all the greater because, each time they convoked the cortes, they were forced to listen and pay no heed to the intelligent demands and proposals of the *procuradores.* Thus, in appreciating the difficulties of economic life, lucidity was not lacking among the Castilians; contempt for the ideas and suggestions of the people overflowed among the kings and the governing minorities. Only the pressure of the Cortes of Toledo of 1462 finally induced Henry IV to decree that at least one third of the wool of Castile be necessarily reserved for national weaving factories.

Thus the textile industry grew very slowly along with other industries: leather and skins were elaborated, soap was manufactured, irons and arms were forged, hats and gloves were made, earthern pots and tiles were baked...

... Moreover at that rhythm the distance separating our industrial life from that existing at the time in other nations of the West would never be overcome. It was necessary for the Catholic Kings to initiate a total reactivation of the life of all Spain to make a conscious effort —well-meant, but too bureaucratic and regulated— to change the economic face of Castile. But it was too late. The Modern Age was already moving and we arrived in it with the enormous impediment of the ruin of our industry and our bourgeoisie. Yes, our bourgeoisie because besides the lack of an efficient industry, the monopoly of the Jews and *conversos* of money dealing, for reasons I will study forthwith, and the knightly spirit of the urban patricians, which ended up affecting the merchants of Burgos, made us enter new times without a bourgeoisie. Without a bourgeoisie and without a bourgeoisie spirit, naturally!

Chapter XIV

THE LIMITS OF THE JUDAIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE FORMATION OF THE SPANISH CHARACTER

Few pages in the history of Spain have caused as many waves of passion as those referring to the contacts between the Spaniards and the Jews. They were so fierce that they still pound against the cliffs of historical truth. No educated Spaniard today feels any aversion whatsoever against any Hebraic people, but Hebraic anger is still directed toward Spain. Spanish scholars are able to serenely examine the history of the Peninsular Jews, and somehow show them a fervent devotion. Jewish scholars have not yet achieved a just vision of the remote past of the Spanish nation; that is, one free of resentment. Years ago I summed up my judgement of the relations between the Hebrew and Spaniards with a concise phrase: *accounts settled.* The Jews possess a long series of bones to pick with the Spaniards; yet those Spaniards have to pick with the Jews are no fewer. However, there is one difference separating the two debts: the Spaniards were no more cruel with the Hebrews than any other European nation, yet there is no nation more passionately attacked by the Hebrews. Anyway, here I am not going to outline the historical credit and debit of each nation towards the other; that is precisely the subject of these pages. Upon examining the book of historical accounts, I must once again point out the misconduct of the medieval Jews with respect to the Peninsulars among whom they lived. The historical facts cannot be ignored by the historian in the service of any school. I have sacrificed what a man most loves to my faithfulness to the highest spiritual values, to my respect of the inalienable rights of the human person and to my faith in the value of peaceful coexistence of national communities. Therefore nobody can attribute false phobias to me I appreciate the magnitude of the contribution of the Spanish Jews to universal culture: figures of the stature of Ibn Gabriol, Ibn Paquda, Yehudá ha-Leví, Abraham ibn Ezra, Maimónides... and a plethora of illustrious men of letters and science were born in Spain.

All must be inscribed in the annals of the Hispano-Arabic cultural tradition and only limitedly did they stamp their own lineage of temperament on the Islamic forms of thoughts and of literary and scientific creation. Yet that does not take away the importance of recognizing their contribution to the spiritual life of Europe.

Neither can I belittle the importance of the Hispanic Jews in their role as intermediaries between the Oriental and Occidental cultures on the Peninsula. They were the vehicles —I am not sure if it is fair to add aseptic as Dámaso Alonso has done when studying the *jarchias* romances of the Hebraic *muwasahas*— that transmitted the knowledge and the literary forms of the Muslims of Al-Ándalus to the Christian Spaniards. Doubtless a great mission, but not comparable to the creative task of the Islamites themselves.

Their cultural superiority over all the other Hebraic communities in Medieval Europe is undeniable, as is their effect on modern culture through grandchildren of Spanish Jews like Montaigne and Spinoza and of some of the great Hispanic *conversos*.

I agree unhesitatingly with all praise that can be given to the impetus of thought, the reasoning capacity and the attuned spirituality of the educated minority of the Spanish Hebrews. However no matter what admiration the spiritual efforts of the Judeo-Hispanic nation inspire in me, I must here leave them aside because they did not influence the formation of the Spanish being The contribution of the Spanish Jews to the coining of the Spanish character was very different and always negative. What I mean is that it did not transmit qualities, it only provoked reactions. Nothing essential to the psychic make-up of the Hebrew people left an impression among the Spaniards. Furthermore, a sharp opposition confronts that which is Hebraic with that which is Hispanic.

1. The Hebraic against the Hispanic

In the Hebraic religion the collective triumphs over the individual because, in it, the direct tie of Israel to the Most High is more essential than the direct relation between man and God. This fact established the conditions of life and the development of chosen people in whom the divine message is rooted. The «Servant of the Lord», spoken of in Isaias 52.33, is not man; rather it is the nation of Israel. In it and in the Holy Land— in Genesis 28.17 it is called the «Gate of Paradise» —the designs of God are typically carried out. At the peak of the hierarchy of the beings in the world we find not man, but the Israeli man because he belongs to the people who have received the Law, a gift which makes him like the angels. The idea that the Jewish people are the treasure of mankind is fundamental in the thought of the great Hebraic-Spanish figures such as Yehudá ha-Leví. For them the Hebraic people form «the heart

and the treasure of the human race». According to them only the chosen people favored by the vision of God and of his angels and who possess the gift of prophecy, are able to reach the truth.

The Judaic soul, writes Millás y Vallicrosa: «Knows itself to be especially called on and loved by God and, even though it has not known how to fully respond to this calling, it considers it to be the garment and security of its later titles and merits. This correspondence and amorous fidelity between God and the Synagogue is seen as the ultimate and supreme tie which explains all of the universe, both material and moral, upon which it depends. The only thing left to other beings is to figure as more or less sensitive witnesses of this mystic marriage; the other humans may follow in their retinue.»

The singular sense of the relations between Jehovah and Israel, which transforms the generic tie between the Most High and man in a bilateral one between God and his people, was poured into their particular Messianic hope; the Messiah was going to come not to redeem humanity but for the glory and triumph of the chosen people. This pact with the Divinity makes Israel the principal actor in the historical process of life and man sinks into the shadows of religious vulgarity. More than in the immortality of man, Hebraic thought has placed special emphasis on the Messianic purpose of universal history, with the triumph of the kingdom of God, and his people over the world.

These words are from a Hebrew author: «The Jews have no individual redemption in their religion; all their religiousness is collective. According to their *midrasih,* even the awakening at the end of time will be collective.»

In Christian mysticism, writes the great Hebraic scholar Millás, the amorous relations are centered principally between God and the individual soul, while in Judaic mysticism these relations are centered between God and the community of Israel, in which all and every single one of the individual souls are represented. «Hebraic mysticism —he adds—, is a mysticism that, when exteriorized, does not become isolated but tends to integrate itself into the community... Therefore the mystic relation is perfected in the relations between God and the Israeli nation, considered globally and as personified.» «With the collective soul constituting the center of the mystic relation... this is sidetracked and faints or dies frequently on the altar of national and political as well as religious Messianism. The Judaic soul overflows with requests and complaints; it tires and becomes impatient in its long night of waiting and turns to injurious censure against its enemies, the Christian and Muslim nations.»

Later Millás says: «The Judaic mystic amorously accepts the tribulations and spiritual abandonments through which the soul is purified and is prepared for the union. Yet such acceptance refers to moral, external, social and common tribulations, and not to internal desolation and difficulties. As for these, there is no testimony in the sacred Hebraic-Spanish poetry. Already the first Hispano-Jewish poets who wrote literature —says Millás, referring

to Ishaq ibn Jalfón who wrote in the first half of the eleventh century—laments the apparent abandonment in which God had left his wife, the Synagogue.» It was the Hebraic-Spanish poets, evidently Salomón ibn Gabirol the first, who found a new mark for these lamentations in the *gelulá* and *ahabá,* «in which we have, exposed in the form of dialogue, like the Song of Songs», the love between God and his wife, the community of Israel, and her complaints about her banishment and her earthly miseries. The same Millás has translated many *geulot* and *ahabot* of Salomón ibn Gabirol, Mosé ibn Chicatella, Ishaq ibn Gayyat, Mosé ibn Ezra, Abraham ibn Ezra and many other Jewish authors of Spain.

The communal conception of the religious and historical life of the Hebrew nation appears not only in the Hebraic-Spanish poetry, but also in the body of Hispano-Judaic thinkers and poets. Generally they all underline the collective unity of destiny and hardly any have a clear vision of the historical and religious meaning of the individual and his individuality.

The Toledan poet Todros ibn Yehudá (1243-1306) was a relative exception to this common rule. Millás y Vallicrosa writes these words in his work: «These religious poems, as well as those of an ethical or sapient nature, correspond to motivations of a particular kind; it is the poet, isolated fron the ties of his community, who addresses God; it is religious poetry, but is not, and cannot be, of a liturgical-sacred nature. The voice of our poet is no longer the adoring voice of the community, nor is it the interpreter of Messianic hopes. The spirituality of the tradition of Israel, so powerful in earlier authors, is almost absent in our poet».

However, against this late and relative exception, one can show several examples of the generalization of the opposite point of view.

Ibn Gabirol in his *Kéter Malkut* (The Royal Crown) asks God to forgive his sins with these words: «Remember me in grace to the memory and love of your people.» Yehudá ha-Leví exclaims: «I will bear the weight of the sin of my people and I will bend my shoulder under the burden of your yoke».

According to Vadja, commentator of the *Deberes del Corazón* (Duties of the heart) by Bahya ibn Paquda, this author ommited from the outline of his work «points of capital importance for the comprehension of the whole, like the analysis of human personality».

Yehudá ha-Leví makes a defense of the collective supplications; the prayer of the community can compensate for the deficiencies of private prayer; communal collaboration saves energy; the action of the group is greater than the sum of the isolated individual efforts; the individual man should integrate himself into the community as the different parts of the body are integrated into the whole.

In the historical life of the Spanish Jews the most strict collective social articulation triumphed. Wherever there was a group of Hebrews, no

matter how small in number, there arose a synagogue that is a very close-knit human community.

«The Aryan —writes Renan—, who admits from the beginning the injustice of the gods, has no particular burning desire to procure earthly goods. He does not take the ornaments and frivolities of life seriously: seduced by his fancy of a life beyond (only this fancy is capable of realizing great things), the Aryan builds his house for eternity while the Semite awaits the coming of the Good during his life. He does not want to wait; the goodness and the glory of those who cannot enjoy it here below do not exist for him».

That point of view already appears in the Book of Job. In it we do not find the clear idea of an immortal and undefined life in which justice and truth can be realized. Man should enjoy a happy life on earth and because of that, the undeserved sufferings that burden the pious Job cause a great moral and religious anguish in him.

Having fulfilled the rites: circumcision, the purifications, the Sabbath, the public festivities and the other positive prescriptions of the Law, and having obeyed its negative prescriptions, the Most High does not impose fasts nor abstinences, nor a solitary life, nor the renouncement of wealth. Humility and asceticism do not procure saintliness; this is only achieved by the Hispano-Hebrew apologist and poet, Yehudá ha-Leví. For him the rectitude of affection and devotion only represent intellectual or psychological states that are preparatory and necessary for the conservation of all society.

The Israeli soul —writes Millás—, with the observance of the Law, does not derive merits and prizes in order to obtain the joys of afterlife; it concentrates on this one.

«You will loan to many and you will not borrow from anyone. You will dominate numerous nations and none will subject you», promises Jehovah to his people in Deuteronomy, XV.6 and XXVIII. 12.

A Hebrew writer said: «The Talmud speaks not of anything beyond. The Talmud investigates the struggle between matter and idea... The Talmud attempts to regulate daily life in twenty-six commandments and in two hundred and forty three prohibitions; it deals with medicine, hygiene, natural sciences, agriculture, criminology and law...»

«Free of all preoccupation with the impenetrability of this world, the Jews had the obligation, the devoted purpose, of searching for salvation, perfection and redemption in practical matters. In the Talmud we find the reflection of each economic phase of the diaspora. The rabbis, being very well-read men, know how to solve any problem of loans. The Talmud reveals exact knowledge in the field of precious metals, types of credit, contracts and calculations. All the orthodox Jews, be they poor or rich, have knowledge of economic questions, because all are obliged to study the Talmud».

Following the line of Yehudá ha-Leví, Millás writes: «In the Judaic religion, the religious man does not retreat from the world as if it were a burden, nor does he abhor life; rather, basing himself on the different biblical passages, he considers it as one of the principal gifts of the creator. Therefore he loves earthly life and worldly existence.»

Georges Vadja, commentator of the mystic Hispano-Jew, Bahya ibn Paquda, writes of the Hebrews: «Having found the promise of an earthly recompense in the Bible, they come to believe that the law has, as its sole and exclusive purpose, the concession of well-being in this world.» Some Hebraic thinkers tried to tie faith to the retribution of an afterlife. But Heinemann shows the idea of Ibn Paquda, that suffering in this life would be a condition for the salvation of the soul, to be foreign to Judaism. That is how it must be, for in the sacred Hebraic-Spanish poetry only once, and by the pen of the minister of the Ziríes of Granada, Ibn Nagrella, saturated, as we know, with Islamic culture (Millás has shown the influence in him of the ascetic or moral poetry of the Arabs), does the idea of a compensation in an afterlife for the earthly pains of the just appear. No Hispano-Jewish poet reiterates the thought contained in these verses of Ibn Nagrella:

Si en este mundo afliges al hombre dueño
Le multiplicarás luego tus bondades pías.
Si en este mundo le obligas a llorar,
Se reirá mucho en la otra vida. (43)

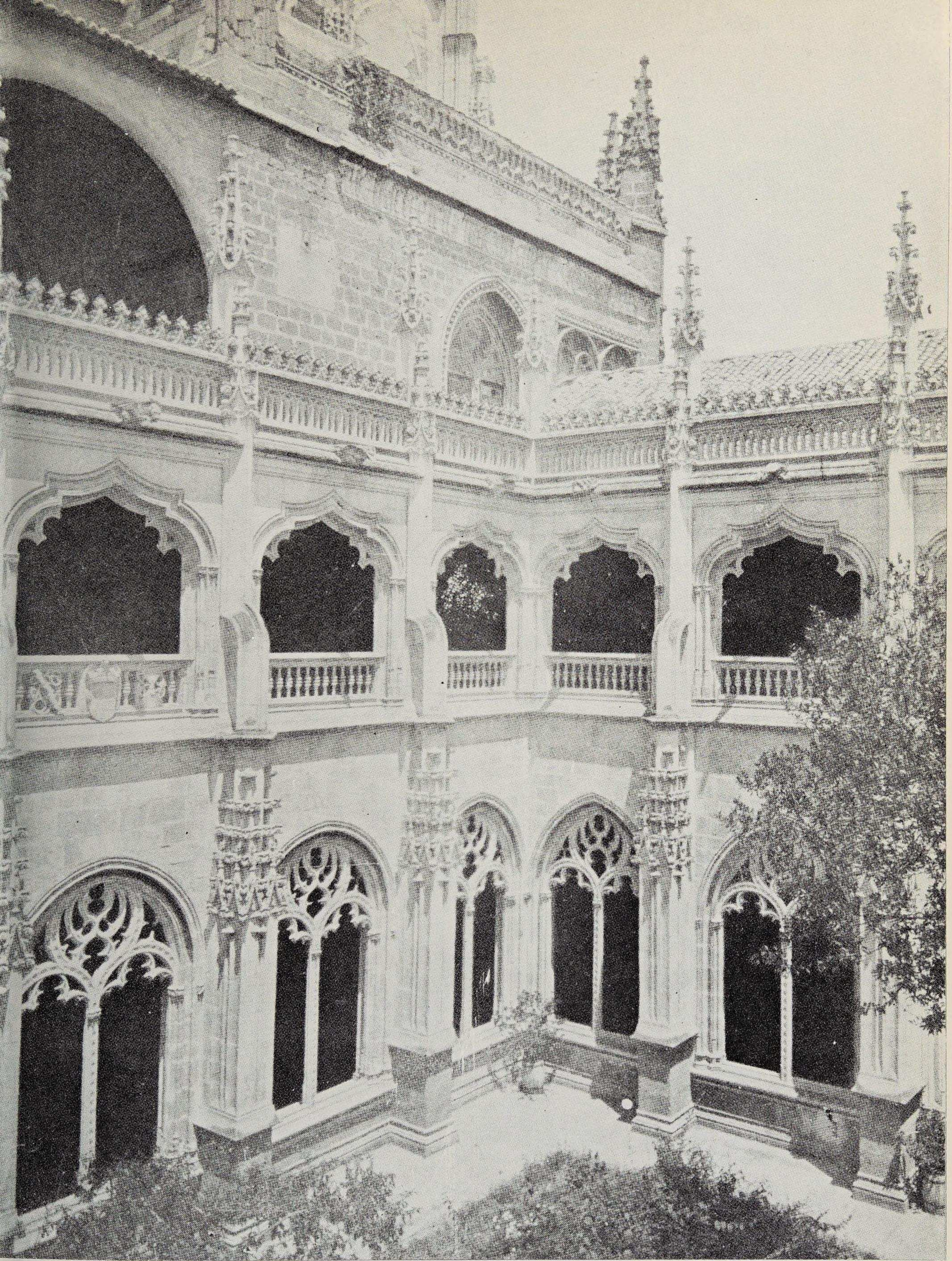
This idea does not even appear in the magnificent sacred poem, both of adulation and warning, written by Ibn Gabirol: *Ketér Malkut.* When terrible sufferings flattened the Spanish Jewish community —the Almohad persecutions or the killings of 1391— its poets did not think that such pains would procure heavenly rewards for their people; rather they dreamed of their earthly vengeance with the help of God.

The aforementioned Hispano-Hebrew mystic, Ibn Paquda, offers us the best proof of the roots among the Spanish Jews of that traditional inclination for earthly joys. With the title of *Deberes de los corazones* he wrote an ascetic theological treatise. Vadja has demonstrated his continual dependence on Muslim sources and has registered his disagreements with them. Like the Islamic mystics, Bayha ibn Paquda faces the reality that frequently the evil prosper while the just suffer needs and pains. The Muslim mystics do not look for any pseudo-rational explanation for this reality. The *tawakkul* or abandonment by God consists, for them, in not paying attention to that discordance between the conduct of man and

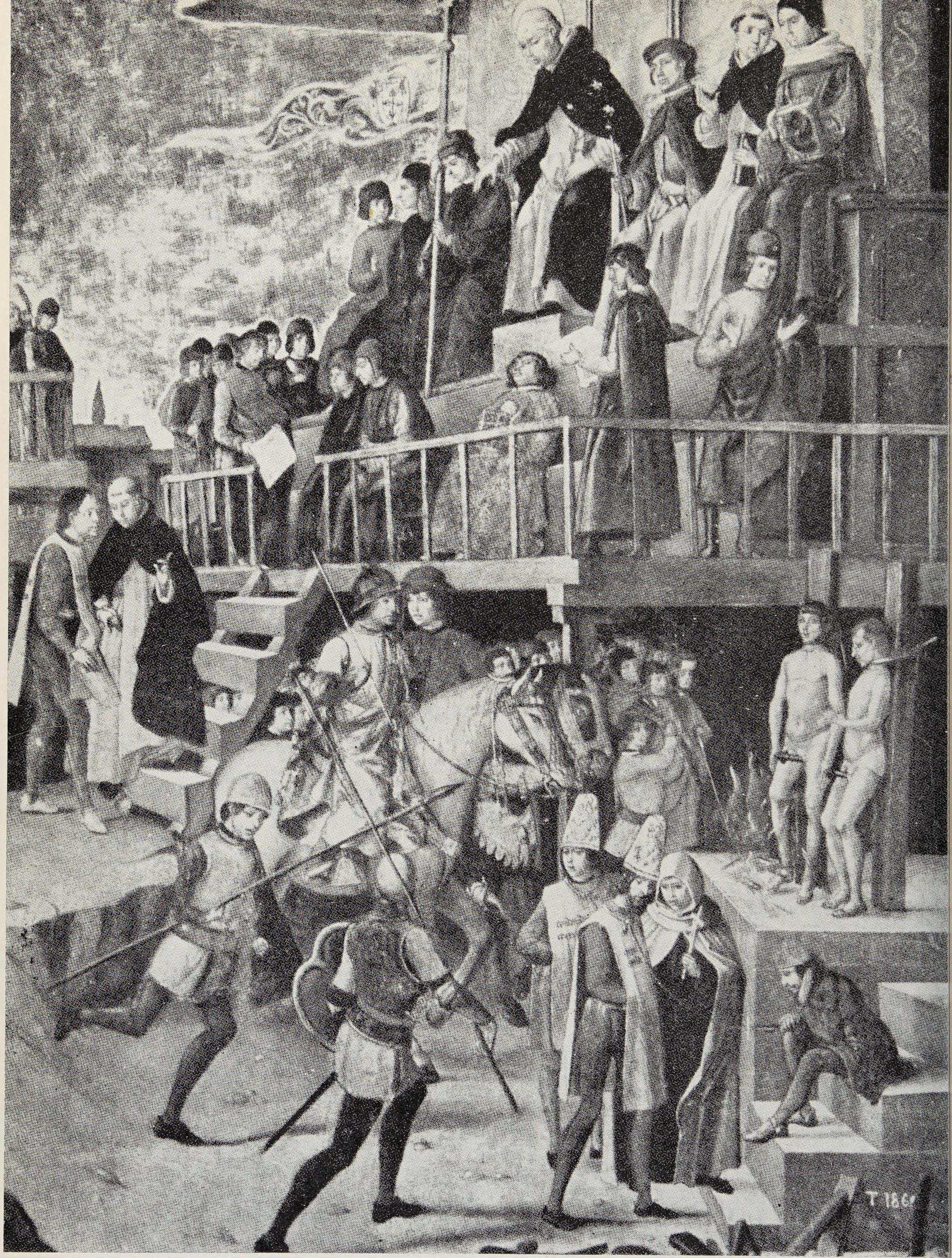
(43) If in this world you afflict the good man,
You will multiply for him later your holy bounty.
If in this world you make him weep,
He will laugh much in the afterlife.

111.—*Isabel the Catholic.* Anonymous panel. National Palace (Madrid). Daughter of the king, himself the father of two male heirs, nobody could prophesy when she was born that she would reach the throne. Born in a tiny village of Ávila, she grew up with her crazy mother, in contact with Castilian laborers. Queen of Spain by fate or by Providence, that peasant princess carried with her the spirit and mien of Castile to the throne and was able to realize her ideals. Many torrents of energy and tenacity she used in achieving them. This is how Bermejo conceived Isabel the Catholic.

112.—*Ferdinand the Catholic.* Anonymous panel. Windsor Castle (England). Children do not always inherit the qualities of their parents. Ferdinand the Catholic surpassed those of his; those of the astute and tenacious John II of Aragón, the great architect of the making of Spain. Born of Castilian parents and not destined to inherit the throne, the personality of Ferdinand matured during the revolution of Catalonia. Was he really Machiavelli's model when he wrote *The Prince?* In any case he was a great, facile and wise politician. He knew well the nations he was called upon to rule as well as the men he was to deal with.



113.—*Patio of San Juan de los Reyes* (Toledo). Aljubarrota and Toro: victories or defeats depending on whether they are viewed from Castile or Portugal; both unpleasant obstacles in the making of Spain; and still unresolved. May we remember the phrase of Camoens: «Portuguese and Castilians, for we are all Spaniards.» The kings of Portugal built the monastery of Batalha to celebrate Aljubarrota; the Catholic Kings built San Juan de los Reyes, in Toledo, to commemorate Toro. Here we see the rich and beautiful florid Gothic patio of this Toledan church. Guas worked in its construction.



114.—*Auto de Fe*, by Berruguete. Church of Santo Tomás (Ávila). Proposed by turn-coat Jews and rooted in backbiting and inquisitorial customs of the Hispanic Hebrews, the Inquisition was popular in its beginnings; it punished the *conversos* or «*marranos*», hated by the people because they continued to be faithful to their Mosaic rites, continued to accumulate riches and daily scaled to new political positions. For this reason P. Berruguete painted an «Auto de Fe». No other great artist imitated him when the Holy Office incited the enmity of the Spanish intellectual elite.

his success in this world; they always give their consent to the decree of God, no matter what it may be, and consider the trial to be an advantage. While Ibn Paquda constructs his theory of *tawakkul* with Muslim materials he cannot accept that thesis and he endeavors to explain the worldly suffering of the just and the triumph of the evil by means of reason. Faithful to Islamic religious thought, his Hebraic faith in the earthly reward of the man who fulfills the Law obliges him, nevertheless, to search for the causes of the frequent failure of the good in this world here below.

His being a Jew leads Ibn Paquda still further. According to him, the *tawakkul* or abandonment by God should not separate man from the work that assures his own subsistence and the prosperity of the world. Life oriented towards God should not brusquely break with the profane occupations necessary for the maintenance of the worldly order.

Vadja suspects that Ibn Paquda knew the myths, more or less directly inspired by Plato, regarding the fall of the soul, but that he purposely eliminated them from his exposition. For him the corporal world was not so evil as it was for Plotinus.

As the crowning of his work, the Judeo-Spanish mystic treats asceticism. He is not in favor of its generalization at a superior level because that would contradict the course of civilization. Asceticism must not be exaggerated, declares Bahya ibn Paquda. The Law requires a moderate ascesis. The example of our ancestors, says Bahya, shows that it is possible to reconcile a contemplative life with the occupation obligated by subsistence. We should not be a burden for the society. The hermits who flee from the world are those most distant from the «moderation of the Law». Those who renounce all that which is superfluous without leaving society are less distant from that «moderation». Those who carry asceticism in their heart but cannot be distinguished from the other mortals are closer to the spirit of the Law. Ibn Paquda declares that the renouncement of the goods of this world sould not go overboard. The great biblical figures had no need for ascetism. He also states that to love God at the supreme level is not accessible to all believers, since it demands the abandonment of material goods.

If the author of *Deberes del corazón,* Bahya Ibn Paquda, and the apologist, Yehudá ha-Leví, carried along by the temperamental make-up of their race, reason in this way, can it then surprise us that the majority of the Spanish Hebrews, lacking the exquisite spirituality of the aforementioned thinkers —Ibn Gabirol and Yehudá ha-Leví reacted against the materialism of the Jewish communities of Saragossa and Seville, and Vajda has shown how Ibn Paquda found no interest for mysticism in the Jewish atmosphere he lived in—, concentrated all their hopes on the attainment of earthly well-being and wealth? Ibn Gabirol wrote of man in these elegiac tones:

Durante su niñez anda según su instinto
Y cuando principia el espíritu de concupiscencia a turbarlo
se afana en reunir riquezas y bienes, y emigra de su país,
Para embarcarse en los bajeles y para atravesar los desiertos,
Se expone asimismo junto a los cubiles de los leones y se
aventura entre los reptiles.
Y cuando cree que ya es mucha su ganancia y que su mano ha
logrado fortuna
En paz le atrapa el expoliador; sus ojos abre y nada quedó (44).

Concupiscence, for Ibn Gabirol, does not carry man to sensuality; rather it takes him to avarice. Because they believed, with a great faith, in the earthly recompense of their obedience of the Law, the riches and power they obtained in Castile throughtout the thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries made them believe that the realization of God's kingdom on this earth was at hand. The Rabbi of Burgos, Salomón ha-Leví, and later Pablo de Santa María, affirmed it.

The prophetic habits of the ancient historical period of the people of Israel and their uninterrupted Messianic hope directed religious thought, and Judaic life in general, toward an earthly future, as opposed to the mythological tendencies and orientations toward a historical past and a future afterlife which characterized other religions and other national life-styles. Christians, for example, start from the base of the already preterit coming of the Messiah —Muslims, from the also distant divine mission of Mohammed— and only await individually, and not collectively, their own afterlife. Down there, they only await the end of time at the second and triumphant coming of Christ. Hebrews have always awaited indifferently or fearfully the fulfillment of the dark prophetic warnings of their spokesmen who transmitted to them the orders and threats of the Most High. Excited to the point of hysteria, sad to the point of anguish or calm to the point of incredulity, they have awaited the fatal arrival of the Messiah who was to appear among them as the termination of their earthly misfortunes: banishment, subjugations, persecutions, captivity; and as their historical triumph in the world.

That ardent and frenetic or disillusioned and anguished feeling of hope clearly appears in medieval Hebraic literature —consult the book of

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(44) During his childhood he goes according to his instinct
And when the spirit of concupiscence begins to bother him,
He labors to obtain wealth and goods, and he emigrates from his country,
To embark on vessels and to cross deserts,
He also exposes himself near the lairs of the lions and ventures among [the reptiles.
And when he believes that his earnings are now great and that his hand has [achieved fortune
Peacefully the spoliator traps him; his eyes open and nothing remained.

J. Sarachek— and in the Hispano-Judaic literature especially. Every historical event of any importance created a new Messianic fermentation. The conquest of Jerusalem by the crusades, with the dreamed ruin of Islamic power in the world, caused the first of those delusions. The convulsions suffered by Asia and Eastern Europe later, due to the Mongol invasions —many Jews saw the Mongols to be descendents of the ten tribes of Israel who had been deported to the interior of Asia and who were going to free their brothers—, excited again the Messianic hope. It was always that way; the successive disillusionments they suffered with the passing of time never extinguished their faith in the triumphant coming of the awaited Messiah.

Among the Hispano-Jewish communities, this Messianic hope appears from the moment we find literary manifestations of their spiritual life. It is already exteriorized in the oldest religious poems written by the Peninsular Hebrews and it bursts out with vigor in the golden age of the Hispano-Hebraic literature.

In the book, *Selomo ibn Gabirol como poeta y filósofo,* the great Hebraist Millás y Vallicrosa writes: «The coming of the Messiah, the liberator of Israel, the anxiously awaited and secret Messianic *end* (*qes*) never ceased to fill the mind and heart of the Jewish contemporaries of Selomo ibn Gabirol; many were those who dedicated themselves to shuffling calculations and more calculations in order to predict the time considered to be close, of the coming of the Messiah». According to Mosés ibn Ezra, Ibn Gabirol himself worked with these calculations, basing himself on the astrological examination of the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn.

Millás also writes: «This Messianic literature, which even used Muslim influenced astrological computations, multiplied greatly in the Spain of the beginning of the twelfth-century, immediately before Ibn Gabirol».

The great Hispano-Hebrew poet apologist, Yehudá ha-Leví, was also won over by the Messianic hope and dreamed of a date, the year 1130 of the era of Christ, for the redemption of his people. The polygrapher from Barcelona, Abraham bar Hiyya, dedicated a work (*El Libro Revelado*) to the setting of an exact date for the coming. In that period the Messianic exaltation was so intense among the Spanish Jews that in 1130 a false Messiah appeared in Córdoba: Mosé Dray, who seduced many of his brothers.

The Messianic hopes and vigils of Israel in its exile, the love between God and Israel, the culmination of the reciprocal promises of fidelity of the two spouses and the universal transcendence that the culmination of this love, prepared by the Messiah, would mean for the human race, fill the poetry of the Spanish Jews, especially after Ibn Gabirol. Their both plentiful and hopeful canticles are much like this *geulá* of Ibn Gabirol:

(Dios)
Madre sin hijos, aniquilada, ¿por qué lloras?
¿Acaso tu corazón desespera de lo que tanto has esperado?

(Israel)
El plazo de mi redención se difiere y mis tinieblas se dilatan.

(Dios)
Espera, oh afligida, aún un poco,
pues enviaré mi ángel para preparar mi camino,
Y sobre la montaña de Sion ungiré mi Rey;
ciertamente vendrá un mensajero para enderezar tus vías.
Decid a Sion: El Señor reina,
ciertamente tu Rey ha de venir a tí!

(Israel)
Oh! Dios mío, cuánto habré de esperar en vano.
Y ¿hasta cuando el destierro de ese pueblo durará,
y a los hijos de Raquel, como ovejas, trasquilarán?
Pero yo, a pesar de todo, siempre habré de esperar.

(Dios)
Espera, oh afligida, el Redentor y Perdonador,
pues no para siempre te he de abandonar.
Dentro de poco, tú serás para mí y Yo para tí.
Decid a Sion... (45).

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(45) (God)
Annihilated mother without children, why do you weep?
Does your heart despair of that which you have awaited for so long?
(Israel)
The period of my redemption is postponed and my darkness increases.
(God)
Wait, oh afflicted, a little while longer,
For I shall send my angel to prepare my way,
And on the mount of Zion I will anoint my King;
Certainly a messenger will come to straighten your ways.
Say to Zion: The Lord reigns,
Of course your king will come to you!
(Israel)
Oh! my God, how much must I wait in vain?
And, until when will the exile of this nation last?
And how long will they shear the children of Rachael like sheep?
But, despite all, I am bound to forever await.
(God)
Await, oh afflicted, the Redeemer and the Forgiver,
Because not forever will I abandon you.
Soon, you will be for me and I for you.
Say to Zion.....

By the pen of its poets and writers, the Judeo-Spanish community continued clamoring for the coming of the Messiah that would put an end to the cruel exile and subjugation that its sins had brought upon it; and it continued to hope for it as long as it was not uprooted from its Peninsular home. In epithalmic type *geulot* and *ahabot* poems and in those considered Zionist, there was hardly any Hispano-Hebraic poet who did not manifest his Messianic yearnings. Millás has translated them. Even the great man of science, Abraham ibn Ezra, sang them beautifully. The Cabalists did not minimize the traditional hopes for the redemption of the Hebrew nation by the long –awaited Messiah. The tense emotion of the days of Ibn Gabirol, who anxiously signed for the Offspring of Isaias, obviously could not last without fluctuations and low points. The Hispano-Hebraic pens did not continue to treat the subject of the Messiah with the warm depth of past generations. Rationalist criticism was felt in the expression of the old Messianic sentiment. Yet this lasted and survived all the crises and disillusionments. Judeo-Spanish historians like Abraham ben Salomón de Torrutiel and Salomón ben Verga, writing in exile from their Spanish homeland, still believed in the coming of the Messiah. Many of the false *conversos*, faithful in the intimacy of their conscience to the faith of their elders, continued to dream of it. This Messianic zeal is still made fun of by Quevedo in *Los Sueños*.

That traditional and most remote looking towards the future of the Spanish Hebrew masses was therefore never interrupted.

The written fixation with the Sacred Scriptures and the Law developed among the Jewish people the potential of reason by encouraging among its children the interpretation and exegesis of the texts that carefully regulated the existence of the community and that of each one of its members. The defensive life Hebrews had to lead in the world, after the diaspora, sharpened their strength and their reasoning habits. In the eternal duel that passion and reason fight in man, reason normally won out among the Jews. No medieval nation gave reason so basic a position in its daily life as did the Spanish Jews.

In Spain, the Jews used the force of reason perhaps more than in any other European country. This is because in no other country did the cultural atmosphere of the society they lived in —Muslim Spain— permit them, and also urge them, to give free rein to thought; and also because in no other were they offered similar possibilities, in the *taifas* first and in the Christian kingdoms later, of achieving great riches and of scaling the highest positions by putting to use all the reasoning ability and astuteness which is reason's child.

Many proofs can be offered of this reality. It will be conclusive to point out the allegation of the role of reason in religious thought of the great Judeo-Spanish mystic, Bahya ibn Paquda, who wrote in Saragossa or Córdoba between 1050 and 1080.

With the *mutáziles,* writes Vajda, Bahya ibn Paquda makes the «*Deberes del corazón*» into the cause of our material acts; and since, in the Hispano-Jewish mystical system, ascetic theology is based on reason, he truly creates a rational ethic which surrounds the revealed ethic. Yes, in Bahya ibn Paquda the struggle between his Hebraic rationalism and his religious sentiment rooted in Hispano-Muslim theory is very clear. Yet, reason triumphed in that struggle and therefore he based himself on its superiority over revelation when he explains his thinking on, to use terms of Christian mysticism, what Vajda has called the stages of the purgative way and of the illuminative way; and he stopped at the threshold of the unitive way. For Ibn Paquda, in the group of treasured faculties God has endowed us with, the most important is reason. Thanks to it we discover God, his attributions and our obligations to Him. The superiority of reason over revealed law is clear. Next to reason, revelation seems to assume the role of a brillant second. In order to support reason in its struggle with passion, God sent religious law to its aid. Reason moves one to submit to God. It instructs regarding the purpose of human existence. It teaches the way to make use of the world that God has put at man's disposal. It maintains the order of the world desired by God. Passion, not reason, leads to heterodoxy. The defeat of reason destroys moral order and leaves the field open to disorder. Asceticism is advisable to help the triumph of reason over passion. In the great biblical figures, reason dominated so completely that they had no need to practice ascesis. When reason reveals its nature to the soul, the soul leaves the body in a flight to God. Bahya even bases the love of man for Jehovah on reason. Many decades were to pass before a similar devotion to the force of reason in the conception of the relations of man with God, and in human life generally, was to gain strength in the West.

If a Hispano-Jewish mystic like Ibn Paquda gave reason such an important role in religious life, the importance achieved by rationalism among the Peninsular Jews is not surprising. In the spirits of true faith, that rationalism did not separate man from the Law nor from God. It led many others to incredulity and Epicureanism especially after the triumph of Averroism among them. The obligatory daily commentary of the sacred texts by means of reason, the zealous rational study of medicine and the sciences as the sure way of achieving the domination of their dominators and to calculate the instant of their liberation with the advent of the always awaited Messiah, the frequent and restless struggle of reason in order to defend itself from the accusations of the Christian scholars and of the ever more numerous rabbis who renounced their faith and finally the astute daily reasoning to triumph in the court and in the storms of public life, all accentuated more than diminished the rationalizing impetus of the Spanish Hebrews. That impetus is revealed in the ideological discussions that the doctrine of Maimónides and the problem of Greco-Arabic philosophy brought about in the hearts of the Spanish Synagogue for more

than a century; in the controversy held in Barcelone in 1263, before James I, between the rabbi from Gerona, Mosé ben Nahman, and the *converso*, Pau Cristiá; in the polemic maintained by Ishaq Pollegar against the master Alfonso de Valladolid who, before his conversion, was Abner de Burgos —in his *Mostrador de Justicia* he attacked the religious rationalism of many Jewish intellectuals and the Hebrew polemicist defended rationality from the Judaic point of view— and in the other later disputes, discussions and polemics held by both old and new Christians during the fifteenth-century with Jews who defended their faith.

Though passion called violently at the doors of their volitional decisions, the path of their sad history forced the Spanish Hebrews for centuries to overcome these temptations and enter the realm of reason. Even when they succumbed to the invincible and passionate desires for material goods and for power, they could not travel the royal road of impetus, rather they were forced along the zigzagging path of astuteness.

It is difficult to find anything more opposed to what is authentically Spanish than these essential characteristics of that which is Hispano-Jewish. Spanish hyper-individualism rises against the triumph of the social aspects in Hispano-Hebraic religious thought and in the life of the Hebrew communities. Messianism made the Peninsular Jews life for the morrow, in a prolonged and uninterrupted expectation for the luminous and triumphant future. The Spaniard frequently looked towards the past; for him «anything past was better» and he lived in the nostalgia of the men and days past that he found worthy to serve as models of his fancies: the Catholic Kings and their time, while Charles V was reigning and many other times throughout the history of Spain; the Emperor, while his child was governing Spain; Philip II, during the reigns of the lesser Austrias... While rationalism dominated the religious thought and life of all the Spanish Jews, among us reason was normally defeated by life and played a secondary role behind impulse and faith. No one could dare consider us influenced by the Hispano-Hebrew inclination of expecting material recompenses from the Most High, of making the acquisition of earthly wealth the purpose in life, of searching for the kingdom of God here below. We delusively aspire to the life beyond —we died because we did not die—; good was desired, but he who stored it and who did not know how to spend it liberally was looked down on. Unamuno could justifiably say: Spain, your kingdom is not of this world.

I must insist. Is there anything more opposed to that which is authentically Hebrew than that which is authentically Spanish? Is there anything more difficult to harmonize and reconcile? There is nothing of the essence of the spirit, of the emotions, of the feelings, of the ideals, of the appetites, of the hopes, of the mechanism of the intellect, of the processes of conscience, of the style of life, of the temperamental make-up of the Hebrews that has left traces among the Spaniards. It is easier to join fire with

water than to find ties of kinship between the Hebrew and the Spanish characters. It is more fruitful to find traces of pure Spanish among the Jews of Spanish origin dispersed throughout the world, due to the extent in which the temperamental heritage of the Hispano-Christians decisively influenced the Hebrews minority who lived for centuries among them.

2. Christians and Jews. The Imposibility of a Harmonious Relationship

Reconquest and repopulation were enormously important factors in the numerical increase and in the social and political influence of the Judaic minority in the Christian kingdoms. If the Reconquest had been carried out slowly but uninterruptedly and in a country that was not depopulated and whose inhabitants had continued living in the conquered positions, the Hebrews would not have reached the number and the importance they achieved in León and Castile and also in other Peninsular states. However the reconquest was done by leaps and followed by repeated, more or less intense, emptyings of the zones that suddenly fell into the power of the conquerors; or it caused such emptyings in the newly-won lands by forcibly obliging the inhabitants to abandon them and to emigrate.

That conquest by leaps, preceeded or followed by a radical depopulation or the intensive decrease of the stable population of the country, created the anguished necessity —and there is no hyperbole in the adjective— to rapidly repopulate the regions conquered from the Moors. In those hours, when it was imperative to bring vast depopulated zones back to life and to attract populators to the cities abandoned long before or which had then been depopulated, the devil himself would have been accepted as a colonizer, as I have already said twice before. Alfonso VII called all types of delinquents, murderers, kidnappers and even those who had incurred royal wrath... to Oreja; only traitors were refused entrance. With what greater pleasure would the laborious Jews be accepted as colonizers! They would even be invited to come to recently occupied cities, offering them lots and entire neighborhoods, granting them juridical guarantees and giving them administrative and juridical autonomy. Therefore when there was an ancient Hebrew district in a town taken from the Moors, far from persecuting it, it was pampered, so that it would continue to inhabit the conquered town, together with the new Christian populators. Witness is born to this fact by many municipal *fueros* —from that of Castrojeriz (974) to that of Carmona (1247) and by the partition of the great cities won by Ferdinand III and by James I during the thirteenth-century.

The anti-Semitism of Almoravid Spain —in the treatise of Ibn' Abdun they were compared with the leprous— and the terrible persecutions of the Almohads made the mass of Jews emigrate. The Christian kings, happy

to see the population of their cities grow this way, opened the frontiers of their kingdoms to them. Alfonso VII even placed Yehudá ibn Ezra in Calatrava in order to direct the Hebraic emigration towards his states. Though doubtful, the Judeo-Spanish historian, Abraham ha-Leví ben David, affirms that Alfonso named him governor. The legislation of the Alfonsos prohibited the Jews to have authority over the Christians and the frontier nature of the position, whose defense required the immediate organization of a military order, would demand the government, not of a *almojarife* (46) but of a man-at-arms. Nevertheless it is a fact that from the reign of Alfonso VI, the conqueror of Toledo (1085), to that of Alfonso VIII, the victor of Las Navas (1212), thousands and thousands of Jews entered Castile. Their establishment in the kingdom was considered so beneficial that Ferdinand III obtained from Honorius III, in 1219, the abrogation of the conciliar order regarding the wearing of the special marks of the clothes of the Hebrews, because they had threatened to return to Moorish lands if they were forced to wear them.

Wtih the Christians obligated to the defense of the cities they lived in and to join the royal host in order to pursue the Reconquest, the industrious Hebraic masses could contribute good services in the economic reconstruction of the community. Meanwhile numerous groups of the Christians in the Hispano-Christian cities were turning to the tasks of peace and soon made up important nuclei of hard-working tradesmen. The new Jewish populators and the old Christian populators might have been able to live peacefully together. Their religious differences would not have been enough to give birth to great hatreds. They did not confront each other in one great exclusive and dramatic struggle; *mudéjares* also lived with them, and that triple presence of people of three different creeds might even have soothed the rough points of the natural opposition among them.

However that peaceful relationship was impossible. It has been erroneously alleged that the Jews solicitously occupied the place left vacant by the Christians in the life of the nation and that they made up the economic bases of medieval Peninsular society. I will not deny that there were many Jewish tradesmen in the Spanish cities during the Middle Ages; but it cannot be denied that they were the minority among the industrious and industrial masses of those cities. The number of Hebrew workers who appear in the inventory of the goods of the cathedral of my city of Ávila at the beginnings of the fourteenth-century has been alleged as proof for that thesis. I have had that inventory integrally published in the *Cuadernos de Historia de España* and, in it, it is easy to find the names of many

(46) Originally a functionary of Muslim Spain in charge of the collection of taxes. They were active both in the large cities and in customhouses. Ferdinand III incorporated the office and also the *almojarifazgo* (custom tax on goods entering and leaving the kingdom) into royal finances. Years later Alfonso X the Learned refers to the *almojarifes* in the *Partidas* describing their functions.

Christian tradesmen. The firm dictates of Ferdinand III, of Alfonso X and of Peter I against the formation of confraternities or guilds would have made no sense if there had not been a numerous mass of national workers. That mass did exist; no more yet no less, than the absolutely necessary for the fulfillment of the minimum industrial requeriments of the urban nuclei and their districts. This was because the Christian kingdoms —not even Catalonia— had never possessed an industry of any importance. Yet, even with these limitations, there was many a city that did not have an abundant number of Christian artisans. This fact is accredited by the municipal archives as they are being published —already in the newly conquered Seville documented Christian tradesmen appear in the most varied trades: tailors, shoemakers, belt-makers, muleteers, coppersmiths, packsaddle-makers, cuirass-makers, amourers, jewellers...— and it is also accredited by the confrontation that was arising in the cities between Jews and Christians, a confrontation not initiated by the knights nor by the laborers, but by the artisans.

The development of commerce was much greater in all the Christian medieval Spanish kingdoms, and very great in Castile. Nobody can deny the mercantile activities of the Jews in the urban centers of the Peninsula. Yet, as the decades passed, the Christian activity in this field intensely increased and international commerce ended up in the hands of the Spanish Christians, even in Castile. My disciple María del Carmen Carlé, and I have proved this, via different routes.

It is necessary to reject the image of a Judaic minority controlling without competition the economic life, looked down on by the Spanish masses who were incapable of taking interest in anything but the integralism and lordship of their own person. Until the paralyzation of the Reconquest, the Christians were able to live on the dream of acquiring wealth at swordpoint. Later this was not possible. If the millstone left by that long dream and acquisition on the Spanish psychology —the natural exceptions apart— caused us never to have an industry worthy of mention and our commerce never to be able to export anything but raw materials in the Middle Ages, the Jews never filled this vacuum in our national life with their economic activities. The prolongation of that reality throughout our Middle Ages is the best proof of this.

If the Hebrews had dedicated themselves peacefully to agriculture, to industry and to commerce, the abysses or mountains of hate between them and the Christians that made their living together historically impossible would never have arisen. Numerous masses of Muslim laborers, artisans and merchants lived among the Christians and there was never any hatred against them. Their relations were frequently friendly; according to the *Crónica de la población de Ávila* the knights of Ávila went so far as to arm 50 Moorish horsemen and 500 Moorish foot soldiers and took them with them to fight against James I of Aragón, at the time fallen out with his son-in-law, Alfonso X of Castile. The cortes, that sensitive barometer

of the appetites, illusions, complaints and hatreds of the nation, and the great historical amplifier of the public opinion of the popular masses, hardly raised any protests against the industrious and peaceful *mudéjares*, who actually were the grandchildren of the incarnate enemies of the past.

Living together among the Jews and Christian was always difficult and became impossible, but not because the Hebrews filled the vacuum left by the incapacity of the Christians who then let themselves be carried away by a torturous and invincible feeling of inferiority. It was always difficult and became impossible because the Hebrews tried to dominate, or at least, exploit, the nation that had given them refuge when, fleeing from the persecutions they suffered in Christian Europe or in Islamic Spain, they were admitted in its breast.

The document compiled by Baer, and completed by those more recently published, permit us to present an outline of the freedoms and autonomies that the Hebrews achieved in the Christian kingdoms when they emigrated there from Almoravid and Almohad lordship in Al-Ándalus. Vallecillo Ávila studied, not long ago, the panorama of the juridical and social situation of the Jews in León and Castile, up to the period of the great conquests. They were legally equal to the Christian populators of the cities, they received the same criminal rights as everyone else —at times they were protected by the nobles—, their testimony had the same worth as that of the Christians, they swore on the Torah, Hebrew magistrates judged civil and penal cases that occurred among the Israelis and could even order the death sentence, and magistrates of both religions judged the cases between Jews and Christians. It was only normal to forbid the authority of the Jewish magistrates over the Christians, a clear sign that they attempted to use it. In no other European country did the Hebrews enjoy an equivalent equality with the Christian population, nor an autonomous judicial and administrative organization remotely similar to the one they enjoyed in León and Castile. That equality and those freedoms —a result, as has been stated, of the imperious necessities of the repopulation— caused enormous surprise among European Jews who came to the Peninsula. Rabbi Asser clearly expressed this when he returned to Germany.

Some of the Hebrews who emigrated from Al-Ándalus might well have been able to save in the exodus some of their goods and chattles, especially their jewels and precious metals. Yet it is sure that the great majority reached Christian Spain with no other capital than their capacity to work. The chronicler, Abraham ha-Leví ben David, says that some of the Jews persecuted by the Almohads became apostates, but others «fled poorly dressed and shoeless». The same chronicler writes of Yehudá ibn Ezra —placed by Alfonso VII in the frontier position of Calatrava in order to direct the entrance of Jewish immigrants into Castile—, as has been said: «He freed the imprisoned at his own cost..., the children of the exile found support in his home and at his table; he fed the hungry, gave to drink

to the thirsty and visited the naked; he led all the weak on beasts until... they reached the city of Toledo with honor, due to the reverenc and help he possessed in Christian Spain.»

The majority having arrived without any means, after a few generations there were fabulously wealthy Jews and good number of well-off Jews in all of the Peninsular Christian kingdoms. They began to possess a great amount of real estate and to control the majority of the hard cash of the country and they were able to fill positions of auhority in the political and fiscal life of the kingdom. It is even possible to show the rate of their enrichment and social rise.

Before many decades had passed from their exodus from Andalusia to Castile, at the end of the twelfth-century —Alfonso VII died in 1157— they appear in lands of Toledo buying and possessing farms, making usurious loans, occupying the offices of *almojarife* and advancing great sums of money to the monarch. Many Mozarabic documents from Toledo, between 1185 and 1212, offer abundant testimony —if we possessed other diplomatic sources we would be able to multiply this information— of the wealth of the Jews of the city and their practice of usury. Those documents accredit the continuous acquisition of property by Ibn Xuxán, the *almojarife* of Alfonso VIII. The king states in his will that he owes Ibn Xuxán 18,000 maravedís —at the time, large gold coins of great perfection and value— which he had received in loan.

The speedy enrichment of the Jews and their rapid climb to the upper hierarchies of government of the kingdom constitute the key to the passions soon to be unleashed on them by the people. The Hebrew emigrants did not resign themselves to peacefully living among the Christians like the *mudéjares* did. Quickly they sharpened their inventiveness in order to exploit and dominate those who had received them. The fault did not only lie with the Jews. By making them live defensively amid hostile masses, destiny had forced them to develop the force of reason, astuteness and cunning; a strange capacity for adaptation to the historical circumstances in which they had to live and a subtle talent for taking advantage of any weakness or any necessity of their dominators. It has been many thousands of years that a normal human community —and the old Hebrew nation has demonstrated throughout the centuries strength of thought hardly equaled by the other nations of this earth— has not been able to develop its life according to the possibilities for action that history has imposed on it. The special nature of our nation during the Middle Ages facilitated the exaltation among the Hebrew flock of the temperamental conditions that could best lead to the exploitation and domination of the Christians, whose refuge they had sought. They achieved their purpose for awhile, but at the cost of frequent persecution and their ultimate expulsion.

In Moorish Spain they had already learned how to best exploit the faults that the organic framework of the Hispano-Muslims offered to their inventiveness. They had learned medicine and, along with the Christian

doctors, they had cured the Peninsular Islamites. In the treatise of Ibn Abdun, where the life of Almoravid Seville at the beginnings of the twelfth-century is described, the practice of medicine by the Christians and Jews is cursed. «The best thing would be not to allow any Jewish or Christians doctor to cure Muslims, since they harbor no good thoughts for any Muslim; they should exclusively treat those of their own religion, because: How can our lives be placed in the hands of those who have no love for the Muslims?»

Doubtless among the Mozarabic emigrants to the kingdom of León, there were many capable of practicing the same profession as their brothers in the South in competition and collaboration with the Jews. Yet when the Jews arrived in the North, the snobbish taste of the kings and princes for foreign novelties —the same snobbish taste of the aristocracies of all periods and all countries— induced them to solicit the care of the Jewish doctors. Alfonso VI had already given the care of his health to one of them, to Yosef ibn Ferrusel (Cidellus). The Hebrews quickly understood the horizons that this treatment of the great Christians offered to them —as doctors they could gain the intimacy and confidence of those who governed the Hispanic kingdoms. Many dedicated themselves to the study of medicine or feigned a knowledge of it. Little by little they displaced the Christians from the practice of this profession and, in the end, they almost monopolized its practice in Spain.

That triumph would not have been able to spark the ire of the popular masses against the Hebrews for they usually suffer from an incurable mimesis and like to follow the fashions and habits of the governing minority. At most it might have attracted the jealousy of the Christians who began to study medicine in the universities being created in the Hispanic kingdoms from the thirteenth-century on.

In Al-Ándalus the Jews also studied astronomy. Perhaps their Messianic hopes originally moved them to it; with exalted fervor they worked out computations and they even let themselves be seduced by the astrological signs in their desperate desire for the coming of the Messiah who would end their captivity and would extend their earthly kingdom over the other nations. Later they found in astronomical studies, with its sliding astrological connections, a way of gaining the attention, confidence and influence of their Christian lords. Because if the direction of the life of men was marked in the stars —and legions of medieval men believed this—, the «stargazers» could discover their destinies for the princes and the grandees and, under the shelter of their optimistic or fatidical predictions and warnings, it was possible to shulk into the realm of their will and get great chunks of the national wealth. They were successful in their attempts: Peter III of Aragón for example had a Hebrew necromancer in his service; his great, great grandchild, John I had a Jewish astrologer; the father of the Catholic King, another; and like them many kings and magnates used the Hebrew stargazers.

Yet neither pure astronomy nor applied astronomy or astrology would have been able to arouse the popular hatred against the Jews. On the contrary, physicians and stargazers would have provoked, if not friendliness, at least the benevolence of the masses, because the people also liked to care for their health and to read their future in the stars.

Some of the practices imposed by the Talmud on the Jews irritated the Christians. The Hispano-Hebrew historian, Salomón ben Verga, twice reflects this irritation. «I swear by our Savior who has made me king —he makes a monarch of Castile, probably Alfonso XI, say— that once my ire was excited to exterminate the lineage of the Jews or to expel them, because I heard that if a bug falls in a glass of wine being drunk by the Jew, he throws out the bug and drinks the wine; but if, on the contrary, one of us touches that glass, he pours out the wine; which proves that in his eyes we are considered unclean people.» And in the same area *Vará de Judá* we find rumblings of the people against the king for tolerating such an injurious custom.

The normal practice of industry and commerce would not have earned for them anything more than the rivalry of the tradesmen and merchants who were not Jewish. However their mercantile enterprises were not always very scrupulous and they brought on the Jews the hostility of the people. In Gothic and also in Muslim Spain they had worked in the slave trade. The tenth Council of Toledo forbade them to practice it. But after the Arabic conquest of Spain, they dedicated themselves to it freely and on a great scale. They even imported them from Slavic lands —thus the name which came to substitute that of serf. They also reached Poland and Bohemia. We owe the first news of these countries to a Spanish Jew, Ibrahim ibn Yaqub, el Turtusí, who was a slave trader.

The Hispanic Jews did something more. Dozy speaks of a prosperous trade in the importation of eunuchs. They brought them mostly from a horrendous «factory» of eunuchs in Verdun; and if they imported the unelaborated human raw material, the Hebrew doctors of Lucena were charged with preparing it. They also dealt in Castile. After the battle of Uclés there was a general murder of Jews in Toledo. It is doubtful that it was caused by the fact that the Toledans attributed the defeat to the defection of the Hebrews. Baer believes that the Jews never showed military qualities in medieval Spain; the Hispano-Hebrew historian, Salomón ben Verga, twice admitted, in *La Vará de Judá* the cowardice of his racial brothers; and when the Duke of Medina Sidonia was planning to establish the fugitive Jews from Seville in Gibraltar, the uselessness of that people for the defense for the position was pointed out to him. A more probable reason for the murders might be the fact that Jewish merchants purchased, on the very field of battle after the disaster, Christians captured by the Almoravids and sold by them as slaves. At least we know from Al-Maqqari that after the rout of Alarcos, in 1195, at the scene of the battle, many

Jews purchased Castilian warriors who had fallen into enemy hands, to naturally turn around and sell them at a profit in the Andalusian markets. This presence of Hebrew merchants on the fields of battle, as predecessors of the vultures who after them fell on the badly injured or the dead, was not exactly the best way of reconciling the Jews with the people.

Their role as retailers, always increasing the price of food and clothing, could not have been very positive either; nor could their taking advantage of situations in order to practice agio and to make provisions more expensive, while the Christians were fighting with the Moors. The *fuero* of Usagre tells us of how they used to hoard fish on Fridays —the day of vigil in which the Christians had to eat it—, doubtless to raise its price. The ordinance of the Cortes of Burgos in 1367 speaks of the purchase by Jewish shopkeepers of diverse products from the Christian merchants «to resell and profit by it». The *procuradores* also complained to Henry II that the Hebrew retailers purchased on credit and then made «many frauds... in order not to pay the debts» —the I. O. U.'s as we would say nowadays—, «and for this reason the merchants... had lost and lose all they loan». Thanks to a prohibition of the *regidores* of Burgos, on 2 March 1484, we know of their speculations in time of war, speculations that provoked a rise in the cost of living. Hostilities with Granada already being under way, the *regidores* forbade any Jew to buy, sell or barter «any articles used for troops supply in order to resell or exchange them».

However, it was their increasing and unrestrained enrichment and their rapid and continuous scaling to the positions of confidence in the public administration that lit the fire of popular wrath against the Hebrews, first in Islamic Spain and then in Christian Spain. They enriched themselves at the expense of the misery of the people and, besides, they treated them with arrogance and pride from the posts of confidence they occupied beside the sultans of the South and the kings of the North.

Yet once again I want to do justice to the Jews by mitigating a part of the responsibility for the way they exploited and lorded it over the popular Christian masses. Along an immense and vicious circle, for centuries, hardship, necessities, ambitions, violence, and hatred pursued each other as if in a vertiginous race. The struggle against the Moors required great sums of money because it was necessary to pay wages to the most efficient professional warriors, the *infanzones* or *hijosdalgo* —I demonstrated that necessity when studying the Castilian vassal-fief structure— and it was also necessary to supply the whole army, the majority of which was obliged to join the campaign with bread for three days. Consult the study of Palomeque on the Castilian army and the municipal *fueros* of the two monarchies. The pecularities of the militar organization in the Christian kingdoms of Spain greatly increased the costs of war. The glorious days that witnessed the extension of Aragón to Valencia and Mallorca and that of Castile to Murcia and Seville have been studied but nobody has stopped to calculate the immense cost of these campaigns, initiated with the

battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. And the costs immediately increased when they needed to man or pay for squadrons: Aragón for its expansion into the Mediterranean and Castile to close the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar to the African hosts. The budget of what the siege of Algeciras would cost for half a year has been conserved for us. It was a budget presented to Sancho IV shortly before his death by Juan Mateo, his chief chamberlain and by Ferrand Martínez, his *chanceller de la poridat* (chanceller for secret affairs). Both calculated that only to pay for the fleet and the «armament» a little less than two million maravedís would be needed; and their calculations were immensely below the real cost, when Alfonso XI besieged Algeciras from August 1342 to March 1344.

Yes; the struggle against the Moors demanded colossal sums. From the pages of the chronicles, precise data jumps out at us: of the anguished financial situation in which the kings frequently found themselves during many of their campaigns, and of the failure of some due to lack of financial resources. Only the enormous amount of their war expenditure can explain the extraordinary contributions demanded by the kings of the churches of their kingdoms. Alfonso VII took several thousand doubloons from the treasury of the Apostle; Alfonso VIII collected one third of all the ecclesiastical rents on the eve of Las Navas; Sancho IV violently demanded great amounts from all the bishops of the kingdom in order to confront the Beni Amer... The kings also needed fantastic sums to buy the loyalty of the restless and rebellious magnates during the long and difficult civil wars that shook Castile in the Middle Ages —the tax-list of Huete in 1291 shows a part of the wages received by the Castilian nobles at that date.

Harassed by such money problems, the kings could not have felt too many scruples in exploiting to the greatest possible extent the tributary capacity of their nation and especially that offered by the riches of the Hebrew flock. Having become the fiscal agents of the princes through a series of unhappy historical coincidences which I will study later, the Jews doubly exploited the Christians under royal patronage. Doubly, because they amply took the tributes they gathered for the public treasury and because in order to raise their own tributary responsibilities without decreasing their fortunes, they raised the usurious interest and the commercial profit they obtained from the masses who adored Jesus Crucified. Those masses, feeling doubly oppressed by the Hebrew tax gatherers and by the Hebrew money-lenders and merchants, responded with an increasing wrath; they shouted their protests to the king and, as soon as royal authority weakened, they sacked the Jewish neighborhoods and even allow themselves the pleasure of bloodying them.

The men of Castrojeriz did that when Sancho III the Elder died in 1035; so did the men of Castrojeriz, Cea, Carrión and Valle de Anebra, upon the death of Alfonso VI in 1109, so did those of Astorga, Mayorga, Benavente, Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, Granadilla and Ciudad Rodrigo in 1230, the day Alfonso XI of León died; so did those of Navarre in 1327

115.—*Moorish Kings of the Hall of Justice of the Alhambra Palace* (Granada). Westernized Granada. Anti-koranic figures of Moorish Kings in the Hall of Justice of the Alhambra. Islam agonized in Spain. The Spanish Muslims, reinforced in the ancestral ethnic westernism of their grandparents, could not forget the role of man as the essential protagonist of life. And made their kings be depicted by Christian artists, perhaps by Florentine painters.

116.—*Panoramic View of the Alhambra Palace* (Granada), fortress and palace of the «Beni Alahmares» of Granada. Next to the site of the Iberian-Basque Iliberri –new city–, where the first council of the Spanish Christian church was assembled, the last bastion of Islam in the Peninsula was raised. An exquisite jewel, it is worth the tears

during the interregnum it suffered upon the death of childless Charles IV of France; so did those of Andalusia and all of Spain, shortly after the death of John I of Castile, in 1391.

«He gave the muleteer to Sancho, then Sancho to the lass, then the lass to him...» Like in a race of greyhounds, the mechanical hare advances, always unreachable, increasing the speed of the running hounds. In this way in increasing war expenditures —of war against Moors and of the civil wars— accelerated the speedy race in which everyone advanced, like panting, needing, demanding, abusing, extorting, hating, greyhounds; the king, the knights, the Jews and the people. The king could not interrupt the struggle; a discouragement or a pause could compromise the effort of a century or could cause the loss of the most promising occasion of that century. And closely behind the fiscal problems of the princess ran the insatiable ambition for rents and lordships of the nobles, the brutal abuses and extortion of the Jews and the ferocious hatreds of the people.

In that multisecular race, only the people received no compensation for their sacrifices. The kings witnessed the frontiers of their kingdoms grow along with their political strength in Europe. The nobles nicely pocketed the wages they received and increased their lordly power with the territorial booty won from Islam. A Hebraic oligarchy enriched itself fabulously with the lease of taxes and with their state loans, and many of the Jews scattered around the Peninsula enriched themselves without measure with their usurious loans and with their retail commerce. The Christian taxpayers did acquire personal liberties and new homes in the newly conquered Moorish territories, whenever they ran the risks of frontier life; but, in exchange, they had to suffer a triple sucking: the seigneurial leech —the kings granted to both the clerical and lay nobility the lordship of an increasing number of settlements and places; the fiscal leech— the tributes grew and grew without end; and the leech of Judaic usury, from which they could never escape because «the bad years», a frequent phenomenon in León and Castile, forced the peasants, tradesmen, and merchants into the clutches of the Hebrews.

But if the king and the people were in the game by virtue of the law of destiny, the Hebrews had entered it voluntarily, urged on by their devotion to material goods. Observe the order of value with which the pious Spanish rabbi, Abraham ben Salomón de Torrutiel, enumerates the losses suffered by some of the Jews expelled from Spain: «Many —he says— went to the kingdom of Portugal, under the rule of don John, son of the king don Alonso, *and there they left their goods their silver and their gold, their sons and daughters.*» This devotion was called avarice by the popular masses. If their temperament had been different, the Jews would have been able to live peacefully in the first centuries of the Reconquest, neither envied nor envious. But ambition forced them into the race of hardships, demands, abuses and extortions that filled the history

of the Spanish Christian kingdoms. The people witnessed the growth of the contrast between their poverty and the wealth of the Jews, between their submission and the power of their exploiters. How could they not have felt a growing anger and hatred against the guild of the Jewish taxgatherers and usurers, pampered by the kings, enriched at the people's expense and seen living in a luxury only comparable to their misery?

Misery? Luxury? Royal protection? The history of the misery of the Spaniards during the Middle Ages is yet to be written. When the dietetic structure of daily life of the popular masses is studied, we will be surprised at how they could exist in a chronic state of hunger. I remember some information as to what the laborers of Castile and León ate the days they offered *sernas,* that is the days they worked the fields of the lord and were fed by him. Normally they received bread, wine and sauces, at times a bit of cheese ,and only exceptionally some meat. It might be suspected that daily they ate even less. Theft of cheeses by people of humble condition reveal the imperiousness of their need; only that could make them run risks that these thefts caused them. The hunger must have been terrible to make some women of Burgos become the procurers of the archpriest for a few measures of wheat. And they knew that if they were discovered, as some were according to the *Libro de los fueros de Castilla,* they would be terribly punished.

Documents of Celanova from more than a thousand years ago have conserved the records of a *Casa de Pinna,* that, in bad years, granted «*renovos*», i. e. loans, to the unlucky peasants who ended up giving their land to the aforementioned monastery and becoming tenants, in order to pay back their loans.

The bad years! The frequent and terrible bad years in which the prolonged drought, the untimely frost, the spring hailstorm, the thunder storm just before harvest, an epidemic among the livestock... sank different parts of the kingdom and even all the kingdom into misery. And there were worse years! Those were the years in which the Muslims entered the country with blood and fire and burned crops and vineyards, lit fire to fruit orchards, olive trees or oaks, stole livestock, destroyed farms, hamlets and even villages, and condemned the inhabitants of the region visited by their hosts to start over again. For example, after the defeat of Alarcos (1195), the valley of the Tagus was devasted and Trujillo, Talavera, Escalona, Madrid, Guadalajara... were attacked. Their situation was worsened in the years of civil discord, in which the Castilian magnates caused similar damages and famines to those provoked by the Muslim warriors. In the Accounts of Sancho IV (1292-94) we received news of several villages where no tributes had been collected because they had been burned.

The sky, the soil and the men made daily existence in medieval Spain rough and harsh and even made it terrible and cruel in the worst of years; some annals speak of «iniquitous years». The Jewish publicans and

usurers only aggravated this situation. This was done with the help of the kings who did little more than hand over to the Hebrews the lease of the rents of the public treasury, in order to exploit to the greatest degree the tributary capacity of the people and to defend themselves from the turbulent aristocracy and from the assaults of African and Spanish Islam. Won over by the magic of the influence the Jews had over them, they collaborated in their enrichment at the expense of the popular masses. At times, to win the votation of new fiscal revenues, they would give in to the petitions of the cortes against the usurers and the publicans, but later they never made the laws dictated under pressure from the *procuradores* be carried out. Thus the taxgatherers and moneylenders continued committing the same abuses and extortions.

The misery of the people! Luxury and pride of the Jews! Hebrews usurers and publicans! Protection of the kings for an unassimilable minority which was hated by their Christian vassals!

3. Jewish Usury

Jewish usury! There is no other subject that appears so frequently in the ordinances of the cortes of Castile. Amador de los Ríos dealt with this subject; but his nineteenth-century mind and his devotion to the Hebrews did not allow him to see the reality as it truly was. He erroneously lowered the amount of the interest demanded by the usurers and thus lightened the cruel and serious aspects of that social vice. The Hebraist, Cantera, has studied it recently in greater detail and without much sympathy for the Peninsular Jews. Besides, the picture of Hebraic usury in Spain is far darker than the one painted by him. The extracts by Millás from the history of the Spanish Hebrews of professor Baer of Jerusalem, permit us to suspect that, naturally, he has not treated such an unpleasing subject in depth and has accepted the benevolent calculations and the benevolent conclusions of Amador de los Ríos.

Cantera has compiled the doctrine of the Hebraic sacred books regarding usury. From them we see that the Jews had always and fruitfully practiced it. They made Jehova say: «You will loan to many nations and you will borrow from no one» (Deuteronomy XV, 6); and «You will employ usury with the foreigner, but not with your brother, so that Jehovah, your God, might bless all your hand does» (Deuteronomy XXII, 20.21). But they probably also practiced usury with those of the same race and faith. Dispositions in the sacred texts against it abound: Exodus XXII, 24; Leviticus XXV, 35-38; Psalms XIV, 5, LIV, 12; Proverbs XXVIII, 8. Criticisms of the prophets against it are numerous: Ezequiel XXII, 12 and Nehemiah V, I, 12. And Our Lord, in a parable contained in Mathew XXV, 27, and in Luke XIX, 23, reveals that in his

days it was still cruelly practiced: for a «mina» the faithful servant procured ten for his greedy master.

I do not know when the Jews began to practice usury in Spain. In my *Estampas de la vida en León hace mil años* I supposed that the Hebrews of León were already lending money in the tenth-century. Different documents show the concession of «*renovos*» in those days that was the technical name for usurious loans— in a number of regions of the kingdoms. Then I suspected, and I still do today, that the majority of the moneylenders who gave them were Jews. Before the year 964 one Mercadarius received from his debtor, Miro Barraza, a stable in León because he had not paid the sum received from him «*ad usuram*». Since neither the Christians nor the Muslims were normally merchants at that time it was very probable that the usurer Mercadarius, who hid his family name behind the name of his profession, was a Jew.

The slaughter of the Jews of Castrojeriz by the men of the town upon the death of Sancho III the Elder, in 1055, has been explained as a brutal reaction to the attempt by the Jews to take collateral to guarantee their loans. It is true that the Christians had the right to refuse anyone who tried to make them pledge their goods, but it is not sure that their barbarous conduct was provoked by the excesses of the Hebrews.

In 1091 Alfonso VI legislated regarding the guarantees and proofs necessary so that the Jews of León could make their credits effective against the Christians, whether they had been granted or not with prior reception of a pledge.

The Cantar de Mío Cid gives news of the frequency with which the Hebrews used to make loans in León and Castile during the first half of the twelfth-century. In it we find tasty details regarding the real life of the usurers from Burgos: Their mistrust was great —Rachel and Vidas did not want to give any money at all to Martín Antolínez until they have in their hands the coffers of the supposed treasures of the Lord Champion; when they asked them to hurry up with the delivery of the money, they replied: «The deal is not done like this, first comes the pledge and then the money». They possessed great amounts of coins and carried out very important operations —in a matter of hours, Rachel and Vidas loaned 600 half pound weights silver, half of them in pieces of gold. Their greediness equaled their mellifluous courtesy: Rachel and Vidas twiced kissed the hand of the banished *infanzón,* they wished him good fortune and could not hide the pleasure of carrying the weighty coffers. They rewarded those who procured good business for them —Martín Antolínez received from Rachel and Vidas 30 weights of silver. «Give him a good gift, even though he has not sought it», the usurers said to each other. Upon receiving the pledges, they swore to keep them for a prudent period of time. «Well they will be kept until the year is out». Rachel and Vidas promised the Cid —with the hope, naturally, of later using them for their own profit.

The usurious loans of the Castilian Jews engendered the anti-Semitism of the minstrel author of the *Cantar de Mío Cid* and of his public of *infanzones*, knights and peasants The delight with which he tells the trick played by the Cid on Rachel and Vidas reveals the pleasure this deceit of the two usurers from Burgos by the hero, archetype of the noble ideal of life, produced among his listeners.

The success, among the people, of this part of the Poem was justified. At the time the Jews gave usurious loans at no less than 100 % per annum. In the Latin text of the *Fuero* of Cuenca, a few decades after the *Cantar*, the Jews are forbidden to lend money at a higher rate of interest; this very prohibition is a clear sign that they used to demand even greater yields. In chapter XXIX, law XIX we read: «*usura nullatenus crescat nisi in duplum in capite annj. Et secundum hanc racionem exigat iudeus usuram unius mensis uel alterius temporis, tam breue quam longum, in quo pecuniam dederit ad usuram*».

In the *fueros* of the same family as Cuenca's, the same prohibition is present, e. g., the *fuero* of Zorita, art. 594. However, in another series of municipal laws, an ever greater interest rate is allowed. Article 294 of the *fuero* of Coria says: «A Jew who gives from his own money. Any Jew who, from his own money, gives for hire, will receive one eighth of a maravedi per week, per maravedi loaned, and a *dinero* (silver coin) per *sueldo*». This precept is repeated in the *fueros* of Cáceres, 283; Usagre, 302; Alfaiates, 295; Castel Rodrigo, VI.9; Castello Meior, 204; Castello Bom, 293... Now, the interest rates, of 1/8 per week for loans in maravedis and 1/12 for those in *sueldos*, come to 50 % and 33.33 % per month respectively! No wonder Gregory IX, in 1229, when addressing Don Mauricio, bishop of Burgos, referred to the *inmoderatas usuras* that the Jews of the city demanded from the Christians.

A few years later, in 1237, the Toledan Jew, Abu-l-Hasan Yehudá ben Mohib loaned 185 *mizcales* (a small coin) for 12 months, with the forfeit of double the sum loaned and 1/2 a *mizcal* per day of late payment if the loan was not payed back on time. In July of 1239 another Jew from Toledo, Abu-l-Hasan Benjamín, son of Abu Ishaq, from Barcelona, loaned 112 *mizcales* to be paid: 50 at thirty days; 30 on St. Martín's day in November and 32 just before Ash Wednesday; with the condition that lack of payment of one of the periods would imply the loss of all payed previously and with a surcharge of one *mizcal* per day of delay and 20 *mizcales* if there was a legal reclamation against the loan.

Faced with the amount of the interest rates demanded and the fabulous sums required, is not the anti-Semitism of the minstrel of the Cid, his mockery of the usurers from Burgos and the growing popular wrath against the Hebrews completely understandable? This became so scandalous that Alfonso X, supposedly adopting Castilian as the language of culture by giving in to the suggestions of the Jews of his court, tried to put a barrier to this terrible plague Therefore in the Pragmatic Charter of 1253, in the

Royal *Fuero* of 1255, in documents addressed to different *concejos* —Sepúlveda in 1257 and León in 1250...—, and in the New Laws, the annual interest permitted the Hebrew moneylenders in Castile was limited to 33.33 % per year. In book IV, 2.6 of the Royal *Fuero* we can read: «No Jew who makes usurious loans, shall dare to make it more than three maravedís for our during the whole year; and if he makes it more expensive, it is not valid». With similar words, the same limitation is established in other precepts of Alfonso. According to the *procuradores* of the Cortes of Palencia in 1313, chp. 30, and in those of Valladolid in 1322, chp. 56, the Learned King ordered «that the money loaned by the Jews make no more than one *fanega* (47) for three per year». His words offer us a trustworthy interpretation of the imprecise phrase of the Royal *Fuero*.

The rate established by Alfonso X represented a tremendous reduction of the rate permitted in the municipal *fueros*. Moreover the Learned King knew well the maneuvering capacity of the Jewish usurers, probably because they had been escaping the dictates of the municipal *fueros* for a long time. It has already been shown how in a number of Mozarabic documents of Toledo, prior to the Pragmatic Charter and the Royal *Fuero*, the Jews appear employing the most subtle methods of lending in which they secured fabulous credit deals. Alfonso X tried, in vain, to make his precepts effective.

One could sidestep the limitations imposed by the king by granting loans at a 33.33 % interest but for such short periods that, by being renewed one or more times per year, the amount of gain would increase incredibly. The nature of this operation can be deduced from the words Alfonso X added to the ones mentioned above in the Royal *Fuero*: «Besides, we maintain that, after the profit reaches the amount loaned, from then on he shall not make a profit, nor renew the contract, until the year is up». Moreover, according to the letter of this precept, the Jews were really allowed to receive an annual interest of 100 %.

In the Cortes of Jerez of 1268, chp. 44, the Learned King decreed a reduction in usury interest from 33.33 % to 25 % Sancho IV, who upon coming to the throne owed some substantial favors to the Hebrews, reestablished the old rate in his ordinance of 1283 and confirmed it in the Cortes of Valladolid of 1293, chp. 23. Ferdinand IV did the same in the Cortes of Zamora of 1301. The tutors of Alfonso XI confirmed the old precepts of Alfonso X and of Sancho IV in the Cortes of Palencia of 1313, chp. 30, and in those of Burgos, chp. 26. From the time Alfonso XI assumed the throne he legislated on Jewish usury, following the tradition of his ancestors: in the Cortes of Valladolid of 1322, chps. 56, 57 and those of 1325, chp. 14; in the Cortes of Madrid of 1329, chps. 52 and those following, and in many other cortes.

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(47) Grain measure of about 1.5 bushels.

The Jews knew how to sidestep all these prescriptions. According to testimonies of the Cortes of Madrid of 1329 and those of Burgos of 1345 they forced those who requested the loans to acknowledge amounts greater than those they actually received: amounts double the value of the loan. Numerous Mozarabic documents of Toledo in the second half of the thirteenth-century accredit another Jewish strategy; they granted the loan for a very short period and stipulated the payment of double the amount they loaned in case the money was not repaid by the date agreed to, and considerable fines for each day the debtor delayed in paying. By one system or the other, the Jewish usurers assured themselves beforehand of higher interest rates than the 100 % per year permitted. This was done in the first case by means of a fraudulent manipulation prior to the concession of the usurious loan; and in the second, because only necessity made the Christians fall into their clutches and therefore it was obvious that they would not be able to repay them within a few months or a few days after having contracted the loan.

In order to repudiate the complaints of the Christians against these abuses, the Jewish usurers hid behind the traditional requirement of a Hebrew witness in any trial against them, because no racial brother would bear witness in favor of the suing debtor.

Numerous legal dispositions tried to prevent the Jewish moneylenders from forcing their debtors to admit to debts that were superior to those actually contracted. The two parties were to carry out their business in front of witnesses and before the mayors and public notaries of the *concejo* and they were to swear that the loan conformed to the norms established by the kings. This was done, for example, by Alfonso X in the New Laws and in the Cortes of Jerez of 1268. Furthermore, in debtor trials, proof was admitted with the sole testimony of two good Christian men. This procedure was decreed by Alfonso X in a precept addressed to remedy the abuses of the moneylenders by forgiving a part of the amount of the debts in order to reduce them to their real value. This was done by Sancho IV in 1283, by the tutors of Alfonso XI in 1313 and 1315, by Alfonso XI himself in 1322, 1325, 1329 and 1345, and by many other kings of Castile. Some legal precepts went to the aid of those who had accepted the payment of fines if they did not repay the debt within the agreed period of time; either by alleging that the Jewish creditor had, with excuses, refused to receive the amount loaned or a part of it —naturally to be able to invoke the penal clause of the loan contract which authorized them to collect double the stipulated amount— or by granting moratoriums for the payment of the amount received in loan or by decreeing the future abolition of all Judaic debts. In the preamble of the New Laws, in the Cortes of Jerez of 1268, chp. 44, and in the decrees addressed to the *concejo* of Burgos in 1263 and in 1271, Alfonso X declared that the payments that the debtors made to their Hebrews creditors through the mayor, when the creditors had attempted not to receive them, were legal. In the Cortes of Valladolid

of 1293, Sancho IV ordered that no interest could accrue if the moneylender did not claim the debt within 30 days of the agreed period. The same Sancho IV, the tutors of Alfonso XI, Alfonso XI himself and many others kings of Castile decreed different moratoriums on and prescriptions of the Judaic debts.

To secure the recovery of their credits the Jewish usurers demanded pledges or guarantors. They used to use and even abuse pledges and buy, at reduced prices, the goods that corresponded to the payment of the debt. Either of the two methods allowed them to increase their wealth at the expense of their victims. The importance of usury was so great that there were special «executors» in charge of making the Jewish credits effective. They were supposed to sell the goods and chattels of the debtors or the guarantors within nine days and the real estate within 30. The *Fuero* of Cuenca, the Royal *Fuero* and other royal precepts already limited the right of the moneylender to use and abuse the pledges received. The *concejos* attempted, at times successfully, to supress the special «executors» of the Judaic debts. In exchange for some concessions, the Jews signed agreements with the Christians promising not to buy the goods of their debtors; even though they were to sell «the clothes off their backs», as says the concord signed in 1301 by the potential moneylenders of Belorado and their possible victims. The Mozarabic documents from Toledo allow us to witness still other manipulations of the usurious Jews in Castile.

More than all the legal decrees and all the protests in the Cortes, these documents reveal the seriousness of the scar left by Jewish usury in Castile; reading it leaves a sad sensation of anguish in one's soul. They register the juridical affairs of the Mozarabic minority that took place during the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries, that is, by the descendents of the Toledans who had remained faithful to their Christian faith during the long centuries of Muslim lordship. In this series of documents, many loan contracts given by Jews appear. Through them we can see the modest condition of the debtors —butchers, shoemakers, jewellers, blacksmiths, tailors, shopkeepers...—, the insignificance of the loans granted and the brevity of the periods agreed to: from two to six months. The amount of interest is never mentioned. When the moneylenders did not establish extremely harsh penal clauses —for example the loans of Abu-l-Hasan Israel ben Abirebia in 1280, 1283, 1290, 1291...—, they surely had obliged their debtors to admit to debts greater than the amount received. The fines were so strong that many guarantors would only back the amount of the loan agreed to: see documents number 836 (1221), 855 (1251), 862 (1278), 869 (1287), 890 (1292)... For 56 *mizcales* loaned over a period of three months, a Jewish moneylender received 112, shortly after the period of debt expired (document 864, year 1282); for 60 *mizcales*, another Hebrew, besides the amount loaned, received 100 *mizcales* as part of the stipulated fine (num. 1124, year 1283); for 84 *mizcales* a guarantor had to pay 160 to another Jewish usurer (num. 1087, year 1290). The above-

mentioned Hebrew, Ibn Abilrebia, always gave loans for four month periods with a stipulated penalty of double plus a fine of 2 fourths of a *mizcal,* 15 *dineros,* for each day of delay and five *mizcales* for any reclamations. We can trace the increasing amount of the Jewish debts of two Toledans, María Juan and García Gonsalvez, in February, May, July, August, September, November, December... of 1290 and 1291 (num. 874 to 885 and 889) until a guarantor went into ruin in order to pay for them. One can even follow the unfortunate sales of the guarantors or debtors. To pay a debt of 212 *mizcales* a farm in Toledo valued at 400 was sold. (Num. 678.)

It is not surprising therefore that tide of popular complaints against Jewish usury rose rapidly nor that the Church soon opposed it. The kings had to confront the protests of the people each time they called the cortes and they also had to confront the interference of the Church: Ferdinand IV angrily wrote in 1307 to the canons of Toledo, not because they used papal orders to escape paying their debts, as has been erroneously affirmed, but because before them, ecclesiastical judges named by the Pope, came the clergymen and laymen of the archdiocese to demand the return of the «profit» or usury that the Jews had charged them for their loans, basing themselves on papal decrees. The king strongly threatened them if, by means of excommunications, they forced the Hebrews to fulfill the orders of the Pope, and even said to them: «Any harm or loss the Jews receive due to this, I will order you to deliver it to them, doubled». The king let himself be won by the money of the usurious Jews. I cannot doubt that they bought royal favor because it is known, as I will point out later, that years later they bought the favor of Alfonso XI. Ferdinand IV preferred to serve them than to obey the papacy. He not only wrote the threatening words copied above, he even forbade the canons to fulfill the papal decrees «under pain of the loss of their bodies and all they have».

Moreover Clement V in the Council of Vienna of 1312 canonically condemned usury, the Castilian clergy repeated the prohibition in the Council of Zamora of 1313, and popes and prelates granted bulls and sentences of excommunication against the Hebrew usurers.

Alfonso XI was irritated by these measures and in the Cortes of Valladolid of 1325 decreed them null. But in the Cortes of Madrid 1329 he favorably received a petition of his *procuradores* «due to the many deceits and evils that have been done up til now, by means of making the loan contracts for double the real amount»; and he ordered: «That the public notaries who do this from now on and may the witnesses who figure in the contract, see that the Jew makes the payment to the Christian of all the amount of the debt mentioned in the contract, and may the debt be repayed at three for four per annum as is according to *fuero* and ordinance of the kings. And may any notary public who writes the contract differently, pay 100 maravedís in good money for each contract he writes within the town this happens, and may the contract not be valid and the Jew lose

the loan if it be given in another way». Nevertheless Alfonso XI soon succumbed to the Jewish usurers.

He ordered that their debts be totally liquidated. If the Christian refused to pay them, the mayors should force him to do it under pain of a 60 *sueldo* fine. When the repayment period of the Jewish credits was up, they had to be repayed in goods of the debtors and guarantors, which were to be sold within the prescribed nine or 30 days. Only after beginning to repay the debt could a reclamation be admitted. If the executors did not find goods to sell, the mayors were to discover them. The debts not only affected the goods of the debtors, but those of their wives as will, unless exempted in the loan contract. Jewish debts received preference over all other obligations that could affect the goods of the debtors, unless there was a written declaration to the contrary. In the future no moratoriums of any kind would be admitted and the periods granted up to that time would not be valid for the possible abrogation of old credits. If the lords did not place executors of Judaic debts in their states, they would be named by the king. The Hebrews who had incurred in the crime of loaning at more than three for four per year were forgiven their fines. They would not be obliged to pay along with the Christians, tributes, damages for slander, excise, officers' wages... nor would they have to go out with them in hosts or crowds (*Sefarad,* 1. 1. 941. pg. 108).

Never had the Jews up to then achieved a more favorable disposition in relation to their credits against the Christians. It was now ta terrible public plague that daily dried up the national wealth. We know the extent of this plague thanks to the existence of register books of Judaic loans in the smallest settlements of the kingdom.

Moreover the national protest against Jewish usury became so strong that, in the end, Alfonso XI, though still resisting several petitions of the cortes against it, in 1348 also decided to prohibit it like Alfonso X had done in the *Partidas* and the Church had in the Councils of Vienna and Zamora. He did so in the Ordinance of Alcalá, Title XXIII, Law 2.

Three years before, Alfonso XI had rejected the petition of the Cortes of Burgos of 1345 against the Judaic debts. How can such a decisive change be explained? Was he intimidated by the devastation that the black death was causing in his kingdoms and wanted to attract divine help by accepting the naive negative position of the Church? Convinced of its ineffectualness, did he consciously dictate a demagogic measure to calm the wrathful protest of the people? Did he really believe that a remedy could be put to the illness of Jewish usury by means of a cutting prohibition, compensated by the authorization given the Hebrews at the same time to purchase and possess property in the cities, villages and other royal hamlets? Sancho IV had forbidden the possession of them and had ordered the Jews to sell all they owned at the time; Alfonso XI allowed them to acquire property: «From beyond the Duero and up to the value of 30,000 maravedís for each who did not have a house; and on this side of the

Duero, and in all the other districts, up to the value of 20,000 maravedís, as has been said.» Did he feel that with this concession the Hebrews would invest their money in real estate and would become peasants? It is hard to believe that Alfonso XI believed such a radical change of life to be possible. Agriculture could not provide the Hebrews with an income comparable to that they were used to getting with their usurious loans. It is to Amador de los Ríos we owe a most eloquent testimony of their greed. He points out an event taking place in Cuenca during the reign of Alfonso XI. The synagogue refused to loan money to the Christians at the already enormous interest rate of 33.33% authorized by the kings, and the *concejo* had to settle with it, in 1326, so that the «*profit*» might be raised to 50%, and to one *meaja* a week for each maravedí given in pledge; that is 8.5% per week, the equivalent of 33.33% per month!

I seriously doubt that Alfonso XI would have considered it effective to supress Jewish usury by forbidding the Hebrews to charge interest on their loans. Who could imagine that half way through the fourteenth-century, to obey the sovereign, the Hebrews of Castile were going to become philanthropists and were going to give the maravedís or wheat for nothing? The example given by the fabulous earnings that they obtained by usuriously loaning their savings —they doubled them every year at least— had induced some Christians to imitate them. According to the Cortes of Alcalá of 1348: «It was commonly known that many men of great import, *hidalgos* and citizens, peasants and clergymen, loan their money, wheat and cloths usuriously in contracts written by public notaries and through other certain means of collection and in other ways». The monarch promised to severely correct these practices and did so in the Ordinance of Alcalá, XXIII, I.

It was not humanly possible for the Jews to stop giving usurious loans just because Alfonso XI had prohibited it. The situation was worsened because the Christians continued to go to them with the pressing necessity for money or wheat, in order to defend themselves from the creeping misery that was always around: in the frequent bad years when the harvest was lost or the livestock died of hunger; and in the frequent years of civil discord when wheat fields, vineyards and olive groves were burned, farms were destroyed and villages and towns robbed. Miranda de Ebro, for example, obtained from Henry II a moratorium of two years for the payment of Judaical debts which it had been forced to take on due to the destruction suffered in the war between the Cruel King and the Bastard King.

When it came to interest, the Hebrews were not even kind with their own brothers. In 1354 don Çag de Avila, a native of Astudillo, made don Çag Leví, from Burgos, pay 1715 maravedís he owed him from the collection of the *alcabalas* of Cerrato, with the condition of paying double and consenting to go to debtors prison if he did not pay. And they did

not turn back before the new situation created by the Ordinance of Alcalá.

The Hebrew usurers had too much experience not to be able to sidestep the sharp prohibition of Alfonso. They continued to force their debtors to admit to debts superior to those they had really contracted, they continued to make them accept extraordinarily harsh penal clauses in case they did not return the amount received in the short periods established by them, they feigned sales, they employed the fearful «*pacto de retro*» and they resorted to one thousand and one stratagems to secure fabulous usurious interests and to take over the real estate and goods and chattels of those who fell into their hands. It was in vain that the cortes protested to the kings and that the kings reproduced old precepts and adorned them with new rulings; see the dispositions of Henry II and John I included in the Royal Statutes of Castile VIII, II, 4-6. The Jews continued to loan for profit or usury, they continued to obtain shameless earnings and they continued to pave the way for their own ruin by adding wood to the fire of the growing popular hatred of them.

The lower the position of the people, the greater their hatred of the Hebrews. The small loans on domestic pledges were not protected by the guarantees —documents or oaths— required by law for those of more than eight maravedís. Thus the moneylenders demanded fabulous revenues in such cases, 1/12 per week of what they loaned.

Among the Jews of Castile there were great literary and scientific figures and doubtless most noble and pious men, but it was the soulless usurers who made life miserable for the people. Those who provoked the wrath were the Hebrews who, in moments of hunger and anguish, loaned to the people at a rate of one *meaja* per maravedi per week —1,400% per year—, after taking their household furniture in pledge; or at a rate of 100% per year on their houses or lands. It was not surprising that they would make all of the Hebrew flock the object of their terrible wrath against the moneylenders. The Hebrews of few means did not pratice usury, it was the doctors, writers and persons of quality who exercised this profession. Among the Toledan usurers of the thirteenth-century mentioned in the Mozarabic documents we find members of the most illustrious families of the Jewish synagogue of the city: the Nehemías, the Barchilon, the Esteleha, the Xuxan. It is known that the rabbi Sem Tob b. Ishaq Xaprut, doctor and author of a polemical book against the Christians, *Eben Bohan,* made usurious loans in Tarazona in 1375. Shortly before their expulsion, in 1492, two Jewish Doctors, Aben Ruiz and Samuel Cohen, his brother-in-law, loaned in Jerez and in Puerto de Santa María.

The Spanish Hebrew historian Salomón ben Verga has already correctly shown that usury was among the causes of the popular hate of the Christians against his racial brothers and of the sufferings and tortures that all the Peninsular Jews were to suffer. He feigns a dialogue between

a wise man, Thomas— with whose lips he speaks —and a king called Alfonso. «The second reason for the hate of the Jews–says Thomas to the king—, is because these Jews when they came to the kingdom of our lord they were poor and the Christians were rich and now it is the opposite; for the Jew is intelligent and inventive in getting his gain, besides he has enriched himself greatly through the arts of usury. You see, my Lord, three fourths of Spanish fields and properties are in the hands of the Jews thanks to the onerous usury they practice...» «The Jews have taken our money —say the peasants to the king— because of usury; they have even taken so much of our livestock, that we are unable to plow our fields...» «They are wealthy, filled with what we have earned with our toil and which they have devoured through usury...» «You should know —says the king to the representatives of the Jews of his kingdom— that you came to our lands naked and hungry; the Christian natives received you with love and you have given them evil; with your usury you have taken their properties, their livestock and their oxen...» «I advise you, —says Thomas to the sovereign who had asked him how the Jews could be kept from perishing at the hands of his subjects that you cry throughout your kingdom that all the estates that have been acquired by the Jews through usury, in the opinion of the judge, be returned to their previous owners.»

The advice that Salomón ben Verga puts in the mouth of Thomas, the wise man, was actually impossible. However the mere mention of the measure by the author of *La Vara de Judá* reveals that the Jewish thinkers themselves considered usury to be one of the decisive causes of the ruin of their nation on the Peninsula.

On the Peninsula? Yes, because Jewish usury devastated other Peninsular kingdoms outside Castile. Jewish usury was also the warhorse of the relations between the kings and the Cortes of Aragón. Starting with James I, the Aragonese sovereign limited the interest authorized to the Jews on usurious loans to 20 % per year. The Conqueror also decreed that if two years passed in which the Jewish moneylender did not demand the payment of his credits or did not present a legal suit reclaiming these credits before a legal magistrate, he would lose all right to receive revenues of double the value of the capital loaned. The «Ordinatio del rey En Jaume» regarding Judaical usury became the basis for the legal dispositions of his successors regarding usury. Yet the cortes continued protesting —those of Lérida in 1300, those of Saragossa in 1301 and those of Aragón in 1307— the frauds used by the Jews in their loans; and James II was able to cut them off by imposing terrible oaths on the moneylenders and absolving the Christians from what they were obliged to admit to in usury contracts. Alfonso IV later abolished debtors prison. Finally Peter IV maintained this prohibition, but later reestablished the right of the Hebrews to lend with usury.

Amador de los Ríos has already pointed out these facts. New testi-

monies of the usurious practices of the Jews in the Crown of Aragón during the fourteenth-century can be found in the magnificent collection of documents by Baer. Diverse Spanish scholars have contributed in *Sefarad* new allegations regarding the Judaical debts in the lands of the Aragonese kings. Finally, Ivan Roustit has just compiled some testimonies about the Judaical loans to the city of Barcelona.

The «Universitat» of Barcelona received great amounts of money from the Jews during the fourteenth-century. In 1359, during the war with Peter I the Cruel of Castile, it contracted credits for up to 25,000 *libras* (48). Normally these were short-term debts —four months— and at a 25 % interest rate. When the city was forced to request the renovation of the loan, the rate went up. At times it reached 37 %. Only late in the century did the Jews lose the monopoly on usurious loans to the municipality of Barcelona.

According to Batlle and Millás the property of the Hebrew *aljama* (Jewries) of Gerona suffered due to the disposition of Alfonso IV which prohibited debtors prison, yet the currency of the city continued in the hands of the Jews. Sanz Artibucilla has published numerous documents regarding the practice of Jewish usury in Tarazona in the second half of the fourteenth-century; to him we owe the names of the Hebrew moneylenders of the city in 1391. Del Arco and Balaguer have given news of the usurious activities of the Jews of Huesca: from 1365 on, they say, the notarial registries of the city contain numerous Judaical documents of credit. Many more details could be added. The usurers of the Aragonese cities swore each year before the bailiff of each one that they had not loaned, nor would they loan during the year, at a higher interest rate than that established by the king: 4 *dineros* per *libra* or 33.33 %. We possess the oaths of the moneylenders of Tarazona in 1383 and in 1391.

While the terrible popular explosion was nearing, in all of Spain Jewish usury continued to strangle the Spaniards from the most diverse classes and lands. In 1372 the Hebrews of Pancorbo imposed very difficult conditions on the *concejo* for a loan of 2233 *maravedís*, an amount which seems to include the interest along with the capital; it is accredited by a document published by Huidobro. In 1380 the Hebrews of Vitoria and Salinas pledged their mules to the people of Miranda to go and carry salt; Cantera has pointed it out. The Cortes of Valladolid in 1385 complained that the Jews even went so far as to demand that the victim admit to debts three times above the capital received and they refused to return, using many different pretexts, the pledges they had received in guarantee for the loans. In the first months of 1391 the usurers of Tarazona charged substantial credits, they kept the mule of one of their debtors for a handful of *sueldos*, they took in pledge from the *concejo* rich objects of silver as a guarantee for a

(48) Amount of money in Aragón and Catalonia, similar in value to the Castilian ducat.

relatively small loan at 90 days...: Sanz Artibucilla has published the documents that prove it.

In June of the same year, the people initiated in Seville the terrible pogroms that the Hebrew synagogues were to suffer in many cities and towns of Spain. The news of the popular excesses spread rapidly from one Jewish neighborhood to another. When the members of each community realized the danger the usurers were the first to be on their guard against possible damages. This happened, for example, in Tarazona. In the middle of July the bad news arrived. «And due to the persecution that rumbles against the Jews which elsewhere is extreme» —here in a document of the 21st of that month a moneylender and cloth merchant of the town refers to the barbarous wave of devastation and deaths that the Jewish neighborhoods were suffering at the time— all the usurers tried to safeguard their money and their wealth by feigning sales and pledges and admitting being borrowers of the city authorities who agreed to protect them, and of private individuals, who we might suppose to be either their friends or people who owed them a favor.

Yet, after the storm or after the panic the Jewish usurers returned to their old practices. It would be unjust to attribute all the responsibility of the popular hatreds or the assaults on the Jewish communities to the Jews, but it would not be licit to lessen their guilt in the hatred of the Christian masses against the Peninsular Hebrews. Yet, they did not learn anything from the catastrophe they had contributed to causing, or they soon forgot the lesson received. Numerous Jews of many cities of Spain, from the northern Huesca, Miranda and Castrojeriz, to the southern Jerez de la Frontera and Puerto de Santa María, continued to practice usury after, just as before, 1391. Those who, in the brutal hours of the persecution or at either known or unknown dates abandoned the faith of their elders and converted to Christianity, continued to grant loans, just like their grandparents had done.

The *converso,* Alvar García de Santa María, brother of the first rabbi and later bishop of Burgos, Salomon ha-Leví (later Pablo de Santa María), granted numerous money loans to king John of Navarre, to the prince don Carlos de Viana and to many other inviduals. We do not know the interest of these loans but it is doubtfull that a man who had amassed such a great fortune would have given them without receiving any profit. The great Hebraist Cantera documentally tells us of some of such loans in the excellent book he has just dedicated to the Santa María. This evidence can also be found in the will of the man who was *regidor* of Burgos and chronicler of John II of Castile where we find numerous credits he possessed at the time of his death. Can one doubt that *conversos* less noteworthy and firm in their Christianity than Alvar García also continued to be dedicated to the business of money? The great riches achieved by them apart from any documentary evidence contribute to the confirmation of the existence of their usurious practices.

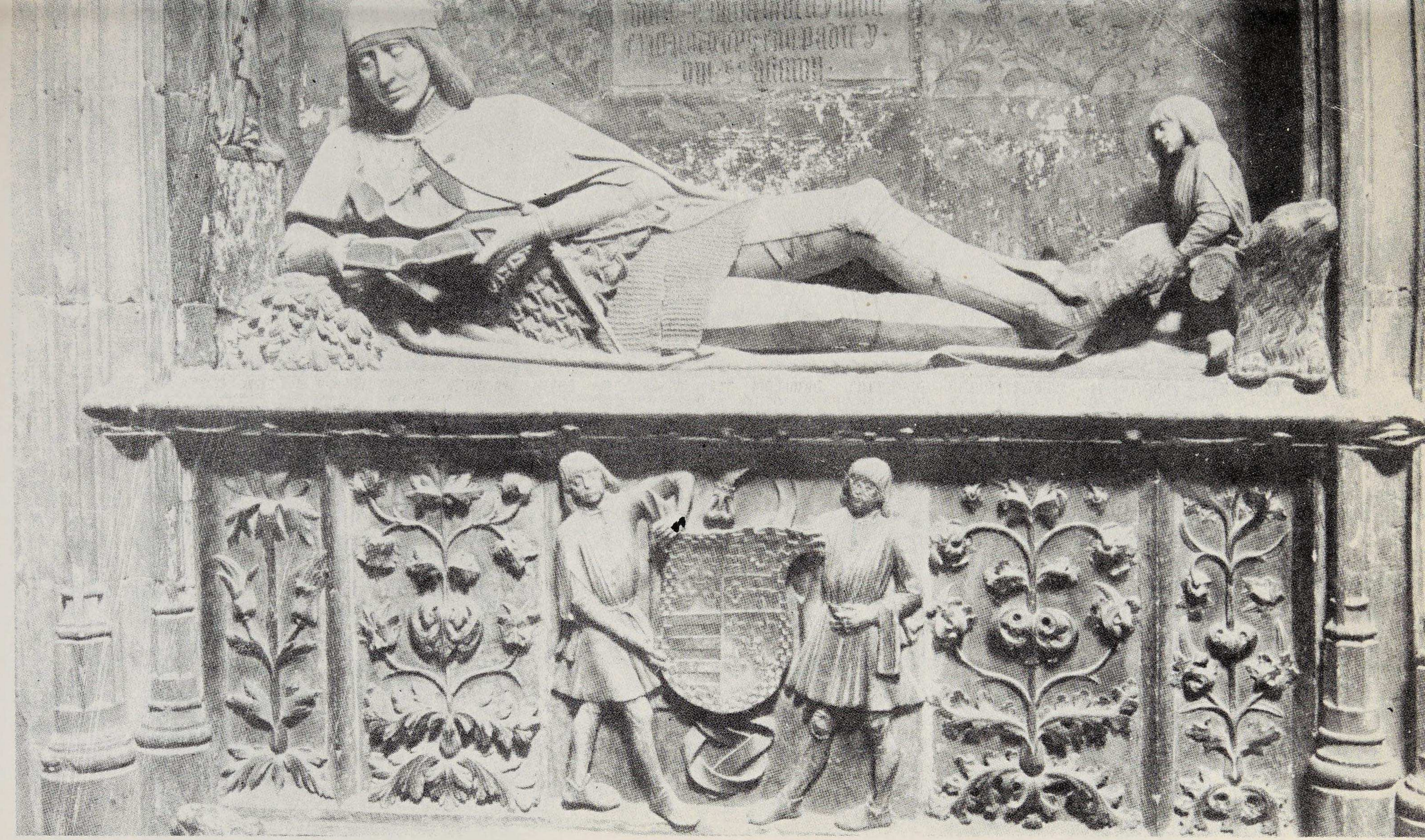
The usurious activities of the Jews who did not renounce their faith in the catastrophe of 1391 is also evident. In the Cortes of Valladolid in 1405, Henry III dictated a very minute Ordinance against the plague of usury. The *procuradores* asked him to renew the laws preciously passed against it, because the Jews «paying no heed to those laws, later made many usurious contracts», obliging the Christians to sign exorbitant letters «in such a way that many of these Christians are destroyed or impoverished». The king agreed to the request of the cortes: because «normally the Jews give usurious loans»; and because they really «tried and try different methods of deceit and take from the Christians and from the *concejos* and communities, under the name of the principal capital, much greater amounts than those received from their debtors... and we want to take advantage of any occasion so that our kingdom and lordships might not be poor and lose all they have». After listing many of the laws of his father and his grandfathers against them.

In 1415, Pope Luna, Benedict XIII, in the bull he dictated against the Jews, dedicated two paragraphs to the combatting of Jewish usury. «Using refined astuteness... they make simulated contracts with the Christians to whom they loan money; under the pretext of sales, purchases and other transactions they are able to mutually palliate and fraudulently conceal the pledge...; they use other procedures that are so careful that they do not fear to demand that their debtors sign contracts in which greater amounts than those actually received are listed; at the same time they impose on the Christians, under oath, the obligation of fulfilling these contracts, not without forcing them to admit to the debts before an ecclesiastical judge, confessing themselves worthy of excommunication in case they are insolvent».

In order to stop these evils, the pope prohibited all types of contracts between Christians and Jews and threatened the civil and ecclesiastical authorities if they collaborated in the agreement or in the execution of them in any way whatsoever.

Yet neither the Ordinance of Henry the Painful, nor the Bull of Benedict XIII, nor the pragmatics of the Trastamaras who governed Castile and Aragón during the fifteenth-century could uproot the evil.

In the Cortes of Toledo of 1462 the *procuradores* complained to Henry IV that the Jews, fearing the dictates and laws promulgated by the kings against usury, «do not make contracts in writing, but take and receive pledges of great value in exchange for the small amount of money loaned to the Christians, the pledges being lost by the Christians and remaining in the hands of the Jews. In other cases they put a Christian in their place and receive from these contracts and obligations, be they licit or not, even greater frauds, excesses, collusions and usuries». They also reproached the monarch for the constant doing and undoing of royal authority regarding the question and they requested prudent and clear measures that would not be subject to such abuse and deceit.



117.—*Sepulcher of «El Doncel»*. Cathedral of Sigüenza (Guadalajara) Killed in battle and depictured with a book in his hand, it can be supposed that he was jointly a man of arms and of letters, as were many other Spaniards: don Juan Manuel, Chancellor Ayala, Jorge Manrique, Garcilaso, Hernán Cortés, Jiménez de Quesada, Cervantes, Lope, Calderón, etc., etc. Only by thinking of the captains of our days could Ortega y Gass t be surprised at this mixture of courage and dialectic.

118.—*Patio of the «Palace of the Infantado»* (Guadalajara). The union of the Gothic and the Mudejar produced marvels in Castile during the last period of our Middle Ages. A fruit of this union was the Palace of the Infantado (Guadalajara). It was built by the head of a family that actively intervened in our history. To this family belonged the Marquis of Santillana, Cardinal Mendoza, the Count of Tendilla –first warden of the Alhambra– and the Princess of Eboli. Philip II and Elizabeth of Valois married here.

The notarial registries of the period, which have been saved from the slander of the centuries, daily offer new testimonies of the Hebraic loans in all the regions of Spain. Two items are especially interesting among them. In 1490, on the occasion of a debtors trial between Rodrigo Ordaz and a Hebrew moneylender of Huesca, we can read the following words —reproduced by del Arco in Sefarad—: «The *hidalgos* are bad in civil suits, because they have no experience in the courts nor in their use, while for the Jews suits and usury are natural because they were born in them». Sancho de Sopraniz has had the good luck of finding in the registries of Hernando de Carmona, public notary of Puerto de Santa María, corresponding to the years 1483 and 1484, repeated entries of loans that different Jews of the Puerto signed, especially Samuel Cohen, doctor and brother-in-law of Aben Ruiz, doctor and moneylender of nearby Jerez. Sopraniz mentions that the hard cash of the town was in his hand, but it is to be noted that: «In none of the numerous contracts of chartering vessels, of constructing ships, of loans of partnership to go to the compaigns in Barbery... that we have examined does Jewish money appear, and thus it is disconnected from the intense portuary traffic». Sopraniz explains this disinterest because «it was still uncertain and insecure to risk something in these businesses».

For the Jews usury and suits were natural «because they were born in them»; but this usury did not contribute to the public well-being, because the Hebrews did not invest their maravedís where there was any risk involved. The Jewish moneylenders, by contributing to light the fire of public wrath against their brothers, helped increase the impassioned tension of the Peninsular masses —shaken by the millenary tradition of rough impetuousness— and, more than activating the national economic life, they helped stagnate it, thus increasing the collective misery. It is important not to forget this in order to understand Spanish history.

4. The Jews as Fiscal Agents

The picture that has been painted of Jewish usury in medieval Spain, a picture that will become more detailed and somber as research in local archives proceeds, will help uproot the double image, pleasing to Hebrew scholars and to many other enemies of my country, of the unlucky and innocent Jews, barbarously and unjustly hated by the ferocious and intransigent Spanish Christians. Their position as royal *almojarifes* and as leaseholders of the public tributes also contributed to arousing public hatred. This double condition, together with their usury, made them lords of the national wealth.

It has been supposed that the Jews were already gathering taxes in Christian Spain during the beginnings of the Reconquest. This intervention of the Hebrews in medieval Hispanic finances has been attributed to the

absolute incapacity of the Spaniards to administrate their own public treasury; one of the many incapacities the essayist-turned-historian has gratuitously attributed to the Spaniards. It is necessary to situate the fiscal activity of the Jews in the Hispano-Christian kingdoms at a much later date, and it is possible to explain their absorbant intervention in the tributary organization of the kingdoms, especially that of Castile, by a complex series of historical coincidences that have nothing to do with the supposed folly of the Spaniards.

I pride myself on knowing well the political and administrative organization of the kingdoms of Asturias, León and Castile up to the twelfth-century. During that long period of time the most abundant documentation that I have consulted has not offered, that I remember, any testimony of the intervention of the Jews in the gathering of the taxes of those three kingdoms that successively filled the history of the Reconquest of Western Spain. The rents of Royal domains and public tributes were gathered by royal judges and *alguaciles*. When the municipal organization began to become important, new fiscal agents called «collectors» began to appear.

The Jews probably did not begin to intervene in the fiscal administration of Al-Ándalus before the fall of the caliphate. Neither Hebraists nor Arabists have shown such an intervention and Leví-Provençal, the best authority in the political and administrative organization of Muslim Spain, does not refer to them; proof that he has not found any document that speaks of them. They perhaps began to act as royal *almojarifes* and collectors with the kings of the *taifas*. It is not difficult to understand how and why this change occurred. 'Abd al-Rahman III had utilized the diplomatic services of Hasday ibn Xaprut, and his successors might well have also used Hebrews as ambassadors. It seems as though, during the first period of the revolutions, the Cordoban Jews sided with Muhammad and the triumph of Sulayman forced them to leave the capital of Al-Ándalus and take refuge in Granada, where there had always been a numerous Hebraic community. In Granada the Zirids, the fierce Berber generals who had desolated Córdoba, cut out a lordship. Ignorants and without political traditions and established in a hostile country as an army of occupation, the Berber *taifas* of Granada needed able ministers who would make up for their incapacity, and also plentiful financial resources that would enable them to pay good wages to their men-at-arms, the Sinhacha, Africans like them, who were the sole guarantee of their remaining in the country. They could not trust the Muslim inhabitants of the zone and even less, the Mozarabs of the country; both were to be the victims of the Moloc of their tributary ambitions. The Zirids of Granada found their counselors and fiscal agents from among the Jews of the ancient Iliberri. Placing themselves at the service of the powerful Berber group that ruled the region could not bother the Hebrews of Iliberri, nor could they feel scruples about exploiting the Muslims and the Christians, their own exploiters for so long. One extraordinary man, Samuel ibn

Nagrella, stood out among the Jews of Granada. He soon became the truly intelligent governor of the kingdom of Granada. Under his leadership and that of his son, who followed him in the government of Granada, the Jews began to control the public treasury of the Zirids princes. Their racial inclination for the practical life enabled them to quickly gain a reputation as excellent milkers of the udders of the wealth of the country.

The fiscal success of Samuel ibn Nagrella and of his Jewish team in Granada must have given tempting example for the other *taifas* of Al-Ándalus. Like the Zirids of Granada, all needed great amounts of money. They needed it to maintain the mercenary armies they used to defend themselves from, or to attack, their neighboring petty kingdoms. Without it they could not keep up the ostentatious luxury of their courts filled with parasites and graced with beautiful buildings. Soon, they were to need money to pay the Christian kings or generals the tributes that, at least for the time being, guaranteed them against irresistible Christian attacks and raids. With the taxes allowed the Muslim princes by Koranic law, these princes would have never been able to satisfy the growing voracity of the great dragon of their expenses. They needed to overcome the Koranic prescriptions by demanding from their Muslim subjects contributions traditionally taken only from the *dinmies* or protected —Christians and Jews— and many others modeled on different fiscal systems, some never before collected in Al-Ándalus.

The great Cordoban polygraph, Ibn Hazm, violently accused the *taifas* of imposing: «Indirect and personal contributions on the heads of the Muslims and giving the Jews jurisdiction so that, in the roads most transited by the Muslims, they would charge them the tax of capitation and the tribute under the pretext that they were forced to do it by a necessity; one can never make licit what God himself has prohibited and furthermore these tributes are only to strengthen their authority... Those tributes —he says— are the following: one the *chizya,* a tax on each Muslim: another, the *dariba,* a tax on goods, i. e., on sheep and cows, beasts of burden and bees, and consists of a certain amount per animal; and besides certain *alcabalas* which are paid on everything sold in the markets and on the permission or license that in certain places is granted to the Muslims to sell wine». Ibn Hazm anathematizes these taxes which are contrary to divine law and gives counsel to the good believers about how to tranquilize their conscience before the danger of sin that threatened, by having to use the money which was criminally collected and then thrown, naturally, into the whirlpool of the economic life of the different kingdoms.

The Muslims who felt this way about the mere use of gold and silver illicitly obtained by the kings, would not normally feel willing to break Koranic law by gathering anti-Koranic taxes —the Muslims were only obliged to pay the tithe— in the service of that gang of drunken, libertine *taifas* which Ibn Hazm harshly calls highway bandits. On the other hand,

what scruples could the Jews have felt about collecting the heaviest tributary exaction of the kings of Al-Ándalus? Their fertile imagination probably discovered new means of obtainig revenue. If it did not begin this way, at least the magnificent career as fiscal agents of the Peninsular Jews ended this way. A magnificent career that, if Granada itself cost them thousands of deaths in the pogroms of 1066, was to accentuate the popular wrath in the Christian kingdoms which was to end up provoking their ruin and expulsion from Spain.

In the kingdom of Asturias-León the Jews did not fill any public position worthy of mention. They were not even used to carry out difficult diplomatic missions, as they were sometimes employed by the caliphs of Córdoba. The great Andalusian historian Ibn Hayyan has recorded detailed narratives of the Christian embassies received by Al-Haham II, and through them we know that the kings and counts from the North sent abbots or magnates to the court of the caliph, not Jews. These appear giving services to the Christian princes during the reign of Alfonso VI. At that time the relations between the sovereign of León and Castile and the kings of the *taifas* became more frequent, the contacts between the court of León and the courts of the Moors increased and the number of Jews in Christian territory who had previously lived among the Muslims began to grow. With the conquest of Toledo (1085) and a series of positions in the Tagus Valley where Hebrew communities had lived for a long time and the beginning of the emigration to the North of the Andalusian Jews, under the growing insecurity that reigned in Al-Ándalus, Alfonso VI began to have numerous Hebrews under his lordship who could serve as agents of contact with the Islamic sovereigns. He began to use them as such.

In this manner the new public activities of the Jews in Castile were initiated. They knew how to quickly win the goodwill of the princes. Their court favor coincided with a period of crisis in the finances of Castile-León. During the second half of the eleventh-century great amounts of gold and silver had entered the public treasury of León and Castile from the tributes the Muslim sovereigns had regularly paid Ferdinand I and his son Alfonso VI. The conquest of Muslim Spain by the Almoravid invaders dried up that healthy source of revenue for the Castilian exchequer. The struggles against the new African lords of Al-Ándalus demanded great expenditures from the Christian kings. The policy of prestige of Alfonso VII rapidly contributed to the bleeding of the royal treasury, because to gain recognition of his Hispanic Empire he granted rich «pocket fiefs», that is, great stipends or wages, to his flaming vassals from beyond the Pyrenees. The expenditures continued and even increased upon the division of the kingdom of Castile-León, coinciding with the new African invasion of the Almohads. The traditional resources of the exchequer were not sufficient to fill the imperious military needs of the two monarchies, much less the greater the traditional waste of the kings was, who unceasingly

donated fiscal immunities and rents and public tributes. It was necessary to open new veins of taxable wealth and new revenue.

The terrible Almohad persecutions against the Andalusian Hebrews increased the volume of the continual Judaical emigration to the northern kingdoms. The Christian kings favored it in order to increase the population of their kingdoms and with the hope of obtaining, from their new subjects, new fiscal resources. They were successful in both aspects of their philo-Judaic policy but they could not save their treasury from the crisis that threatened it.

The financial straights of the sovereigns of León and Castile were tremendous. From the days of Alfonso VI they had been soliciting or extracting extraordinary tributes from their nations; in 1091 the conqueror of Toledo obtained from his subjects the concession of two *sueldos* for each one of the rural farms of his kingdom, and before 1141 the Emperor, *vi vel gratu,* collected different tributes and contributions from the citizens of León. They even dared to take goods from the church. They created and were able to make lasting a new tax called the *petitum* which I have just studied. Since even this was not sufficient to balance their budget, one day perhaps they decided to alter the purity of money by lowering the amount of gold of the maravedis they coined. However this measure provoked inflation and then the representatives of the contributing classes —the *procuradores* of the *concejos*—, called by the kings to their tribunal, in order to stop the rise in the cost of living, granted the prince a *servicio* in coin in exchange for the renunciation of his right to coin money at his own caprice.

This concession created the necessity of organizing a new fiscal administration to facilitate the ordered and rapid collection of that which, in time, when it became an ordinary measure of the royal treasury, would come to be called *moneda forera.* The new political assemblies born from the incorporation of the representatives of the *concejos* into the full court, the cortes, voted new subsides for the kings in cases of emergency. The princes probably needed the *servicios* granted by their nations without delay, before the quotas corresponding to each citizen were fixed and before the complete recollection of the new tax because the threats and attacks from Africa did not allow for long waits. These fiscal novelties and these problems of the public treasury coincided with the most difficult periods in the struggle against Islam and with the presence in the northern kingdoms of the subtle and astute Hebrews, well versed in the tributary organization of Al-Ándalus and experienced in the task of gathering taxes. While the kings demanded a maximum military effort from their subjects —remember the presence in the battle of Las Navas of the most important municipal militias and their collaboration in the conquests that followed the victory of 1212—, perhaps they occasionally charged the expert Jews that inhabited their kingdoms with the collection of some of the tributes voted by the cortes. It is quite possible that the kings obtained from the

Jews substantial advance payments in hard cash in order to confront the urgent costs of war. Remember that in his will Alfonso VIII admitted to a debt of 18,000 maravedís in gold with his tax collector Ibn Xuxan. These advances would end up winning the goodwill of the monarchs and their confidence in the financial abilities of the Hebrew flock. This is how, by means of a series of historical coincidences, foreign to the capacity or incapacity of the Spanish Christian to administer their public finance, the Jews began to become the fiscal agents of the monarchy.

For some decades the total energy of the Spanish Christians was poured into the struggle against the Moors. The great conquests of the crowns of Aragón and Castile and the occupation and repopulation of the vast territories won from Islam fastened the attention of the Christian masses of Spain on tasks of such political and social importance that, next to them, the fiscal articulation of the kingdom could not possibly incite interest. However when the whirlpool of war ceased and the final echoes of that great collective drunkeness ended and the Christians turned their eyes to their own national problems, they found the Hebrews infiltrated into the different hierarchies of the financial organization of the monarchy; just as they found foreign merchants controlling national commerce. Soon the popular protests and struggles began against that vexatious subjugation. But these protests were cut off by the financial straights and the mental blindness of their monarchs, together with the wealth and power gained by the Jews and, especially, the lack of scruples used by them to brutally suck the blood of the taxpayers.

There is no scientific study of the administration of the public treasury in Castile. It is a subject that begs serious monographic research. The previous organization had to be restructured. The fiscal system changed decisively: the more and more frequent concession of *servicios*, i. e., tributes voted in the cortes; the increase in the revenue from the customhouses accompanying the growth in foreign trade; the growing importance of the tithes paid by the shepherds benefiting from the increasing national livestock industry, a consequence of the facilities that allowed the transhumant flocks to conquer La Mancha, Extremadura and Andalusia; and a whole series of new taxes obtained from these regions and also from Murcia. This was accompanied by the uninterrupted increase in expenditures due to: the unceasing reproduction of the bureaucracy, the ever-growing complexity of international politics and the increase in the amount of liege-money, a bitter product of the civil wars. It all demanded an increasingly more complex financial administration.

It is possible to trace a schematic picture of the administration of the public treasury during the thirteenth-century. The previously published fiscal documents of Ferdinand III, of Alfonso X and of Ferdinand IV and the very important ones of the times of Sancho IV, published not long ago by Mercedes Gaibrois, show that, as in all its national life, the old territories and the new are distinguished in the fiscal administration of Castile. In

the former, there were no permanent fiscal districts; either they coincided with the limits of a whole kingdom, like Galicia, for instance, or with those of a bishopric or a magistracy, or with those of a group of *concejos* or even with those of one *concejo* alone. There was a veritable army of fiscal agents: census-takers, collectors —sometimes called tithers—, overtakers, inquirers and auditors. However they did not form part of a well-articulated and permanent administration. Those agents were named from time to time to make up the list of persons liable to pay taxes, for the collection and for the reception of each tax. People of the most diverse social condition acted as gatherers, people like public notaries, dispensers, tutors, *alguaciles*, clergymen... and royal vassals. All of these servants of the kings used to be overtakers. Persons enjoying greater royal confidence like bishops, majordomos and royal chamberlains were the auditors. The constant moving of the royal court prevented the centralization of the fiscal administration. The collectors and the overtakers rendered accounts wherever the court might be, in any part of the kingdom: frequently in Burgos or Valladolid but also in Toro, Sahagún, Cigales, Mucientes, Quintanadueñas...

The lands of the old and vital Muslim tradition were organized in *almojarifazgos* (49). We know of those of Toledo, Murcia, Cartagena, Jaén (including Úbeda and Baeza), Córdoba, Seville, Carmona, Jerez and Niebla. In each one there was a central administrative building; we know how much the repair of some of them cost. Under the chief *almojarifes* there were other lesser ones whose radius of action, at times, extended to confines of a sole castle. Rarely in the northern zone and frequently in the southern one, especially on the frontier, certain tributes began to be leased. This practice was doubtlessly an imitation of the ancient fiscal practices of Moorish Spain since we know that in the tenth-century in Córdoba, the wine tax was leased. In the northern zone court officials began to become leaseholders and with them, the widow of an infante, bishops —those of Tuy, Mondoñedo...— canons, mayors and rarely Jews could also lease tributes.

In the twelfth-century, the kings of Castile had already begun to have Hebrew *almojarifes* at their sides. Their early duties are difficult to define. They may have been a type of courtly financial counselors. In the days of Sancho IV, whose fiscal organization is well-known, the king, the queen and the heir apparent each had a Jewish *almojarife* and, nevertheless, the army of fiscal agents of the kingdom, from the collectors to the chief auditors, were Christians. Even the bishops of Astorga or Tuy and other high court functionaries went carefully into accounts.

It was through the opening of the fiscal leases that the Jews were able to assault and take over the tributary administration of Castile. As late as the reign of Alfonso X they were still far from being able to dominate

(49) Districts under royal *almojarifes* and also the name applied to the Castilian customs tax.

the financial machinery of the State. This can be deduced from the agreements realized by the Learned King in 1276-1277 with don Zag de la Maleha, the brothers don Zag and don Yucef, sons of the *almojarife* don Mayr, his brother-in-law Abraham ibn Xuxan and Roy Fernández de Sahagún, forming different groups or companies. Only if the majority of the fiscal agents of the kingdom, from the Sierra Morena to the North, were Christians, would those Jews risk offering great amounts of maravedís for the lease of the coercive collection of the frauds and delays, they could prove, of the ordinary collectors of the royal tributes. It is doubtful that don Zag de la Maleha and the other Hebrews expected to get much where their brothers in race had already been active. And, in effect, their leasing of the fiscal fines refer to ordinary collections with the habitual exclusion of leased taxes. Besides, these leases we have mentioned reveal to us that the chief auditor, master Jacobo (of the laws?), was not Jewish. It has also been shown that some of the leaseholders of public tributes were Christians.

The tenor of the leases of don Zag de la Maleha and his partners or rivals, the relatives of the *almojarife* don Mayr and Roy Fernández de San Fagund, also shows the ways in which the Jewish agents of royal finances created mountains of hate against their brothers. First they leased the delays of the tributaries in the payment of taxes to the fiscal agents and the delays of the fiscal agents in delivering the money to the public treasury: the payment of pastoral contributions, the fines for «broken» pasture-grounds and sheeppaths, the *caloñas* (fines) and tributes of the shepherds... The collectors —executors— of these taxes had to render accounts to don Zag and his partners and to pay all the delays at double their value. The suits carried out by the executors were canceled. If some *ricoshombres* or knights interfered in the activities of don Zag, the king had to force them to pay.

These Jews also leased the checking of accounts of the collectors of the *servicios*, war-tax *martiniega* (a tribute paid on St. Martin's day), and other taxes gathered in the recent years. Master Jacobo and the other chief auditors would cease their functions. Don Zag would revise the lists of the tributes and would control the investigations realized by the royal «inquirers» regarding the collection of the tributes and would govern them in the future. He could inquire whether the *ricoshombres* or the knights had received greater wages than those stated for fiscal purposes... And he could double the amount of delays, excesses and frauds.

They also leased the accounts and the investigation of the frauds that, by means of delays and thefts, the collectors of the ecclesiastical tierce might have been able to commit, be they clergymen or laymen. They were able to collect the amounts owed by them at double the original value.

With the same penal faculties, they finally leased the investigation and punishment for the non-payment, by the knights of the cities, of the duties imposed on them by their privileged condition. Some attended festivities

with a loaned horse or with insufficient arms and yet they and their servants were exempted from taxes; others received wages in order to go to war and they either did not go or they went badly armed; others received indemnizations for trips made in the service of the *concejo* and they did not fulfill their commissions; others purchased the offices of mayors or offices from individuals who had received them by lot; others, who occupied public posts in the *concejos,* received wages above those corresponding to their post or took *yantares* (50) illegally. The Jews also leased the investigation and punishment of the fiscal frauds of the taxpayers; of the excessive collections of the concejo and *merino* (magistracy) officials; of the voluntary delays of the heads of *tafurerías* and the thousand and one tricks that don Zag and his partners or rivals could prove in the payment of taxes by the contributors or in their collection by the fiscal agents... always excepting the cases in which the taxes, rents, excises or *servicios* had been leased.

Fiscal frauds are as old as the most ancient and simple state organization and have lasted until these days in which the absorbent modern State penetrates, with its thousand eyes, the most intimate parts of the social body and crushes it, pitilessly, with its innumerable tentacles. It was impossible to avoid fraud in the fiscal organization of Castile in the thirteenth-century. The upper hierarchies of the administrative machine attempted to search them out by means of its inquiring agents and its numerous auditors. The proposition of don Zag de la Maleha and the relatives of don Mayr to the Learned King was diabolic. They offered to control and punish all the financial delays and frauds in the kingdom from the Sierra Morena to the Cantabrian Sea. Alfonso X succumbed to the tempting offer of several hundreds of thousands of maravedís, in silver, and handed over an unheard of power to the astute and fearful Jews and their associates and agents. He gave them the power to spy, accuse, and punish all of his Christian subjects, from the *ricoshombres* to the villein knights of the cities, from the mayors of the *concejos* to the clergymen, from the livestock owners to the gamblers... Don Zag de la Maleha and the relatives of don Mayr needed to prove the reality of the fiscal frauds or delays of the *ricoshombres,* knights, mayors, clergymen, shepherds, gamblers... and of the fiscal agents. The proof of such frauds would have been impossible for anyone but don Zag de la Maleha and the relatives of don Mayr. Only they could be sure of achieving it. They presided over the most formidable network of spies that would be the envy of the modern day investigators of fiscal crimes: all the members of all the Jewish *aljamas* of Castile who, by living in close contact with the tributaries, knew well the shepherd who had broken the enclosed pasture-ground, the noble who had received an excessive wage, the villein knight who had attended a parade with a loaned

(50) Tribute paid by villages and rural areas for the maintenance of the king or lord when he was passing through.

horse, he who had purchased the office of a mayor, etc., etc... Only counting on that formidable network of spies and being sure of royal protection could these Jews have taken on the hateful mission they promised to fulfill; a mission, to be sure, not thought of by the Learned King but by the unscrupulous voracity for wealth of the Hebrews of Castile.

We can well imagine the general wrath that this total power given to them to poke, to spy, to accuse, to condemn, and to fine all the Christians of the kingdom must have provoked in all the land. This poking and spying seemed so unbearable to the Castilians that the *concejo* of Burgos agreed to give the king six «*servicios*», i. e., six new tributes, in exchange for the renunciation by the Jew don Juca Pimintiella —agent of don Zag in Burgos— of the investigations he had a right to. And it might be suspected that few wept upon the disastrous death (1279) of don Zag de la Maleha, ordered by the same sovereign who had sold the honor of his subjects to some Hebrews for a few hundred thousand maravedis. An honor sold to the Hebrews, one of whom had ended up betraying him and making him suffer the humiliation of failing before Algeciras because he had handed over many thousands of maravedis to the infante don Sancho, whose star was rising in the political heavens of the kingdom at the same speed at which the star of the king was falling.

The accounting of the public finances during the reign of Sancho IV accredit the minimal role the Jews still played in the fiscal organization of Castile. The new king, during the period of court favor of don Lope de Haro, went even further than his father in handing over the financial resources of the monarchy to a Jew. On June 1st of 1287 he leased to don Abraham el Barchilon (from Barcelona): the coining of all the money made in the kingdom —he even gave him the right to mint gold coins—; the *servicios* or taxes on livestock; the *deliveries* or contributions of the Jews; the rights on goods which had no known owner and on inheritances without inheritors; the healthy rents of the royal chancellery —don Abraham would not pay in exchange any money whatsoever for the royal letters he might need for his financial operations—; the exploitation of the *argent vif* (mercury) of Almadén; the accounts and punishments for delays and frauds in the collection of due taxes; the inquiry of any frauds that might have been committed in the collection of the tribute being gathered at the time; the collection of all the debts that the treasury had to recover; the rights and fines for the *sacas* or exportation of goods whose export was prohibited; the royal fines incurred in by the breakers of royal privileges or mandates; the rents on iron and salt in both seaports and inland borders; the delays in the tierces of the clergymen; frontier rents... All of the sources of wealth of the public treasury and even of the kingdom were given over to the control of don Abraham el Barchilon for two years and with that control he also received the same powers of inquiry, and thus spying, and fine of any who had fallen behind in the payment

of the taxes or had defrauded the treasury, from the magnates to the poor villeins.

Another time a king of Castile handed over the public finances to a Jew and gave him the most total power over his subjects. In September, don Sancho legalized in Toro the ownership of a number of estates of the prior of Santa María de los Huertos of Segovia for the good of the monastery «and moreover because don Abraham El Barchilon let us know that this legalization pleased him.» Royal authority could not go lower in the kingdom, nor could that of a Jew be greater. A year later, in June of 1288, Sancho IV personally killed in Haro, Count don Lope, Lord of Vizcaya, protector of El Barchilon and shortly thereafter canceled the lease and announced it in the cortes to the general satisfaction of the nation. However for long months all the fiscal machinery of the monarchy had been in the hands of a Jew. Once again royal weakness and folly allied with the ambition of a Hebrew concentrated popular hatred on the Hebrew flock in Castile.

Incapacity of the Spaniards to administer their own public finances as against the financial talents of the Spanish Jews, as has been sustained? No, a strong and abrupt no! It was merely clumsiness and weakness of the monarch. We have the accounts of the public treasury of Sancho IV in years following the annulment of the ominous lease of 1287: the accounts of the two fiscal zones of the kingdom, now divided by the Sierra Morena. In the northern zone a few Jewish leaseholders can barely be noted; they are lost among the army of Christian fiscal agents and leaseholders through whose hands runs the money of the kingdom. It is amazing to see the exactness and punctuality with which the tithers, deliverers and overtakers keep their books and show them to the royal auditors without delays and without frauds and without other compensation than the 25 per thousand on the amount collected. The detail with which the Christian leaseholders do their job contrasts with the vague and objectionable nature of the accounts of the Jewish leaseholders. At the beginning of 1294, Alfonso Pérez de la Cámara, a royal public notary, and Garci Pérez, dispenser of the queen, declared having received from the rent of the royal chancellery, in one year, 275,000 maravedís. This rent was later leased by don Todros ha-Leví, Mosé Falcon, don Abraham ibn Xuxan and don Abraham el Barchilon and they declared: «That therefore they had collected from the first of February to the XXIII of March, 1,000 maravedís.» The same Hebrew leaseholders consistently declared having received amounts greatly inferior to those they had offered, even in revenues where their calculations should be quite correct. For example, they declared: «Of the 100,000 maravedís they only received 25,000 due to the legal suits of the Jews».

On the frontier, Murcia and Andalusia, the Jewish *almorajifes* and leaseholders were more abundant. We only have knowledge of the accounts of the year 1294 and, in them, we find this final section:

«Debts: This is what the leaseholders of the rents of this year have done: Martín covered the public flour granary and collected 28,572 maravedís, 2 sueldos and 2 dineros...; don Yuçaf aben Capariel collected 13,981 maravedís; don Yuçaf Alffez got 10,968 mr.; don Salomón aben Fferreza of the *almojarifazgo* of Jerez gathered 2,600 mr.; Royz Eferant covered the meat market and collected 2,210 mr.; don Hacon covered the income of the meat markets and the income of wood and we have 2,855 mr., 10 s.; Abrahem, son of Rabi Çag, handled the rent of fresh and dried fruit and gathered 2,308 mr. 10 s.; Leuj and Rayz collected 2,955 mr. 10 s. from the *alcabala* on the goods confiscated in the customs house...»

Despite the discrepancies in the declarations of don Todros, Ibn Xuxan, El Barchilon and Mosé Falcon —even the royal official who received them objected— and the frauds that sent a good number of Hebrews on the frontier to jail, the kings continued to lease their rents and taxes to Jews at an ever-growing frequency.

In order to ingratiate themselves with the kings, they accepted the most compromising and difficult tasks: tasks that gained great enemies for them. In 1285 don Abraham ibn Xuxan, *almojarife* for doña María de Molina, took on the task of investigating and recovering: «The taxable properties that had gone to the *ricoshombres*, to the knights, to the military orders, to the abbeys, to the clergymen of religious orders and to the privileged in any way whatsoever;» and, to fulfill the mission, he carried blank royal mandates for each of the prelates of the monarchy, «and four general ones for the whole kingdom.» The Jews offered things for the lease that no Christian would dare to venture: the inquiry and collection of the fines on fiscal delays and frauds. Sheltered by such offers they also solicited the lease of the public rents most healthy, easiest and surest to collect such as the rights of the chancellery, the tithes of the customs-houses and the taxes on the Jews. This was done, for example, by Todros, Mosé Falcon, Ibn Xuxan and El Barchilon in 1294. In addition to this, they gained royel goodwill in two ways: by their smooth and insinuating power of captation, which effortless caught the simple monarch in its net, and by the most scandalous bribery of the royal favorites.

Amador de los Ríos has already pointed out the best known stanzas of the *Rimado de Palacio* in which the Chancellor Ayala describes these stratagems.

243 *Ayutan se priuados con los procuradores*
De çibdades e villas, e fasen rrepartidores
sobre los ynoçentes cuytados pecadores
Luego que han acordado, llaman arrendadores.

244 *Allí vienen los judíos que están aparejados*
Para bever la sangre de los pobres cuytados:

Presentan sus escriptos, que tienen conçertados,
E prometen sus joyas e dones a priuados.

246 *Alli fasen los judios el su rrepartimiento*
Sobre el pueblo que muere por el mal defendimiento.
E ellos entre sy apartan luego medio cuento,
Que han de auer priuados, qual ochenta, qual çiento.

247 *Dizen los priuados: «Seruimos de cada dia*
«Al rrey; quando yantamos es mas de medio dia,
«E velamos la noche, que es luenga e fria,
«por conçertar sus cuentas e la su atasmia.

248 *«E asi sin conçiençia e syn ningunt otro mal,*
«Podemos nos sacar de aqui algunt cabdal,
«Ca dize el Euangelio e nuestro decretal
«Que digno es el obrero de leuar su jorrnal».

249 *Dizen luego al rrey: «Por cierto vos tenedes*
Judíos seruidores e merçed les faredes,
«Ca vos pujan las rrentas por çima las paredes;
«Otorgad ge las, Señor, que buen rrecabdo avredes».

250 *«Señor, dizen judios, seruicio nos faremos:*
«Tres cuentos mas que antaño por ellas vos daremos,
«E buenos fiadores llanos vos prometemos,
«Con estas condiçiones que scriptas vos traemos».

251 *Aquellas condiçiones Dios sabe quales son,*
Para el pueblo mesquino negras como carbon.
«Señor, dizen priuados, faredes grant rrazon
«De les dar estas rrentas, en çima gualardon.»

252 *Dise luego el rrey: «A mi plaze de grado*
«De las fazer placer, que mucho han pujado
«Ogaño en las rentas», e non cata el cuytado
Que toda esta sangre sale del su costado.

253 *Despues desto llegan don Abrahen e don Simuel,*
Con sus dulçes palabras que vos paresçen miel,
E fasen vna puja sobre los de Ysrrael,
que monta en todo el rregno cuento e medio de fiel. (51)

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(51) 243 They join, the favorites with the representers
Of cities and towns, and they make assessors
Over the innocent unhappy sinners;
After they agree, they are called leaseholders.

244 Jews who come in pairs are the gatherers
Who drink the blood of the bedeviled sufferers:

«With their sweet words that seem so melliflual» the Jewish doctors of the kings or of the grandees, their relatives or friends or whoever offered a means to the ear of the monarch, of an infante or of a favorite, sooner or later, they were able to infiltrate the fiscal administration of the kingdom, either as *almojarifes* or as leaseholders. The control of Castilian finances was thus achieved by: don Zag de la Maleha, son of the *almojarife* of the Learned King; don Abraham el Barchilon, protected by don Lope de Haro, favorite of Sancho IV; don Samuel de Belforado, who captured the favor of Ferdinand IV when he was still an infante; don Yuçaf Abzradiel de Écija, recomended to Alfonso XI by his uncle the infante don Felipe; don Samuel Abenhuacar, doctor of Alfonso XI and later emulator and rival of don Yuçaf; Samuel ha-Leví, the smoothest and most mellifluous man in Castile at the time, able to win over the cruel Peter I and others with the honey of his lips.

The financial abilities of those royal tax-gatherers are not to be doubted; nor are the frauds, tricks and damages they did to the kings to whom

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Of pre-arranged documents they are presenters,
To the favorites, of gifts and jewels they are promisers.

246 There the Jews, do they distribute
The fate of the nation which dies of tribute.
Half a million put aside they repute,
To the favorites, eighty or a hundred they retribute.

247 Say the favorites: «We serve the king daily;
»Only passed noon do we eat freely,
»The night we spend, cold and lengthy,»
»For his accounts and troubles, to fix correctly.»

248 «And this without qualms or any other evil,
»We can take for ourselves from here a capital,
»For the Bible says, as does our decretal
»That for the worker to take his wage, is well.»

249 Later they say to the king: «Certainly you take
»Jews as agents and favor to them you make,
»For to you they greatly outbid the rents at stake;
»Grant these to them, Sire, for good returns you rake.»

250 «Sire, say the Jews, service shall we render thee:
»Three million more than before shall we give thee,
»And good guarantors we promise thee,
»With conditions and documents we bring thee.»

251 Those conditions, which God doth know,
For the lowly people are black as coal.
«Sire, say the favorites, wise be you so,
»On those who bid most, these rents to bestow.»

252 Later says the king: «I am pleased to a great degree,
»Since you have bid so much today of the tributaries,
»May the rents be granted thee;» but the wretch he doth not see,
Through whose side the blood doth flee.

253 After this arrive don Abrahen and don Simuel,
With their sweet words that seem so melliflual,
And they make a higher bid than those of Israel,
Which amounts in the realm to a million and a half-full.

they owed their fortune. The chronicler of Alfonso XI says of him: «And because the people had given him complaints in the cortes regarding Don Yuzaf his *almojarife*, from the time the king went to Valladolid, great amounts of money owed to the king were discovered. And because of this the king threw him from his office and, from then on, did not ask his advice.» These events did not occur in 1327, but between 1330 and 1331 as Ballesteros has shown.

At this point doctor Samuel Abenhuacar enters upon the scene. The chronicle of Alfonso XI says of him that: «He gave the king a guarenteed rent on the minting of money, under the condition that he could purchase the standard weight of silver at 120 maravedís.» But «With the daring allowed by the protection of the king,» he and his men «Purchased merchandise in all the kingdom at a much greater price than it was worth, and took it out of the kingdom in order to import silver. In this way the price of goods increased to one and a half what they normally cost; and this shortage lasted a long time.»

Don Samuel Abenhuacar leased, besides, the royal rents of the customs houses of the frontier (Andalusia). But don Yuçaf de Écija «Seeing the great profits made by don Samuel with those rents, especially the duty paid for the exports of the Moors,» and in the hopes of recovering the protection of the king, offered more money than that paid by his rival and was able to take the lease from him. Moreover don Samuel —continues the chronicle of Alfonso XI— in order to take revenge, advised the king to prohibit the export of wheat and livestock to the Moorish lands. Alfonso heeded his advice and gave an order suspending these exports, thus breaking his pacts with the sovereign of Granada who, in turn allied with the African sultan against the king of Castile.

We also know that the *almojarife* of don Peter the Cruel, Samuel ha-Leví, amassed an inmense fortune at the expense of the interests of the public treasury.

It is doubtful that the kings were unaware of the frauds and damages their Jewish *almojarifes* and lease-holders committed —year after year the cortes shouted it to them with tiresome insistence— nor that they did not know of their fabulous personal enrichment. The incapacity of the Christians for handling financial affairs has been used to explain their persistence in charging the Hebrews with this task. The reply of Henry II de Trastamara to the request of the *procuradores* of the Cortes of Burgos of 1367 has been alleged as a support for this thesis.

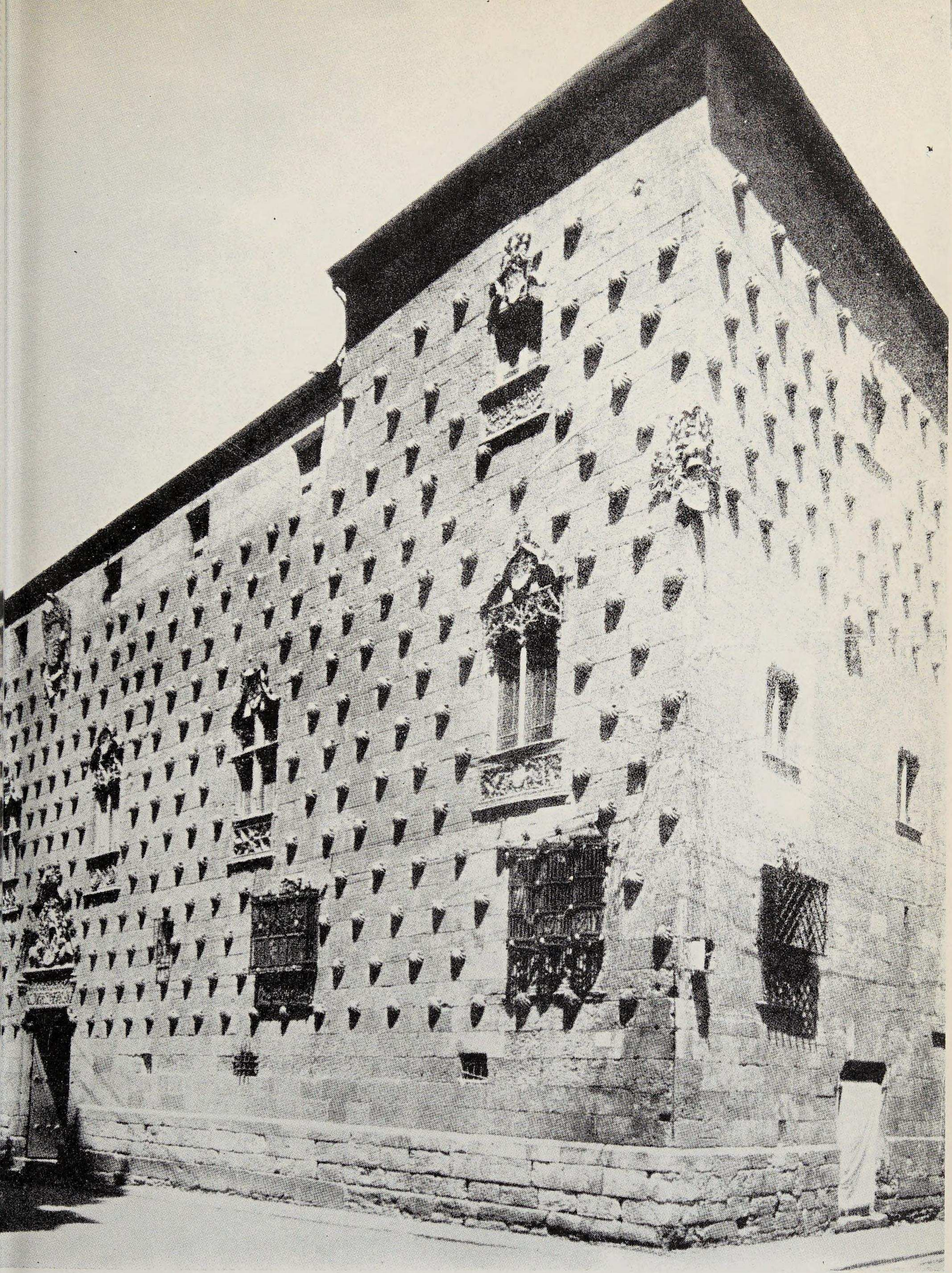
«...They have told us... that we have sent Jews to lease the existing debts or *albaguías*, owed by the cities and towns and hamlets of our kingdoms; that our leaseholders and collectors have not declared what they owed; and that if this happens like this it would be in our disservice and would cause great depopulation of our land; and they asked us to please recover our treasury and lease it to whoever Christians we please.»

«To this we respond that it is true that we charge the Jews with the lease of said rent, *because we do not find others who will take it,* and we have ordered it to be leased such a way so that it would not do harm to anyone and *that there be a mayor and other men of ours to check the accounts with those who owe the debts*... but if any Christians wanted to take this rent, we will give it to him for much less than the lease paid by the Jews.»

It has been alleged that the first phrase underlined —I have underlined the words that were intentionally left out— is enough to show the necessity the kings had to charge Jews with the ordering of their finances. They would have been forced to it because of the contempt of the Christians towards fiscal problems. However the protest of the cortes and the reply of the king refer to the most repugnant and difficult of the tasks a fiscal agent could carry out. Remember what was said when commenting on the leases, given, in 1277 and in 1294, to don Zag de la Maleha and to don Abraham el Barchilon regarding the inquiry and payment of the fiscal delays and frauds of the kingdom. Only people without scruples would dare to participate in the ignoble chore of poking around, spying, accusing, and punishing all who had fallen in arrears and had defrauded the administration, from the knights to the shepherds and from the mayors to the clergymen. Besides, only a Jew, disposing of an army of Jewish spys, would have been able to expect trustworthy information and evidence of all the debts that might possibly hang over the heads of the Christian tributaries. Therefore no Christian dared in 1367, nor before nor after, to lease or collect that «rent.» The words that were not mentioned and that I underlined ,the precautions taken by the king to avoid the abuses of the Jewish leaseholder, reveal the financial ability of the Christians since they were charged with the accounting of the *albaguías* or debts once the Hebrews had done the, at least to Castilians, repugnant task of discovering and punishing the payments in arrears and frauds of the fellow citizens.

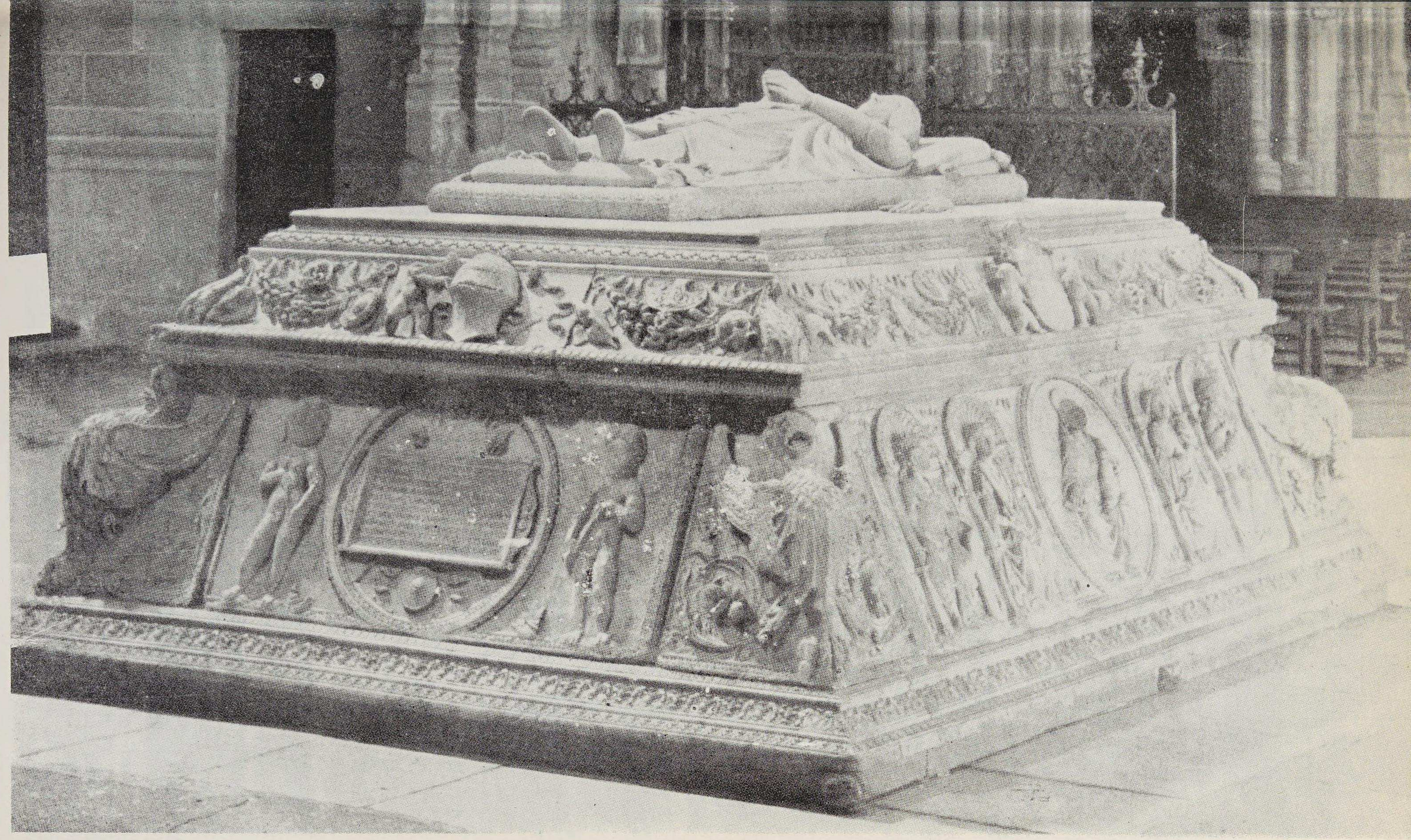
The essayist-turned-historian must have forgotten or been unaware of the fact that in 1349 the knights and squires of my city of Ávila obtained the lease of the tributes voted to Alfonso XI during the siege of Gibraltar. In the notes of the Cortes of Valladolid of 1351, Peter I says:

«Regarding the fact that some knights... of Ávila who leased from my father the king, may he rest in peace, the two *servicios* and the two *moneda foreras* granted him in the king's tent at Gibraltar, and the rents received from it. He ordered them to give him letters of security that the said rents be given for neither less nor more than the amount, except when bidding with the tithe, if bid before the period of the first payment. And it was not bid according to the conditions, and from the moment he found out that they earned from 140,000 to 150,000 maravedís in the rents, due to the great need he was in, he ordered the rents taken away from them with the intention of compensating them. And when they found out that they were supposed to hand over the said rents, they sent to

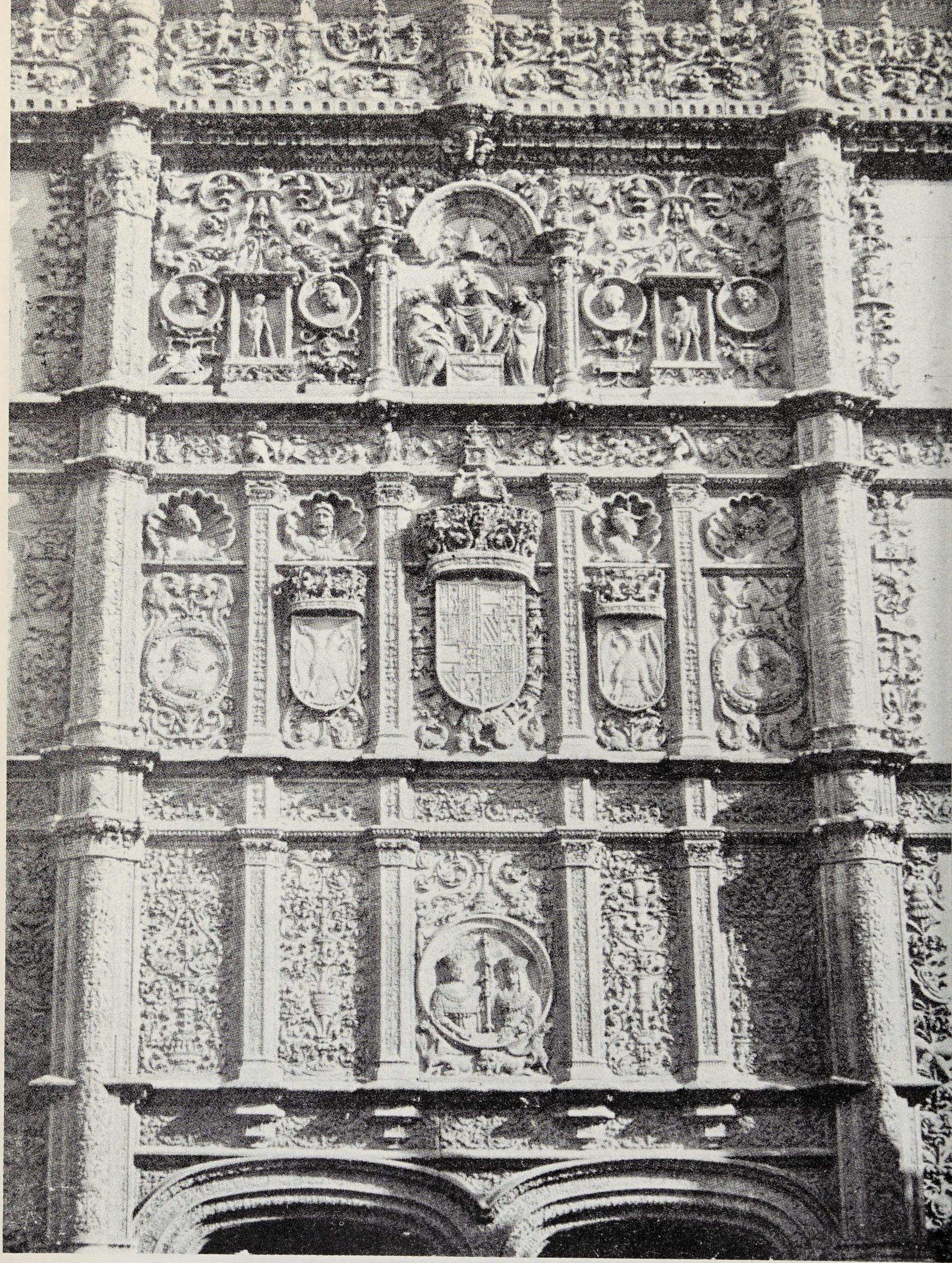


119.—*Facade of the «Casa de las Conchas»* (Salamanca). Ordered constructed by a proud doctor from Salamanca saturated with a spirit of nobility, it constitutes an unparalleled synthesis of the Gothic, Mudejar and the Renaissance styles, fused in rare harmony and great beauty. It has been called the most Spanish example of domestic architecture of the Isabeline epoch, a period in which many houses and palaces were built in Castile. It can be dated in 1512.

120.—*Saint Augustine*, by Pedro Berruguete. High altar of Santo Tomás (Ávila). Portraits in the Medieval Castilian literature and of the new times; magnificent portraits, not of human archetypes but of men of flesh and blood The Spaniards were able to «make the portrait the radical origin of painting». Even earlier Pedro Berruguete (d. 1504) was to paint Saint Augustine in the high altar of Santo Tomás of Ávila, «one of the great European portraits which remain eternally alive», as Guinard has written.



121.—*Sepulcher of Prince Don Juan,* by Dominico Fancielli. Santo Tomás (Ávila). Because he loved too much and too early, the only son of the Catholic Kings died too young. To guard his corpse, his mother built the church of Santo Tomás in the city of Ávila, where she had lived when young. In that sepulcher, created by Dominico Fancielli, are interred, along with the remains of the Prince don Juan, the frustrated history of Spain and Castile. His death made possible the ascension of the House of Austria. Torquemada rests in the same temple.



122.—*Facade of the University of Salamanca.* Ornamental overflow in the facade of the University of Salamanca, which together with Bologna, Paris and Oxford is one of the four oldest and most famous universities of Europe. In the sixteenth-century some of its teachers –Vitoria– dared discuss the rights of Spain to the Indies, and others –Fray Luis de León and various Hellenists and Hebraists– were persecuted by the Inquisition. The most famous of its teachers of just yesterday –Unamuno– assailed the foolishness of his age.

him messengers to ask for favor regarding this; and that before they arrived there, they found out of his death, and later they sent messengers to Seville to request my favor in the same question, and due to my illness, I could not reply. And they asked me to favor them, with the right and the privilege.»

In the middle of the fourteenth-century knights and squires of Ávila felt capable of leasing the collection in the wole kingdom of two of the most important and most difficult to gather tributes and, to their misfortune, they did the job so well that within a few months they were able to earn 150,000 maravedís. Yet the same king who had allowed don Yuçaf de Écija and don Samuel Abenhuacar, and with them a legion of Jewish leaseholders, to enrich themselves fabulously at the expense of the treasury and was capable of dictating a super-favorable pragmatic for the Jewish usurers of Castile, as soon as he found out —Who had told him? The habitual Hebrew leaseholders of the royal rents?— that the knights and squires of Ávila had earned a few thousdand maravedis in the middle of the collection period and when they had already given at least the first payment —read the passage above from the cortes of 1351— he ordered the lease taken from them. When requesting justice and forgiveness from don Peter, the knights say that his father did it «due to the great need he was in... with the intention of compensating them for it.» But they were unable to get the promised indemnization. The Cruel King answered the cortes: «I respond that this petition is special and has nothing to do with other agreements.» This experience was not exactly the most propitious way of attracting other knights and squires to the task of leasing and collecting taxes.

No, the kings did not charge the Jews with the lease of the royal rents due to the incapacity of the Christians in the administration of public finances. We have already seen, at the end of the thirteenth-century, Christians making up the army of collectors and leaseholders of the taxes and excises of the royal treasury of Castile and it is incredible that within a half a century they would have lost an ability that they used successfully around 1300. Princes and lords —like the kings, the grandees charged the Hebrews with the gathering of their rents— made the Jews their fiscal agents, because they were sure that nothing would stop them in the squeezing and oppressing of the tax-payers and because, if they defrauded, nothing could stop the kings or the lords in the punishment of their crimes.

Chancellor Ayala, denounces in the *Rimado de Palacio* the methods used by the lords in their estates to collect their rents and their demographic consequences:

260 *Do morauan mill ommes, non moran ya trezientos,*
Mas vienen que granizo sobre ellos ponimientos,
Fuyen chicos e grandes con tales escarmientos,
Ca ya biuos los queman, sin fuego e syn sarmientos.

261 *Tienen para esto judíos muy sabidos,*
Para sacar los pechos e los nueuos pedidos;
Non lo dexan por lagrimas que oyan, nin gemidos,
Demas por las esperas, aparte son seruidos. (52)

It is not possible to doubt that much the same occurred on royal lands. The accounts of Sancho IV speak of some hamlets that could not pay their taxes because they were becoming depopulated.

We read in them that: «From Quintaniellas, because they say that there is nothing to take, 17 tributes were lost... From Vinuelas, because it is barren, 2 tributes were lost. From Quintana which is dry, because they say that there is nothing to take from them and that the queen already took it from them, 2 tributes were lost». Later we find mentioned other hamlets, equally attacked by misery, like «Gomiel de Mercido because they say it is barren because there was nothing to take from the tributaries».

Besides a Christian leaseholder of royal rents could create difficulties for the monarch which were not to be expected from the Jews. In 1291 the bishop of Mondoñedo leased «the fourth *servicio* taken from Mendonnedo for 18,000 maravedís of war money» 6,000 mr. of which was to be paid by the Assumption. The prelate did not fulfill his obligation, the king threatened him to do it and ordered his mayor in Vivero to arrest him in order to get the first payment of the lease. The mayor did not dare carry out the royal decree and don Sancho had to take back his order to the mayor and had to threaten him with a fine of 100 mr. and with his royal wrath. On the other hand we have already seen how a half dozen of Jewish leaseholders of royal rents were imprisoned for their *albaguías* in Andalusia in 1294. We know that some of the powerful Hebrew *almojarifes* were destituted and at times executed: don Samuel ha-Leví was killed by Peter I.

To grant the lease of a tax or of a rent, kings and lords demanded from the applicants strong securities or very solvent guarantors. The hard cash of the kingdom was gradually becoming concentrated in the hands of the Jews thanks to their usury and their fiscal affairs. Thus it was the Hebrews who could best acquire sufficient securities or guarantors rich enough to offer the kings and lords the required securities.

At times the kings obtained, from the powerful Jewish magnates, considerable state loans with pledge guarantees of the collection of some

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(52) 260 Where a thousand used to die, now are left but three hundred men,
The burdens do rain like hail upon them:
Both the small and the great flee such chastisement,
Because without fire or wood alive do they burn them.
261 Having for this the Jews very clear,
How to get taxes and new demands they dare;
They leave it not for tears or groans they hear,
For delays they add more to their share.

healthy rent of the treasury. In a magnificent and diabolic vicious circle, the lease of a tax enriched a Hebrew, his wealth permitted him to loan to the sovereign, and to compensate he would collect another excise, thus increasing his money supply and thus being able to negotiate another loan... In this way the circular movement that increased the wealth of the Hebraic population continued uninterruptedly, as did their monopoly on the collection and lease of the public contributions.

The Christian fiscal agents and leaseholders, though in a smaller proportion than the Hebrews, also enriched themselves —Chancellor Ayala virulently attacks their bribery— but the king could not dispose of their personal fortunes whenever he wanted, as he did at times with the goods of the Hebrew collectors. Upon the death of don Çuleman Pintadura, the royal *almojarife*, Alfonso X took over great amounts of property he owned in Seville and donated it to the cathedral.

Is it understood now why the kings preferred to charge the Jews with the collection and lease of his taxes and rents? The repetition of such concession for long decades ended up creating a tradition and giving a fetid smell, only bearable for the Jews, to the lease and collection of the taxes, a job that carried with it the idea of the ominous fiscal exploitation of the people. The Christians gradually abandoned such chores as improper to be carried out by people with a clear conscience. In time the Jews monopolized, not only the collection and lease of the fiscal rents, but also all other taxes and excises of the *concejos* themselves who had frequently protested against the intervention of the Jews in the handling of the royal finances of Castile. From the time Alfonso XI gave the government of the municipalities to a group of *regidores* and as the seigneurial whims of that governing group increased, it was easier for the Hebrews to assault that last fortress: with the bait of their advantageous offers, their good securities or their excellent guarantors; their easy punishment if they committed fiscal frauds —it was more difficult to jail an unscrupulous clergymen, a public notary or a knight than a cheating Jew—; and the somber halo given by public opinion to the collectors and leaseholders of public rents. About the same time the Jews were nearing a total monopoly of fiscal administration, this was beginning to be carried out in the cities and the towns by the same people who practiced usury. This joining, in the same person, of the double office of usurer and leaseholder of public rents —Samuel Cohen, of Puerto de Santa María, and Aben Ruiz, of Jerez de la Frontera were doctors, moneylenders and leaseholders at the same time— ended up separating the Christians from the practice of leasing rents.

Yet as if the function creates the organ, the organ whose function ceases wastes away: after decades and decades of being separated from fiscal activities the Christians forgot how to operate the financial machinery of the kingdom, which they still controlled almost completely at the beginning of the fourteenth-century. The Hebrews were not completely to blame. The kings found in them excellent hunting dogs to be thrown on

the goods of their subjects. The expulsion of the Hispanic Jews when the English or French had expelled them would have maintained intact the financial ability of the Spaniards and would have even fortified and sharpened them. It might have been enough if during the decisive decades, two kings like Alfonso XI and Peter I would not have been won over by their appetite for wealth —Alfonso, may it be said in his defense, was pressured by his military adventures against the Muslims and Peter had no such excuse— and would not have so unfavorably encouraged the domination of the royal finances by the Jews. In the second half of the thirteenth-century, when the administration of the exchequer was still in the hands of the Christians, foreigners triumphed in export and import commerce, as accredited by the Ordinances of the Learned King; and two centuries later the Castilians had become excellent merchants, as has been shown by María del Carmen Carlé. It would have been easier for them to keep the control of their finances if the kings had listened to the repeated popular protests. They would have also been able to put a mute on the wrath of the people against the Hebrews: «They told us —says Henry II when replying to a petition of the Cortes of Burgos or 1367 —that all the cities and towns and hamlets of our kingdoms, which had many evils and damages and deaths and banishments that came to them in past times by counsel of Jews favorites and officials of past kings up to the present, because they desire evil and harm for the Christians; and they ask us to graciously order that in neither our house nor in the house of the queen, my wife, nor in those of the infantes, my children, may any Jew be an official or a physician, or have any position whatsoever».

It was that wall of words, sweet like honey, around the kings formed by the Jewish physicians, *almojarifes* and officials that damaged both Castile and the Hebrews themselves.

Hebrew Riches; Pride and Power

No Spaniard ceased aspiring to become rich during the Middle Ages. However, while the Christians mixed these aspirations with many other longings, all of which made up other sources for sprinkling their vitality, almost all the Jews manifested the desire to become rich as the essential goal of their existence and the absolute center point of all their acts. They were too involved in the means by which to realize their longings for power and the logical emanations of their achievements .This meant pride in their new social position, their arrogant pleasure in making themselves complimented and served by those whom their own people usually served and complimented, the luxury with which their acquired fortune was manifested and their daring confrontment with the Christian faith and cult. It is not difficult to imagine the current of hate which the univocal inclination of the Spanish Jews for material goods inspired.

In 1253 and 1268 the cortes obtained an order from Alfonso X to the effect that oxen and farming implements could not be taken from peasants nor roofs and doors removed from their homes in order to avoid their taking in pledge by the tax collectors to meet their tributary quotas. Nevertheless, the poverty of farm workers came to be such that, as we have just proven, in quite a few places the collectors could not find anything to take in pledge for royal taxes. The situation of the taxable commoners worsened when the Jewish collectors in the service of the Jewish leaseholders took over from the Christian tax gatherers. On one occasion, during the reign of Sancho IV, the fiscal agents in Ávila were able to collect taxes only with the aid of the village mayors On another occasion, during the reign of John II, the Ávila peasants burned their crops so as to avoid their confiscation by the tax collectors. In order to free themselves from fiscal oppression the commoners would take advantage of whatever occasion to obtain a nobilitary privilege even though they had to continue practicing humble trades. For this reason there were muleteers who were also nobles in the armies of Henry IV the Impotent. While the commoners were exploited and ruined by the fiscal agents and knights, tradesmen and laborers lost their goods, animals and even their clothes to the claws of usury, the richness of Hebrew communities of the Peninsula grew year by year. It has already been said that in Toledo Mozarabic documents of the end of the twelfth-century, it is possible to follow the continual enrichment of Ibn Xuxan, *almojarife* of Alfonso VIII. These documents record only a small part of the juridical matters of the Toledans since they refer to those done by the minority who had remained faithful to Christ since the conquest of Toledo by the Muslims in 711.

We know the amount of don Çuleman Pintadura's fortune, chief *almojarife* of Alfonso X, when he died in 1274. In that year the Learned King donated the following goods formerly belonging to don Çuleman, to the church of Seville, although it is not known why the sovereign was able to freely dispose of the deceased's goods: «The high land called Ayelo on the Heznalcaçar road; another area called Pulsena; the bakeries belonging to San Nicolás of Seville on Rodrigo Alfonso street and a bakehouse belonging to said parish; the baths pertaining to San Salvador and two oil storehouses, in the Silk Exchange the one and by Puerta del Arenal the other; the mills in Guadaira over the bridge; the orchard between the Puerta de Goles and the one of *biua ragel* between the wall and the river». The Learned King also gave Juan Alfonso Areniellas, main concierge of Castile, the houses, goods and wineries that don Çuleman owned in Écija.

If we had abundant non-ecclesiastical documents from the twelfth to the fifteenth-century, such examples could be multiplied. In any case, it is known that others collected immense fortunes. Such as don Samuel ha-Leví, treasurer of Peter I who later took hundreds of thousands of doubloons (I shall later record the exact amount of the goods confiscated

from him), and don Yuçaf Pichon, treasurer of Henry II, who paid a fine of forty thousand gold doubloons to the king in twenty days, twice the quantity which reduced the Jewish quarter of Toledo to misery, as we shall later see. By means of an honest collecting of taxes, whatsoever the legitimate benefit obtained from it, no one could have attained so much wealth so rapidly.

In the Law of the *Partidas* VII. 10.5 we read: «The *almojarifes* and other men who are to collect taxes and tributes for the King, many times unjustly take some things they should not take. And because they do so in the king's name we decree that if they, or anyone under their orders, take more than is permitted to usually be taken from men, or if they again begin to demand other rights and taxes with orders from the king above and beyond their accustomed taking... it will be considered to have been taken by force or by arms and they should suffer a thief's punishment». This is exact proof of the «unjustly» methods, to use the terminology of the *Partidas*, that allowed the Jewish *almojarifes*, leaseholders, and tax collectors to amass great fortunes.

The Jewish publicans could only have gotten so rich by extortion and abuses. This getting rich of the Hebrew *almojarifes* was parallel and coincidental with that of the Jewish usurers.

Baer, the great contemporary Jewish historian, recognizes the Jewish families protected by the court and endowed with concessions, monopolies, immunities and exemptions, came to be powerful and to constitute a true oligarchy. In this aristocracy of masters of wealth, writes Millás y Vallicrosa, following Baer, Averroism or philosophic rationalism as expressed by the most radical followers of Maimómides wreaked havoc. «The biblical content was reduced (by them) to simple deism and all the rest was explained by allegoric symbolism; the limits of morality became compressed... they lived their lives of pleasure in dealings even with Moorish or Christian servant girls or wenches». The collection of poetry by Todros Abulafia, one of the fiscal agents of Alfonso X and Sancho IV, discovered not long ago, is, according to Hebrew scholars, an eloquent and faithful witness to sceptic Epicureanism and metaphorical morality of the ruling Jewish class. It is certain that in every Jewish town or village of the kingdom (the Jews did not usually live in hamlets among the peasants) the enriched Jewish class would also have stood out.

This Jewish oligarchy was very ostentatious with its riches, being served by Christians, and even by nobles in the case of some of the most powerful figures. In the Chronicle of Alfonso XI we read: «... this Juzaf de Éxija, ... the king's *almojarife*, had a great estate with many knights and squires». Salomón ben Varga wrote of him: «His ministers were the sons of noblemen, and ate at his table; he enjoyed the service of carriages and horses and fifty men who opened the way for him to pass». When the conversion to Christianity of the Burgos rabbi, Salomón ha-Leví, later

called Pablo de Santa María, was made known to his disciple and friend, Josué ha-Lorquí, himself a later convert, and called Jerónimo de Santa Fé, he wrote a long letter to his master attempting to discover the causes for such a mutation. In this letter he recalled his last visit to Burgos and said: «At that time you had already begun to occupy yourself with affairs of State and to acquire a carriage, horses and a special escort for yourself».

Chancellor Ayala described the falling out of grace of an *almojarife* thus: «He ordered Don Simuel el Levi, Treasurer, confidant and council member, to be arrested in Toledo. He and his relatives were arrested in one single day throughout the kingdom. The King took great treasures from him, not including those later found in Toledo. As was later shown to be true, one hundred and twenty-five chests of gold and silk cloth and other jewels and eighty male and female Moors and *Moreznos* (slaves) were found in the possession of Don Simuel. And the king furthermore took three hundred thousand doubloons from the relatives of Don Simuel».

With such riches a royal *almojarife* could well afford to maintain an escort of knights and squires. The future Grand-Master of Alcántara, Gonzalo Martín, was among the escort of don «Juzaf» of Écija. But if the rabbi and future bishop of Burgos had a carriage, horses and especial escort when he had barely entered upon the affairs of State, it is certain that the pomp of the Jewish aristocrats throughout the reign who got rich at the cost of the people would not be any less. Let us remember the case of the relatives of smooth and mellifluent dan Samuel ha-Leví. The Jewish-Spanish historian, Salomón ben Varga, recognized the luxury displayed by Peninsular Jews and confirmed the accusations of the court with his testimony. He had the wiseman Thomas say the following speech to the king: «when the Jews entered into your dominions they came as slaves and exiles, dressed in rags and continued for many years to not wear precious clothes and without showing the slightest desire to be above the rest... and in those times when the Jews did not arouse the envy of the common people they were loved by them. However, nowadays the Jews have become great; as soon as one of them obtains two hundred doubloons he at once tries to buy silk suits and embroidered clothes for his children which is something the nobles do not do even with an annual income of a thousand doubloons.»

While outside of Spain the Jews were obliged to wear special clothes or have distinctive marks, in the Cortes of Jerez of 1268 Alfonso X attempted to limit the luxury of the Castilian Jews with the following precept: «No Jew may wear white fur, nor sandals or shoes low-cut in any way, nor a saddle that is gilt or silvered, nor a bridle that is gilt or silvered, nor spurs that are gilt or silvered, nor dark leggings, nor any reddish hued cloth if it not be dark brown or any shade thereof I should order... Jewish women may wear colored cloths with white furs having a border of otter, but may not wear scarlet or orange or martin fur, or ermine fur, nor golden cords, nor goldwork, nor ribbons, nor golden veils,

nor wooden clogs, nor golden shoes nor sleeve linings with gold or silk.»

Alongside the wealth and pomposity of the Jewish aristocrats the people frequently ran up against the immense power, pride and audacity of the Jews living in their cities. When Alfonso X had barely been enthroned he had to threaten the Badajoz Jews with a fine of the eleventh part of the product of their sales to the *concejo* because they had refused to do so. In 1285 Sancho IV, moved to action by the complaints of the Burgos *concejo*, ordered the Jews to pay for the taxable inheritances they might buy, as was done during the former reigns. In 1295 he ordered the mayors, juries, judges, etc., of the bishopric of Ávila to force the Jews to tithe their bread and wine for the goods they bought from the Christians since they had not paid it during the vacancy of the bishopric. In 1301 Ferdinand IV, who had granted 12,000 maravedis to the city of Burgos from royal taxes on the Jewish community in exchange for the Montes de Oca, granted him by doña Juana Núñez de Lara, the wife of Prince don Enrique, who had been warned of the Jewish resistance to pay the *concejo*, made arrangements for complying the Jews to obey him.

A series of cases in which Aragón and Catalan Jews dared to spew terrible blasphemies have been recorded. For example in 1305 Açaç ben Calema jeered at Christ and irritated the Christians by saying: «You adore and consider as the son of God a man who was conceived and made in adultery» In 1318 Lope Abneseyl was accused of insulting God, the Virgin and the Saints. Before 1356 David de Besalú was condemned for spewing insulting words against the Christian faith. In 1367 Issach Analde was under arrest in the Mallorca jail for blaspheming the Virgin. I do not know what faith could consent to the repeated accusations of sacrileges with consecrated hosts and venerated images which were frequently launched against groups of Peninsular Jews throughout the centuries. But, confronted with these cases of terrible blasphemies, which are confirmed in documents published by Baer, I do not believe it possible to absolutely deny what is established by them. Let us not forget that the Jewish tradesmen and merchants made much of not respecting Sunday. The Cortes of Valladolid of 1351 requested Peter I to oblige them to work behind closed doors and the *concejo* of Huesca issued a similar order in 1449. Until 1486 the Jewish tax collectors of Castile refused to sign settlement documents on incomes if the scribes dated them with the Year of Our Lord.

Only backed up by the almighty power of the dignitaries of their race and protected by the kings and grandees could the Jews of the *aljamas* show such audacity. The pride of the Spanish Hebrews was great. Mosé Arragel de Guadalajara, translator of the Bible into Castilian told his patron, don Luis de Guzmán, Grand-Master de Calatrava, that the Jews of Castile «were the wisest, most honest of all who dwelled in all the kingdoms of their transmigration (*sic*), in four eminent categories: race, wealth, goodness and science.» He added: «and the Jews of all kingdoms

are ruled today by their doctrine.» The Grand-Master himself criticized Mosé Arragel for «his excessive arrogance and haughtiness.» In his *Vará de Judá* Salomón ben Varga wrote: «It is recognized by everyone that the Jews are the most intelligent and astute of all peoples.»

The sovereigns of Portugal, Castile and Aragón, and the princes and grandees of their states nourished the growth of this pride and its social projection with favors and gifts for the Jews and with the positions of confidence they were given. The historian Salomón ben Varga had the wiseman Thomas say: «They are hated by the low people for a justificable reason: the Jews are haughty and always hungry for power; they do not think they are poor exiles who go about from country to country.» In another place in the *Vará de Judá* he writes: «Because of their pride the Jews, in the city of Toledo, came to have such authority that they wounded Christians, while their own leaders would dare to advocate that a Jew who would wound a Christian be judged by his own Judaical law.» And among the seven causes which he pointed out as giving rise to the anger of the Spaniards against the Jews: «The sixth one is haughtiness since some of our people became vain and thought they ruled over the Christians, the inhabitants of the country, while they were still its lords.»

The Jews were right in becoming so haughty. They were indulged by Kings and grandees. From Alfonso VI on they were the most listened to counselors. When the nobles decided on the convenience of marrying the heiress princess, doña Urraca to Alfonso the Battler of Aragón, they did not dare communicate their opinion directly to the king, they rather asked the physician and confidant of Alfonso VI, Yosef ibn Ferrusel, to pass on their advice. From then on the extraordinary malleability of their minds and the amazing malleability of their manners gave the Jews tremendous influence over monarchs and magnates.

The Chancellery of Aragón was well aware of this influence. The first drafts of archfriendly letters directed to the *almojarifes* and physicians of the kings of Castile from the kings of Aragón, when trying to negotiate certain matters of interest in the Castilian court, have been preserved. Alfonso IV of Aragón wrote to don Yuçaf de Écija on 18 October, 1329: «Don Alfonso, King of Aragón to thee don Juceff de Écija, *almojarife* of the very noble king of Castile, greetings as to one we much love and in whom we do much confide. I make it known to thee that these past days we have been ill, but, praise be to God, we have recovered. We are ordering this to be communicated to thee because we know thou are pleased by our health and well being. And because we would like to take some pleasure in those musicians of the king of Castile who are from Taraçona, one of whom plays the *xabeba* and the other the *meo canon.* We beg thee, if thou pleaseth, that said king send us said musicians. We thank thee very much.»

How could one who was thus treated by the Christian kings themselves fail to become haughty? Don Yuçaf dared to ask Alfonso IV to lift the order requiring Aragón Jews to wear distinguishing marks on their clothes. What would he dare not to request from his own sovereign, the king of Castile, and what would he have not attained if the Aragón monarch wrote to him as we have seen?

They formed part of the royal council and were able to get Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI to confront pontifical orders, as shown in aforementioned cases, in spite of the habitual submission of Castilian royalty to the Papacy. More than once they convinced the kings to reject the pressing and monotonous petitions of the cortes against Jewish debts and then against their presence in the court. They saved the Jewish flock from the threat of expulsion that gripped them in the middle of the fourteenth-century. They received authorization to construct as many synagogues as they wished (there were twenty-two synagogues in Sevile in 1391) and legal provisions in favor of their orthodoxy and cult, which I shall later point out. They kept criminal jurisdiction of the Jewish judges alive until 1379. At times they received measures favorable towards the usurers of their race from Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI, as has been mentioned, and were always able to procure that the measures decreed against them by popular demand should not be carried out. They were the only case in Europe, or even in Spain, of Jews who were not obliged to wear the hated insignia, indicative of their race on their clothes. They constantly obtained royal protection against the outrages of the popular masses.

The craft of being a confidant has never been easy. It has always required, along with a dosis of intelligence, submissiveness and cunning and dominion over magic or certain virtues held in reverence by the prince, or of techniques and knowledge estimated by him or complementary to the ones he himself has. The Jewish confidants at times initiated their grip on the will of the monarch during his infancy or the early years of his adolescence, such as was done by Samuel de Bilforado with Ferdinand IV, Yuçaf de Écija with Alfonso XI and Samuel ha-Leví with Peter I. They practiced professions or possessed arts and sciences capable of attracting the interest of the princes. Yosef ibn Ferrusel and Samuel Abenhuacar were physicians, Yuçaf de Écija was an able musician and Samuel ha-Leví was an astrologer. They had a subtle genius and great smoothness in manners being able to win over each king with submissive, flattering honey emanating from their lips while at the same time serving their fancies and exploiting their weaknesses. They were well aware of the vanity and tastes of the Learned King for knowledge and collaborated in his cultural enterprises while praising him for the initiative of beginning a new era of his reign. Inspired by the anger of Sancho IV, they offered to carry threatening letters to the prelates of the kingdom. They helped María de Molina and Ferdinand IV in their fiscal difficulties. The warring impetus of Alfonso XI

moved them to give him high sums of money for his campaigns. They amassed great treasures and flattered Peter I with adulatory inscriptions to satisfy his wanton cupidity for riches and his rugged pride.

With the royal will in hand they could always win over the will of great lords, such as Lope de Haro, an enthusiastic devotee of power, with the financial resources necessary for their enterprises; don Juan Manuel who saw traitors everywhere, with his pure loyalty; don Luis de Guzmán, Grand-Master of Calatrava, serving his literary pursuits and even offering themselves as illustrators of the Castilian version of the Bible with human figures... They never ceased to flatter them without scruples. Mosé Arragel told the master of Calatrava that the Jews of Castile had been the most illustrious and wise in the world «keeping in mind the magnificence of their lords».

To obtain royal favor and, therefore, power and riches, they kissed the knifeblade that had wounded them and flattered those who had persecuted them with rage.

In 1369 Henry II, to avenge himself of the fidelity of the Toledo Jews to don Peter the Cruel, decreed terrible measures against them in a famous and barbarous public instruction which went thus:

«We, the king, order you... vassal or any other vassal to whom this public instruction be shown to sell in public auction in Toledo, in the presence of a Public Notary, the bodies of all male and female Jews of the Toledo Jewry, and the furniture and landed property until 20,000 gold doubloons have been collected based on forty four maravedís a piece which is what it is our will to be served with. These doubloons should be received by our main treasurer, Gomes Garçia... and we order Gomes Garçia, or whosoever should collect it in his place, that they should be taken prisoners, tortured, not be given anything to eat or drink and all possible extractions and expropriations be set upon them so that said amount be collected for our service.»

The terrible decree of the Bastard King reduced the Toledo Jewry to misery. The Hebrew historian, José ben Zaddik de Arévalo wrote, «The holy community of Toledo was extraordinarily oppressed... Only a few survived and they imposed such a tyrannical tax on them that finally they had not even a crust of bread left». Months after this cruel measure, some Jews, forgetting the sad fate of their Toledo brothers, had grouped around Henry II and had gained his confidence.

And the same king who had ordered the Toledo Jews to be sold into slavery, later named the Sevillan *almojarife,* don Yuçaf Pichon, to be main treasurer. He soon became so rich, and in such a short time that he was accused by his brothers in race and jailed by order of the monarch and ordered to pay a fine of 40,000 gold doubloons which he did in twenty days.

But if the Jews humbled themselves by pretending to suffer affronts in order to continue thriving in power and in fortune, and the kings

proceeded haltingly in order to continue ruling the national wealth through the malleable and subtle instrument of the Hebrews of their kingdoms, the people did not forget the damage received from leaseholders, money changers and usurers and, taken over by rage before the renovated influence of the Jews on the kings and nobles, they voluntarily presented themselves before the Bastard King. Their representatives in the Toro Cortes of 1391 presented him with the following petition: «Concerning what was asked of us from out of mercy, and that because of the great freedom and power given to the enemies of the faith, especially the Jews, in all kingdoms, in our homes and in those of rich men, old nobles, knights and squires of our kingdom, and due to the great positions and honors given them (it is a fact that) every Christian must obey them, fear them and give them the highest respect possible. Thus, every *concejo* of every village, town and hamlet of our kingdom and every single man are held subject to, and amazed by the Jews; first because of the great holdings and honors they have in our homes and in the homes of the grandees of our kingdom, and second because of the incomes and positions they have. For these reasons the Jews, as evil, audacious people, enemies of God and of all Christianity, do much evil and bribery with great audacity and thus all of our kingdom, or the larger part of it, is destroyed and in despair because of these Jews. All this they do mocking the Christians and our Catholic Faith. Therefore, it is our will that for these evil people to live in our kingdom they wear signs and live apart from the Christians, according to what God has ordered and laws and rights command. They should wear signs as they do in other kingdoms so they be known to the Christians and not do so much evil and damage as they do. They should not have any positions in our home nor in those of another lord, knight or squire in our kingdom; nor should they be collectors of our incomes because they deceivingly commit much evil and bribery. Nor should they wear such fine and excellent clothes nor ride on mules so they be known by the Christians. They should live being made to give testimony and faith to the death of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and should occupy the positions they used to have, no others, as they do in the other kingdoms where they live. Likewise, it is our wish that those Moors and Jews not having Christian names, and those having them, later be removed».

The waves of popular fury against the Jews began to roll. With the clawings of the usurers, moneylenders and tax collectors, the people had to withstand the arrow wounds from the pride of the Hebrew parvenus who had won the ear of the kings and grandees. It was unpleasant to have to undergo the creditary, commercial and tax levies and abuses; harder still was to bear the whiplashes of Jewish arrogance. The Jews diminished the monetary sources and goods while the popular masses dealt with honor, glossy enough among the knights and villeins, as has been demonstrated. Castilian pride could scornfully avenge the abuses and levies of lenders, retailers and publicans, but could not tolerate, without becoming angry,

the dominion held over them by the same Jews who collected inflated usurary interests, who sold them expensive merchandise and took from them inflated fiscal quotas. The anger of the people was incensed by having to obey them and pay them reverence, not only private persons but all the villages and towns of the kingdom; and by being subject to them as captives, by the great positions and offices they saw them receive in the houses of kings and grandees: gifts and positions that brought them to scorn even the holy Christian faith. During the reigns of Alfonso XI and Peter I the Jews had been able to scale up to more and more solid positions under the protection of the two monarchs. For this reason, in 1371 the *procuradores* rose bold protests, of a violence never again equalled by their predecessors, against this bad and audacious people who, if their will be done, would be expelled from Castile and, in any case, made to return to reason and live apart from the possibility of damaging and humiliating the Christians. Accustomed to sailing in the midst of strong tides of rage, the Jews of Castile did not realize the heights reached by the waves of popular hate against them nor of the black clouds announcing the coming thunder. As confirmed by rabbi Samuel Zarza, the *aljamas* of Nájera, Miranda, Briviesca, Dueñas, Aguilar, Ávila, Segovia, Valladolid, etc., had undergone thefts or deaths during the war between don Peter and don Henry. But, as the Castilian adage has it *Dios ciega a los hombres cuando quiere perderlos* (God blinds men when he wants their perdition), which is what happened very quickly. Deaf to the roar of the hurricane they continued onward. They thought themselves to be safe under the protection of the kings and lords. They felt so safe they dared to do something never before heard of. However elevated and firm their position in the court, no Jewish confidant had ever dared to confront royal anger. Now a group of courtly Jews dared to deceive the sovereign and have one of their most important numbers beheaded.

The greediness of the Jewish oligarchs had reached such proportions that, breaking with ancestral ties of communal solidarity that had previously united them, they had come to formulate fierce hatreds among themselves. The enmity that separated don Yuçaf de Écija from don Samuel Abenhuacar, both privy to the king, has already been pointed out. A few decades later another rivalry among Jews ended in assassination. Don Yuçaf Pichon, *almojarife* of Henry II, had been denounced by some Jews to the king. The king put him in jail and fined him 40,000 gold doubloons, which were paid, and don Yuçaf recovered royal favor. In order to avenge himself on his detractors he denounced his enemies to the prince. Chancellor Ayala does not describe the contents of the denouncement but it would not be adventuresome to suppose that they dealt with matters of interests. John I had gone to Burgos to be crowned. These nomadic movements of the court were usually accompanied by Jewish notables hoping to obtain some office or rent from the king and musing over future affairs by his side. Pichon and his rivals were in Burgos in 1379. These latter came to the

king and requested a public decree from him to execute a Jewish backbiter. Don John gave in to their request thinking the affair was to dispose of a vulgar, embarrassing calumniator. The enemies of the chief *almojarife* went with the *alguacil* to the dwelling of don Yuçaf and had him decapitated. When the king found out about the crime he had the three principal plotters killed and, from then on, suppressed autonomous penal jurisdiction that the *aljamas* had enjoyed up to then.

The assassination of don Yuçaf Pichon clearly shows to what point the daring of the Jewish rulers had come. Their solidarity, mixed with greediness and pride made up a toxic potion that poisoned their intimate relations and broke up the greatest of their strengths against the frequent onslaughts of popular rage. If you wish to take revenge against the Jews, they told a king of Castile, according to Salomón ben Varga, order all of them to be assembled in one city and soon, given up to each other, they will kill each other. The same Jewish author tells how on the Night of Atonement of the same year of their exile, i. e., in 1492, the Spanish Jews wounded each other with thick candles arguing over their seats in the synagogue. And Salomón ben Varga finishes his tale, «Similar things frequently happen among us».

6. The Tragic Denouement

The end of the tragedy was getting near. The wealth, pride, power and audacity of the Jews had grown up side by side with popular hate against «that bad and audacious people». The murder of don Yuçaf Pichon and the implacable punishment should have encouraged the people in their hopes and desires to obtain vengeance soon from the usurary exploitation, the fiscal extortion and the humiliation and outrages which the Jews had made them go through. However, the new king did not break with the tradition of his elders. Jewish usurers and tax gatherers continued living as they well pleased. Nevertheless, the anti-Jewish hostility of the masses did not cease. The situation of the sovereign was not very solid. He underwent the coincidental attacks of the Duke of Lancaster, married to a daughter of Peter I the Cruel and allied with the king of Portugal. He confronted the rebellion of his illegitimate brother, Alfonso, Count of Noreña, and he witnessed the failure in Aljubarrota of his Portuguese campaigns in defense of his wife's rights. The weakness of the Crown, shown by the fact that John I was the most parliamentary and constitutional king of Castile, and the realization of this fact by the people contributed to an intensification of the impetus and enmity against the Jews, all of which coincided with a hesitation in the support which the princes usually lent them.

The king had to give in to the eternal demands of the cortes against the Jews and, since the Christians had begun to convert their rage into

actions, don John had to commission his personal guard, the «huntsmen of Espinosa», to defend the *aljamas* of those places where the court stopped in its continual pilgrimage across the country and to protect the Jews who accompanied the court on its trips. The masses that usually gathered together in these villages on the occasion of a visit of the royal train had begun to ill treat these two groups of Jews and the king was obliged to provide for their security.

Not only Castile, but all of Spain had come to be saturated with anti-Jewish electricity. The Jews had not attained such a high and firm position in the kingdoms of Aragón as in Castile. Due to the lowly character of the wars maintained by the count-kings since the beginning of their policy of expansion in the Mediterranean initiated with Peter III's expedition to Sicily in 1282, a lively rivalry had sprung up between the sovereigns, who needed resources, and the nobiliary and urban oligarchies of Aragón, unwilling to untie their purse strings to sustain extrapeninsular adventures. This rivalry, at times becoming a violent contest, developed the juridical sense of the subjects of the count-kings and obliged them to not injure susceptibilities. For these reasons the Aragón sovereigns did not have Jewish *almojarifes.* Since the reign of James I they were obliged to live in separate neighborhoods and since the days of Peter III they were forced to wear distinctive signs on their clothes. The usurary interests charged by the Jewish moneylenders did not reach the amounts charged in Castile and their abuses were more severely persecuted. Nevertheless, a series of Jewish families thrived in the Aragón confederation under the patronage of the princes: the Caballería, the Alconstantiní, the Perfect, the Rabalía and the Santángel families. The people also suffered from the clawings of Jewish usury; here too the hard cash was concentrated in the hands of the Jews in the majority of the towns and villages of the country and, unlike Castile, there were occasional Jewish bailiffs or governors such as Salomón Alconstantiní who was general bailiff of Catalonia during the reign of James I. The kings would defend some Jews who had blasphemed Jesus, the Virgin or the mysteries of the Christian faith. Due to all this, the popular masses of Catalonia, Aragón and Valencia intensely hated the Jews during the second half of the fourteenth-century.

During the last third of this century the anti-Jewish tension had risen so high in all Spain that the riot provoked against the Jews of Sevile by the high-pitched sermons of an energumen, Fernant Martínez, Archdeacon of Écija, was enough to set off a wave of calamities and thefts on the Jewish quarters in all the Spanish kingdoms within a few days. This type of feeling of the Spaniards is a symptom of the unity of the Hispanic people which is forgotten by those who deny it.

It is well known that Fernant Martínez, who was being threatened by the civil and ecclesistical authorities of Castile, took advantage of the double lack of leadership brought about by the accident which took the life of the Archbishop of Seville, Barroso, to launch the rabble against the

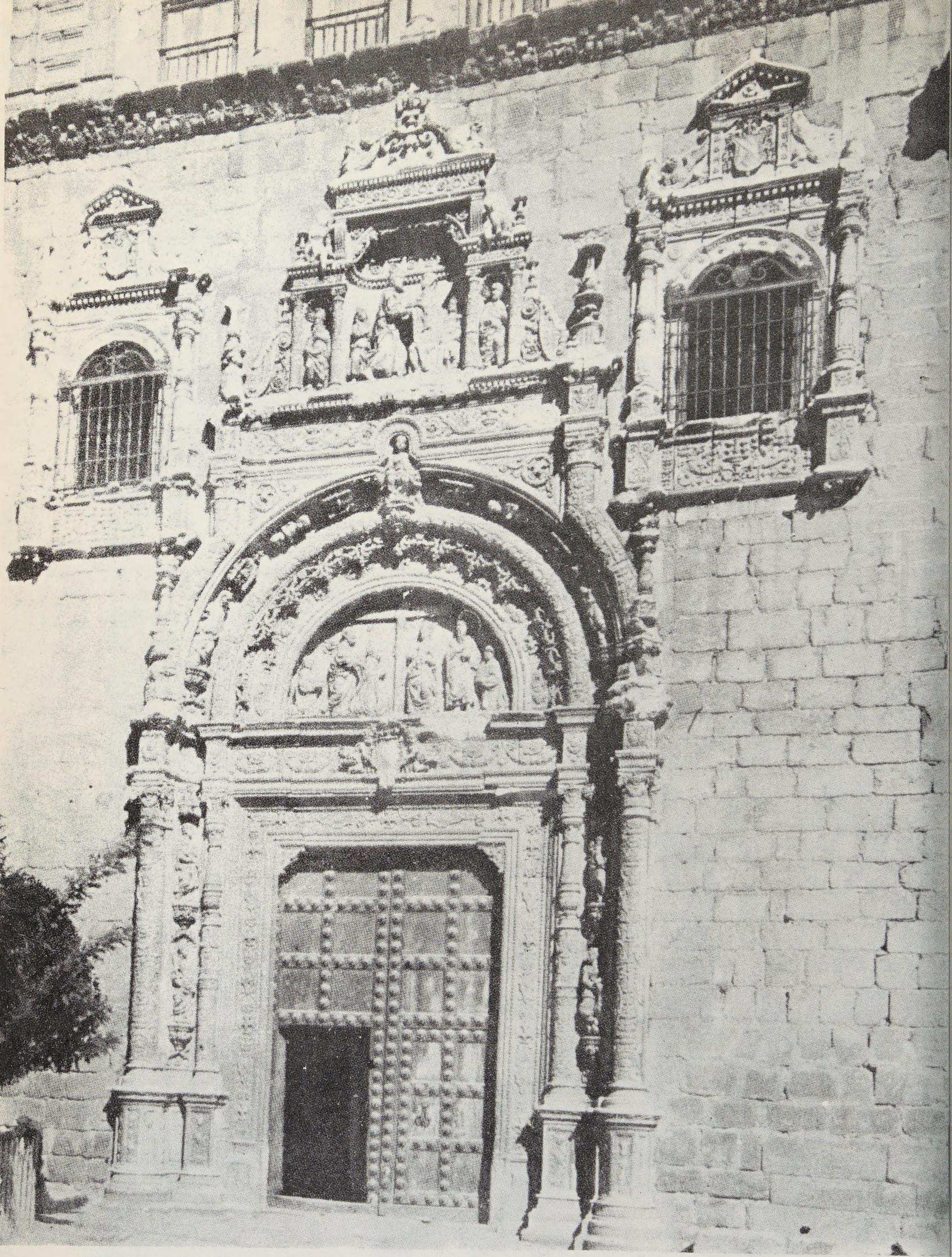
Sevillan Jews on 6 June, 1391. But that spark ignited a general fire. With an almost incredible rapidity, news of the event ran throughout Spain and with it a wave of attacks, deaths and thefts which were at times realized by challenging the measures taken by the kings and occasionally, as in Valencia, without respect for the very person of the prince. This confirmed the superior unity of Spain at the time because these crimes did not extend beyond the Pyrenees. The hate which had been accumulated during three centuries because of the abuses and levies of the Jewish publicans and usurers, and the arrogance and power of the Jewish confidants of the kings and lords had provoked one of the gravest crises in Spanish History.

Not wishing to excuse these atrocities, but rather to situate them in the historical atmosphere in which they occurred, it is important to point out here that beyond the Pyrenees, in sweet France, a very few years before, the people had assailed the Jews with extreme barbarity. They had been twice expelled from the country, but continued living in Paris, Rouen and many other French cities. Spain was not the only country where laws which had been scarcely passed were not obeyed. Their children had been taken from them to be baptized. Among the accusations of the University and clergy of Paris, causing the fall of Provost Hugo Aubriot, was having returned the children to their parents. During the demagogic wave that broke out after the meeting of the General on 14 November, 1380, the people threw themselves against the Jews. The nobles encouraged the riotous masses in order to liberate themselves from debt. Jewish homes were assaulted and robbed, their account books destroyed and their children forcibly baptized. Similar acts occurred in Chartres, Monterau, Nantes, Senlis and Rouen. The government had to decree stiff anti-Semitic provisions in order to receive subsidies from the Estates. The legal interest of Jewish usurers was limited; all Jews were forbidden to own land and the special jurisdiction conceded to them by Charles V was abolished. But these agreements (March, 1381) were not enough to avoid new assaults and sackings of the Jews of Rouen and Paris during the first months of 1382.

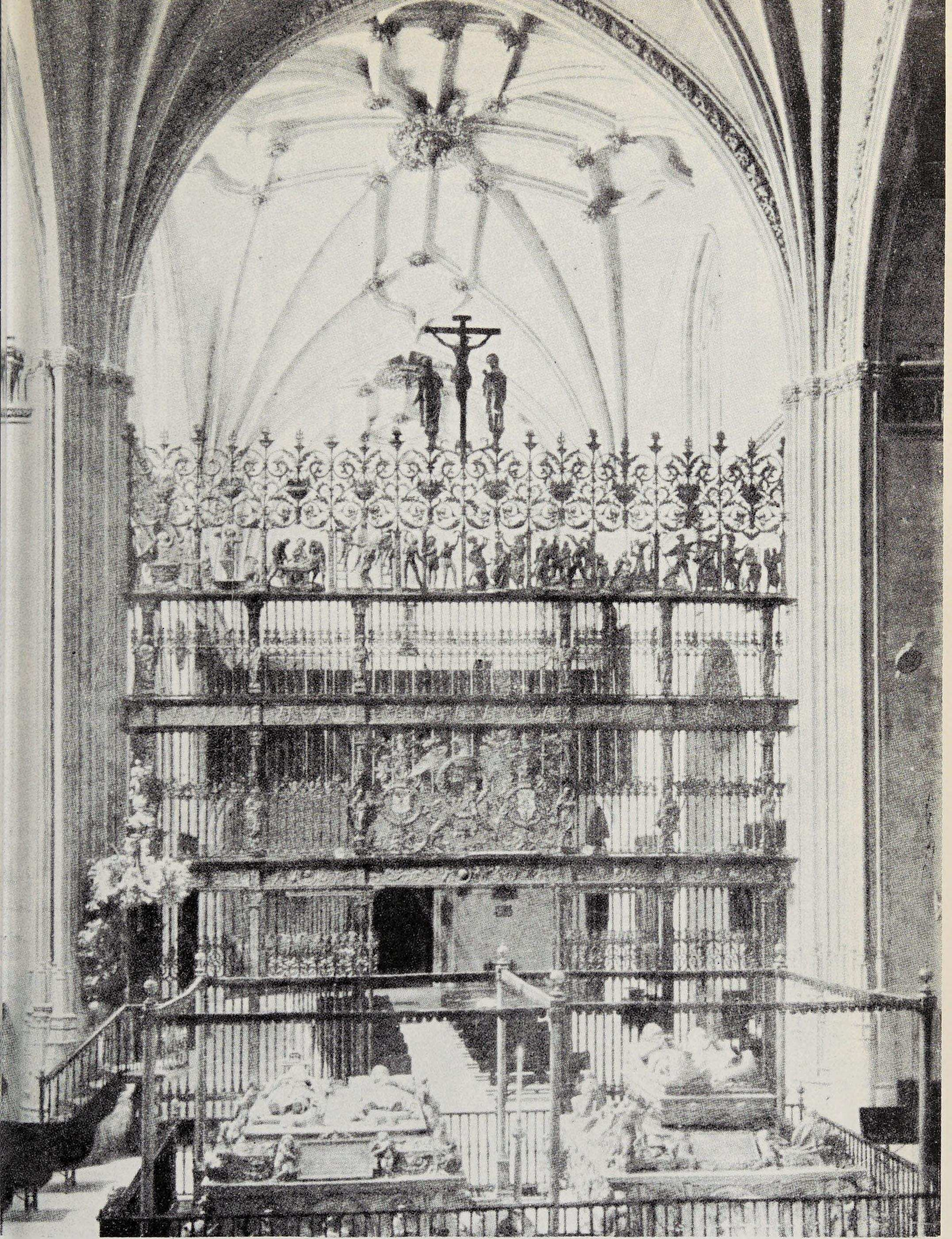
The Jews had suffered so many cruel hours in all countries during the long centuries that their exile had already lasted that neither the Spanish Jews, punished by the persecution in 1391, nor the Peninsular inhabitants among whom they lived could then appreciate the gravity of what had happened for both groups.

Many thousands of Jews, full of panic, asked for and received baptism. This large number of apostates, a fact which does not show any great firmness of faith or martyrial value of the Spanish Jews, has been attributed by Baer, a contemporary Israeli historian, to the triumph in great sectors of the Jewish peninsular community to a morose Averroist rationalism and a decadent Epicureanism. These rationalists and epicureans, those who where converted by fear in 1391, and those who were freely converted after the debates of Tortosa or with the passing of time, letting themselves

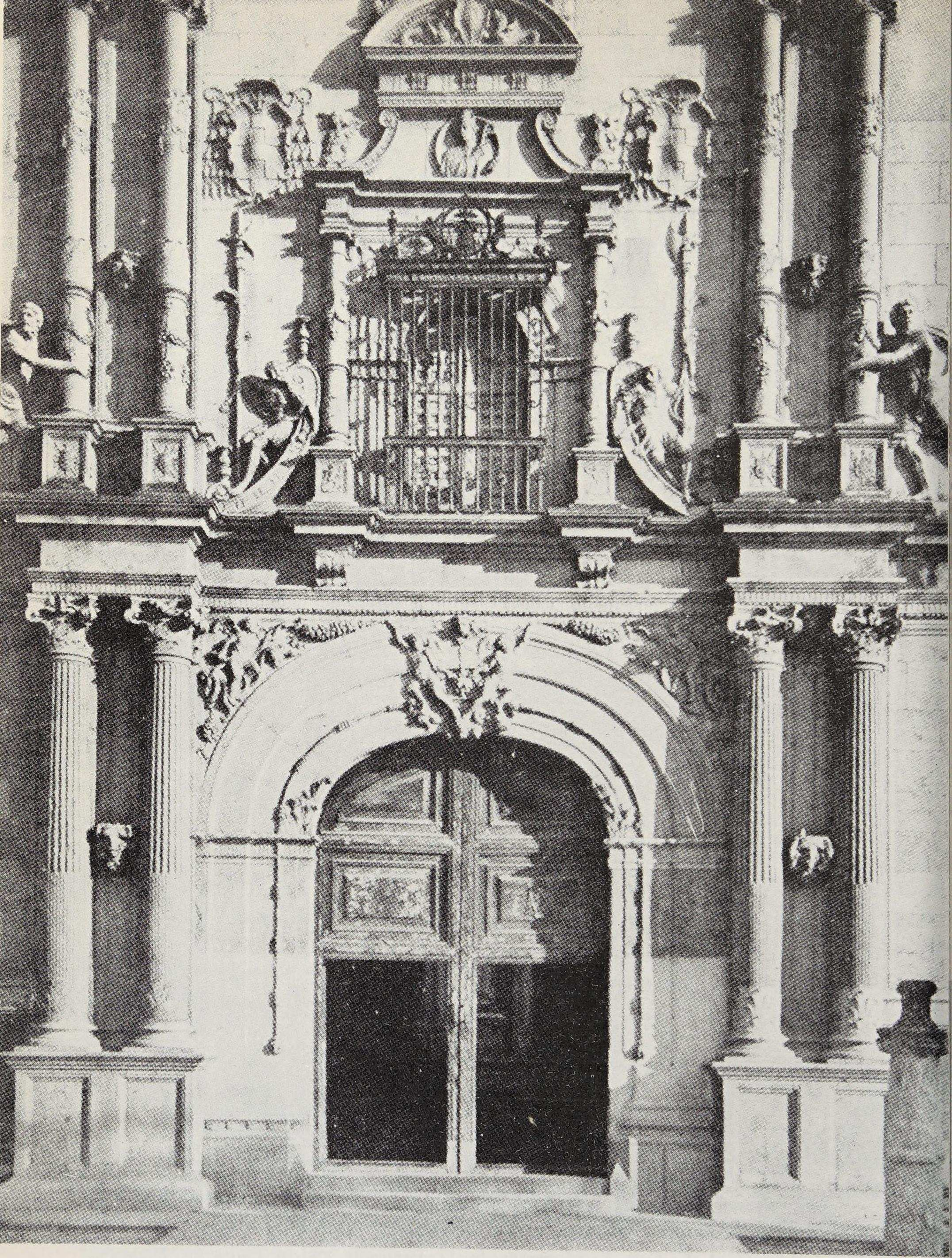
123.—*Sepulcher of El Tostado,* by Vasco de la Zarza. Altar-Screen of the Cathedral of Avila. Excellent sculptors like Vasco de la Zarza, Diego Ordóñez, Damián Forment were not lacking in Spain. We owe to the first the sepulcher of Alfonso of Madrigal, «El Tostado», prolific writer and bishop of Ávila in whose altar he is buried. Yet marble or bronze sculptures of classical style did not achieve among us the quality of the emotive, dramatic and human sculptures of religious imagery.



124.—*Facade of the Hospital de Santa Cruz of Toledo.* The Renaissance in Spain. Plateresque facade of the Hospital de Santa Cruz of Toledo. Don Pedro de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain ordered its construction. In contact with Italian Renaissance culture, especially beginning with the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, the Spaniards soon understood Humanism, Petrarchism, Renaissance art... and adapted them to their own mien. Just as we had Hispanicized medieval art and letters, we ended up Hispanicizing the Renaissance.



125.—*Sepulchers of the Catholic Monarchs,* by D. Fanicielli, and of *Philip the Handsome and Juana the Mad,* by B. Ordóñez. Royal Chapel of Granada. In those tombs of the Royal Chapel of Granada lie the two royal couples who served as pivot for the decisive turn of Spanish history: Hispanic unity, spiritual transformation, the American enterprise, hegemony in European politics and the arrival in Spain of the Austrian Hapsburgs. Two of those events produced such tremendous contortions in our historical course, that their consequences still affect our life.



126.—*Facade of the University of Alcalá* (Madrid). Confessor of the Catholic Queen, archbishop of Toledo, twice regent of the kingdom, honest, pious, energetic and gifted for rule, Cisneros began the reform of the clergy, confronted the nobility, conquered Oran and, after having burned in Granada all the Arabic books which fell into his hands, already a man of state, he took on two great cultural tasks: he founded the Complutense University (1506) and published the Poliglot Bible (1514-1517).

be carried along with the current trend, from then on made up a hybrid element, encysted onto the Spanish Christian Society and, for a long time, unassimilated.

The great majority of the *conversos* remained constant to their faith. They did not, naturally, change their temperamental habits in twenty-four hours; they did not renounce their taste for creditary, fiscal and mercantile business; and in their quality as new Christians they acquired the rights and prerogatives of the old Christians without mutating their life or their credo. For these reasons the Spanish people of the fifteenth-century found themselves in the situation that the hated Jews could now go on practicing extortion and exploitation as before; not only from without their social structure but also from without and within their ranks. Their false brothers in faith could now govern them from the positions of control they came to occupy near the kings and in the ruling of cities. They were able to scale the upper nobiliary hierarchies through marriages of rich Jewish girls to many aristocrats wanting to fill in their coats of arms with dung and gold (both concepts were as one) or who fell in love with some beautiful daughters or grandaughters of *conversos*. They were able to ascend the high ecclesiastical hierarchy because some recently converted Jews, and many sons and grandsons of Jews, received holy orders.

Because alongside the new Christians, of Jewish race and psyche, there continued to be thousands and thousands of Jews faithful to their traditions and faith, the problem of living together for Jews and Spaniards became extraordinarily complicated forever. With the passing of decades the tragic knot of the future religious history of Spain became tightened.

Until then the kings continued to protect the Jews and to use them. They continued to use them to suck the flaccid teats of plebeian misery in benefit of the public treasury. When the opportunity would arrive, they continued to rake from them a good part of the fruit of their spoliation of the Christians by means of demanding strong voluntary (!) contributions. At the same time they continued using them as physicians and official agents.

Although a goodly number of the most prestigious Hebrews of Castile had been assassinated, or had become Christians, a little after 1391 we again find Jewish personalities in court or in the financial administration of Henry III. For physicians he employed Mosé ben Zarzal and Mayr Alguadés; his *almojarife* was Yosef ben Varga in Toledo while other Hebrews occupied diverse fiscal positions, such as don Salomón ben Arroyo. Don Abraham Benveniste de Soria served as treasurer for John II. The philosopher, R. Yosef ben Sem Tob was principal auditor for Henry IV and his envoy in Portugal for matrimonial matters, while rabbi Jacob ben Núñez was his physician. In Aragón Hasday Crescas enjoyed the confidence of John I and, on the death of Fernando de Antequera, whose proselytizing zeal is well-known, the Jews again approached the court and another Crescas, physician and astrologer, served, for example, John II.

It has before been mentioned, and proved, that after 1391 the Jews continued to exercise freely the repugnant trade of usury, in spite of the prohibitions of Castilian laws and the restrictive regulations of the Aragónese kings. And mostly in Castile, the Jews continued to collect a good part of the indirect taxes and even of all the incomes of the royal treasury. The *almojarifes,* lease-holders and tax collectors of many lordly estates were Jews. A novelty that irritated the Castilians was that the Jews leased or collected tax on churches or *concejos.* The Cortes of Ocaña of 1469 protested with outrage against all activities of the Hebrews, the most disorderly of all being given in local documents; let us remember, for example, the cases of Burgos and Puerto de Santa María.

The desire of the kings to exploit to the maximum the taxable potential of their people continued to inspire them to fix the prices so high in leases on taxes that only the Jews, masters in the art of avoiding taxes, could dare to outbid them. «We believe,» said the *procuradores* in Ocaña before Henry IV, «that if your incomes were in reasonable terms there would be Christians to take them over, to them they should be given at a lesser price according to the laws of your kingdoms.» Fiscal activities of the Hebrews had been prohibited in the Ordinances of the Cortes for almost a century but since the kings had always unwillingly given in to the petitions of the *procuradores* against the Jews they never had their own laws obeyed, in spite of the continual protests of the popular representatives. Because of the successes of the Jewish leaseholders and collectors of royal rent, and the smell of Hebraic sin that the lease and collection of taxes had acquired, the incomes of lords, churches and *concejos* came to be put in the hands of the Hebrews, as has already been mentioned.

This state of affairs was not interrupted with the death of Henry the Impotent. The Jewish usurers and leaseholders continued to overchage the popular masses up to and including the reign of the Catholic Monarchs who continued to guard over the safety of the Jewish quarters and continued to get enormous sums out of them, now for the war of Granada. Don Abraham Senior appears as principal collector of Castile; don David Alfacar was landlord of taxes of Murcia while the Beneviste brothers, Abraham and Vidal, were such in Guadalajara. Several other Jews continued being very attached to the monarchs: R. Mayr, R. Yehuda ben Varga, and Ishaq Arbanel, who attempted to have the decree of expulsion revoked In his commentary on the *Book of Kings* he wrote: «I was there in the court... I implored my friends who enjoyed royal favor to intercede for my people. The most important of them consulted together to beg the sovereign with all their strength to withdraw the orders of rage and furor and to abandon his project of exterminating the Jews.» These words, copied by Salomón ben Varga in *Vara de Judá,* are witness to the fact that in 1492, as in the days of Chancellor Ayala, and as always, powerful Jews could count on the friendship and help of the confidants and intimate

ones of the kings. Were they also as well paid as in the days of the *Rimado de Palacio*, and in those of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán?

Neither the princes nor the grandees, nor the Jews had paid attention to the terrible lessons that the terrible pogroms of 1391 shouted in their ears. They all continued on as if nothing had happened. The monarchs complied with the more and more raging anti-Hebrew petitions of the cortes, but after hardly being issued they mocked the people by not imposing their compliance. The confidants of the kings did not interrupt their traditional protection of the Jews, in some cases out of a sincere desire to take advantage of their knowledge, but usually guided by less elevated interests. The Hebrews did not know how to change their way of life and limited themselves to doing «Whatever brought them economic advantage or social prestige», as they always have done and as has been declared.

Faced with this durability of the old practices of kings, grandees and Jews, the hate of the people toward the Mosaic flock increased. In 1406 the people of Córdoba once more rose against them and Henry III of Castile imposed a fine of 24,000 doubloons on the justices of Córdoba for negligence in defending the Jews. The attempts of John I of Aragón to restore the *aljamas* in his kingdom failed. The people of Barcelona even firmly refused to have the Jews return to live among them and obtained a privilege from Alfonso V recognizing their right to have no Jewish quarter in the city. From time to time, as shown in the royal ordinance of John II in 1443, riots against the Jews would break out here and there. For example, in the days of Henry IV the people of Guipúzcoa killed the Jew, don Gaon, from Victoria, collector of the royal contribution demanded of their district. Observe how all Spaniards continued to coincide in their anti-Hebrew passion: From Catalonia to Andalusia and from Andalusia to the Basque Country.

In the meantime, the infiltration of *conversos* in the Church and State structures increased geometrically. The Santa María family of Burgos acquired enormous influence in Castile. Don Pablo, as is known, came to be Bishop of Cartagena and Burgos and later Main Chancellor of the kingdom and attained such power that on one occasion twelve of the twenty-two episcopal Sees in Castile were in hands of his family members, friends and protected ones. I confess that I do not clearly see the problem of the time and place of his conversion and, therefore, of the pious or interested aspects of the same. His sons and brothers also scaled to very high positions; brishoprics, embassies, urban governments, positions of *procurador* in the cortes, ecclesiastical canonries... etc. Don Alonso de Cartagena carried the voice of Castile to Basel; don Alvar García de Santa María was officially commissioned to write the history of the reign of John II... all of them were able to gather plentiful fortunes. The works of P. Serrano and Cantera allow us to amplify these facts.

Since baptism had not taken from the Jews their talents and abilities, their devotion to wealth, nor their subtlety in captivating the will of the princes, the *conversos* continued intervening in the collection of taxes. They continued to get rich from their traditional businesses. Every day they obtained greater and more firm positions in the court, central government, city governments and in the Church itself. They came to acquire lordships and military commands.

It appears certain that they continued to practice, the traditional businesses of money lending. Cantera tells of numerous monetary credits granted by don Alvar García de Santa María, while in the *Coplas del Provincial* it is said of the *converso,* Alvar Pérez de Castro: «He continually put out money at usury... at one hundred percent».

The grave events of Toledo in 1449 began with the assault on the house of the *converso,* Alonso de Cota, who was at the head of the collectors of the loan solicited from Toledo by don Álvaro de Luna. During the reign of Henry IV the *converso* Diego Arias Dávila, ruled the finances of Castile, seconded by a body of accountants, who were mostly *conversos* as well. In 1480, upon the establishment of the Inquisition in Seville, the most involved *conversos* enjoyed substantial rents. Juan Fernández Albolafia held the rents of royal customs, Ayllon Perote, the salt mines, the Sepúlveda and Cordobilla brothers, the Portuguese tunny fisheries... etc. The examples of fiscal activities of the *marranos* could be multiplied.

Only a few will suffice to demonstrate their wealth. Pedro Sarmiento took two hundred beasts of burden laden with gold, silver, tapestries and brocades, out of Toledo in 1449, the fruit of the sackings of some *converso* merchants of the city. The wealth of Diego Arias Dávila allowed him to marry his son to a granddaughter of the first marquis of Santillana, niece of the first Duke of the Infantado. In 1480 Diego Susan, indubitably a descendant of the *almojarife* of Alfonso VIII, Ibn Xixan, possessed a fortune estimated at ten million maravedis. Not less in power were other Judaizing *conversos*: Manuel Saulí and Bartolomé de Torralba.

Diego Arias Dávila came to be lord of Torrejón while Alvar Gómez de Cibdat-Real was lord of Maqueda.

Several Aragonese *conversos* came to have command of troops; for example, Ximeno Gordo, who held such positions more than once.

The Castilian *conversos* made up a kind of political party during the reign of John II.

The data collected by Amador de los Ríos, which can today be amplified, are cause for amazement. These concern the positions the Jews held in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón. The political and administrative machinery of the State fell more into their hands every day, from the royal councils to the government of *concejos.* The Catholic Monarchs governed while surrounded by *conversos.* An Aragonese *converso,* Mosén Pedro de la Caballería, arranged their marriage, the marriage that was to make Spain. Of the four who in their day deceived the kingdom with false hopes,

according to the popular stanza, «Cárdenas y el Cardenal y Chacón y Fray Motero», the last was a *converso*. The three secretaries of the Queen were *conversos*: Hernando Álvarez, Alfonso de Ávila and Hernando del Pulgar, the latter being also the chamber chronicler. The Caballería and the Santángel families and other *conversos* occupied positions of the greatest confidence beside don Ferdinand. One of them, Luis Santángel, prebend scribe, loaned the monarchs part of the money used in the discovery of America. There were numerous *conversos* in the privy councils of both monarchs. Doctor Pablos, also a *converso*, was ambassador in London during the most difficult times of the still infant Catalina. Amador de los Ríos wrote, «Fray Alonso de Hojeda said rightly that the *conversos* occupied all positions».

The growing wealth and power of the *conversos* could not have won the sympathy of the people, but I am not sure if it was sufficient to incur popular hate against them. Religious differences had naturally given rise to an embitterment of relations, many times caused by the preaching of clergymen and, above all, friars. But there is no doubt that the main causes of the anti-Hebrew rage of the masses had been usury, commercial and fiscal exploitation of the people by the Jewish moneylenders and publicans, the scandal of their riches and luxury and the display of their arrogance. Only to them did the cortes continually allude. They never once raised their voice against them for religious reasons. The Hispano-Hebrew historian, Salomón ben Varga, attributes to the cortes the hate of the people against his brothers in race. The differences in credos between the Christians and *mudéjares* (Muslims living in Christian Spain) never aroused the extreme animosity of the former against the latter. The false conversions of the Jews added a large religious overload to the old cause of the anti-Jewish malevolence of the peninsular dwellers.

The words of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán on the *conversos* reveal the state of public opinion towards them. He admits the impossibility of their being good Christians, he defends, with not a few reservations, some who had become fervid Christians, recognizes that even with this fervor many doubted and did not hide the reality of the majority's hypocrisy nor of the education of their descendants. If not, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán would not have dared propose the drastic measure of separating the children from their parents to achieve a catechistic education. No one ignored, therefore, the barely dissimulated adhesion of the *conversos* to their old Mosaic faith. It was even suspected that some of those who seemed the most pious, and not a few of those who had received holy orders, mocked the dogmas in which they simulated belief and the rites they appeared to be practicing. And the suspicions were correct. It appears certain that some of the *conversos* among those who most stood out for their apparent religious zeal incurred in this hypocrisy; people of such importance as Pedro de la Caballería, author of *Zelus Christi contra judaeos, sarracenos et infideles.* It is a truth that some of the *marrano* clergy painted a cross on the part

of the shirt used to cover their derriers, and that others, instead of the formula for consecration pronounced sarcastic words. The popular Hispanic masses would have had to be centuries ahead of their times to be able to admit as a normal act their tolerant living together with the false converts and to have listened indifferently to their mocking of the mysteries of their faith.

The bloody beginnings of this battle between old and new Christians have been known for a long time. In 1449 the collection of an extraordinary royal tax on Toledo by don Álvaro de Luna gave pretext for the assault, sacking and burning of the homes of the *converso* merchants of the city. Some canons, who were backed up by the people, initiated the movement while the resistance of the *marranos* aggravated the situation. Some of them lost their lives in the struggle while the king was impotent to repress the riot and came to dictate a cruel Statute-Sentence against the vanquished.

In 1467 it was the *conversos* who initiated the combat. One of them, Alvar Gómez de Cibdat-Real, had some Jews who had dared to bid on some incomes of the chapter of his village, Marqueda, beaten. The chapter launched an interdict, the *marranos* entered into the cathedral, killed the treasurer on the spot and overpowered the gates of the city. But the bells of the Primate church sounded the alarm and the country workers came to the aid of the old Christians. The *conversos* and their defender, the Count of Cifuentes, were beaten, their homes burned and some of them were hanged, the licentiate Franco among others.

In 1473 the town of Córdoba rose against the *conversos*. The people were aroused because the *conversos* did not adorn their houses when a procession passed by and because, according to what was said, a girl of their race had inadvertently cast water into the street as the image passed by. Don Alonso de Aguilar and his brother Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the future Great Captain, who attempted to contain the masses, were obliged to gather their people together in the fortress. The killing of *conversos* spread throughout some Andalusian villages. In Jaén the defense of the new Christians cost the life of the constable, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo.

In 1474 the governor of the castle of Segovia, Andrés de Cabrera, was able to repel, after a fierce fight, the bloody assault of the rabble against the houses of the *conversos*.

All of these more or less casual clashes, at times provoked by the irascibility of the *conversos*, added much wood to the fire of battle between old and new Christians. In Aragón the *conversos* misled the people in order to take advantage of the fervor the inhabitants of Saragossa had for their *fueros* and liberties so they could crush the aristocracy who at times dared to confront the former Jews. The rage, at once social and religious, which the people felt against the *marranos*, grew. Among the people it is necessary to include not only the masses but also that part of the low nobility and minor clergy who were, in the final analysis, of the people. In some places the *conversos* were more hated than those very

Jews still faithful to the Mosaic law. The other side of the scorn with which the masses avenged themselves of their exploitation by the Hebrews was now the rooting of the idea of «cleanliness of blood», with which it was intended to distinguish betweeen the pure Christians and the accursed *marranos*; for in Castile it was legally a grave insult to call someone a Jew.

The problem came to be unsolvable. The *conversos* could not return to the cult they had rejected and could not believe in the doctrines they had admitted. The old Christians could not confront them as Jews nor could they live together with them as brothers in faith. Neither the former nor the latter were responsible for the disagreeable fate. It was impossible for the Jews to rapidly mature into sincere Christians when, in 1391, or later, with the passing of the years, they had received a baptism out of cowardice, interest or by force. However, it was no less possible for the old Christians to support with pious meekness throughout the decades, the farce of the pretending new Christians. who besides continuing faithful to their religious credo and mocking Christian rites and dogmas, united, at the same time, wealth and power. But neither the new Christians nor the old Christians were free from fault. It is true that the torrent of false conversions had been the result of assaults on the Jewish quarters in 1391, but these assaults in their turn had been the fruit of three centuries of exploitation of the Peninsular people by the Jews. Because the greatest part of the *conversos* came from the Jewish minority which was quite devoted to riches and had, in reality, apostatized in order to save their interests and preserve their position and continued to pretend their adhesion to Christianity due to love of their monetary sources and to not lose their new hierarchy; so much more does the ingenuous passion of the people merit exoneration in the long run than the mercenary apostasy and mercenary religious fiction of the Hebrew oligarchies. The contemporary Israeli historian himself, Baer, has not vacillated in stigmatizing them.

The already multisecular drama of the relations between Spaniards and Jews therefore reached, after 1391, proportions of tragedy whose solution could only be bloody and barbarous.

It is licit and even just to anathematize, in the name of those never enfeebled ideals of liberty and tolerance, the popular outrages of the Spaniards against the Jews and *conversos* which, in any case, were the same as those felt by all peoples of Europe during the Middle Ages. But the Peninsular dwellers of the fifteenth-century could not participate in feelings which had only won over the minorities of the purest sensitivities in the world. They could not see the social reality of their times and their land except in terms of the general ideas and emotions of their epoch. These were ideas and emotions also held by the Jews and *conversos* who were naturally not any more tolerant and respectful than the Christians having the same rights as other contemporary Spaniards. This is all attested

by the traditional religious irreconcilability of the Peninsular Hebrews, the insults and abuses which the apostate Jews launched and realized against those who remained faithful to their creed, those of the latter against the former and the enmity of all against the Christians.

The Spanish Jews had shown, since very early years, an extreme religious intransigency. Around the very days when Alfonso VI showed a great tolerance in his relations with the Muslims of Toledo and all the Hebrews of his kingdom, the directing minorities of the Castilian Hebrew community angrily persecuted the «Caraíta» heretics. The Spanish-Jewish chronicler of the middle of the twelfth-century, Abraham ha-Leví ben David, tells that Yosef ibn Ferrusel, a «Cidellius» physician and confidant of Alfonso, with the king's authorization: «Made them suffer all types of humiliations and expelled them from all the towns of Castile, except one small one which he gave them, because it was not licit to kill them since in those times one could not give death sentences (among the Jews)». But this persecution of 1088 did not do away with heresy. At the death of Yosef ibn Ferrusel the Caraítas continued to disquiet the orthodox Jews. Also, according to Abraham ha-Leví, Yehudá ibn Ezra resquested Alfonso VII, whom he served as confidant; «Not to let the heretics of the lands of Castile open their mouths. The king ordered this to be so; the heretics were oppressed and never again raised their voices, remaining weak and dispersed». This persecution against the Caraítas was the only one realized against religious dissidents in the days of the Emperor. While it was being done, the Castilian-León borders were open without hindrance to the Hebrew fugitives from Al-Ándalus, the Moorish king, Zafodala and his people attended the coronation of Alfonso VII in the Cathedral of León, and in Toledo, Christians and Jews worked together and in brotherhood.

In the thirteenth-century the Hebrews continued to impose rigidly their orthodox rites by means of what we could call, using the terms of the then unpredictable Inquisition, the secular arm of the Christian authorities. In the *Libro de los fueros de Castilla,* 220, the Jews who would break their religious feasts were castigated with diverse pecuniary fines. People were threatened with fines of between twelve and thirty *sueldos* for carrying iron weapons, wounding another, calling on another to swear, sitting «on a beam, a wall or another place letting their feet hang», riding or leaving «clothes hanging outside their homes», on the Sabbath. And the *Royal Fuero* IV. 2.1., prohibits that any Jew: «Make bold to read lawbooks that attempt to undo the law, nor to have them hidden, and if anyone has them or finds them to burn them in public at the door of the synagogue.» Furthermore, we have record of the promulgations of excommunions by the Castilian Jewish judges of the thirteenth-century itself.

And Alfonso X had to declare in *Partidas* VII. 24.6, very grave punishments against those Jews who would throw stones, wound, kill or dishonor any one among them who wanted to become Christian or be baptized.

The Hebrew *aljama* of Barcelona in 1305 was opposed to allowing youths of less than 25 years of age to study Greek philosophy so as to avoid that they leave the Mosaic faith. Around the end of the fourteenth-century the Jewish community of Tudela ordered the transgressors of religious law to be punished.

Because of this religious intransigence of the Spanish Hebrews we can not be surprised at the insults and abuses of the *conversos* against those who had not apostatized and vice versa.

Henry III spoke thus to the justices of Burgos because of the events of summer, 1391. «Know ye that the Jews of the Jewish quarter of said city had me informed that when they were robbed, out of fear of death they abandoned their homes and came to live under your guard and they do not dare to come to dwell in their houses in said Jewish quarter for fear that some Jews who have become Christians persecute them and do them much evil» It is known that many other Spanish *conversos* persecuted and did great evil to those Hebrews faithful to the Mosaic law. A son of don Pablo de Santa María took charge in Spain of the execution of the hard decrees of Pope Benedict XIII against the Jews.

Vendrell has shown that in Aragón, on the other hand, many neophytes had to suffer family opposition and, at times, that of the Jewish population. Ferdinand I had to write to Jacobo de Santángel in April of 1414 admonishing him because he had fallen out with his son, Master Alfonso de Santángel, who had just converted to Christianity. Also baptized, Berenguer de Cabra, after the «Tortosa Dispute», found that during his absence from Calatayud, a group of male and female Jews had assaulted his home and emptied it taking whatever they wished. In August of the same year of 1414 he had a family argument after which they withheld all his goods. Astruch ben Afia was robbed by his brothers in race after his baptism. Upon arriving in Barbastro after returning from Tortosa the *converso,* Pedro de Santángel, had to make claims against various molestations. The fight between Jews and *marranos* continued with violence. The Aragón Jew, Salomón Benafed sharpened his poetic darts against the turncoat Jews. The Hispano-Jewish rabbi, Abraham ben Salomón did not only angrily apostrophize against the «magnates, princes and judges» who apostatized in 1492. He tells how some Jewish epicureans and traitors organized the persecution of their Portuguese brothers, and of the Castilian Jews exiled in Portugal, under the reign of don Manuel The Fortunate.

In view of this long series of events, which could be amplified at will, it is not difficult to guess what would have been the conduct of the Hispanic Jews against the enemies of their faith if, instead of being tolerated exiles in Spain, they would have controlled the reigns of power. It is not licit, therefore, to anathematize the popular Spanish masses because they did not feel in the fifteenth-century how we feel today about a minority of men on the earth. This is so much the less so, because they had always been incited by those very Hebrews who had been apostatizing in the

Peninsula with the passing of the centuries. Let us recall the controversy celebrated in Barcelona in 1263 by the *converso,* Pau Cristía, against Rabbi Mosé ben Nahman; the polemic attack of the Master of Valladolid, Alfonso, called Abner de Burgos before his conversion, against the religious rationalism of the Jewish intellectuals; the great «Dispute of Tortosa» of 1412, presided over by Pope Luna Benedict XIII in which Jerónimo de Santa Fe, called Josué ha-Lorquí before his baptim, confronted the most famous rabbis of Aragón with a violent dialectic; the *Hebraeo Mastix* (Scourge of the Hebrews) written by the same Jerónimo de Santa Fe with the cruel proposal of extermination concerning his brothers in race; the extremely hard and somber *Scrutinium Scriturarum* by Salomón ha-Leví, later called Pedro de Santa María, a formidable attack against the Hispanic Jews; the *Zelus Christi contra Judaeos* by the Aragonese *converso,* Pedro de la Caballería; the *Fortalitium Fidei,* a terrible anti-Jewish battering ram by Fray Alonso de Espina, also of Jewish origin. This list could easily be amplified with texts of lesser importance.

The future of the Spanish Jews, much more than by these attacks from their traitor brothers, was influenced by an idea which was very early conceived by some *conversos,* authentically zealous in Christian faith, or very zealous in shaming this faith. The idea was accepted by the old Christians and the kings themselves. The persistent fervor of the new Christians for their old credo and rites was attributed to the presence of Jews faithful to the Mosaic faith alongside them and to the infection that their example provoked in the *marranos.* This idea was to have very somber historical projections.

It is possible, according to Valeriu Marcu, that the very will of the better intentioned *conversos* was powerless to impose upon their spirit a sincere adhesion to Christianity because of the violent contrast of dogmatic and ritual traditions of their race with Christian rites and dogmas. This contrast gave rise in their souls to an invincible repugnance towards the doctrines and ceremonies of the religious, the practice of which forced them to apostatize. In any case, Salomón ben Varga states in his *La Vara de Judá* that the turncoats came to profess the traditional faith of their ancestors with more fervor than before their conversion and that they observed the Jews in laws with more scruples than before their baptism. This fervor and fidelity, more than the infection of the apostate Jews with the non-baptized ones, seemed to be the fruit of their intimate and mortifying memory of the religious changeover to which their interest or cowardice had induced them. It was an inevitable result of the consequent hostility toward the creed they had accepted to save their lives, position or wealth. But at times fantasy triumphs over reality. These intimate and subconscious reactions of the *marranos* could not be foreseen, nor those of the old Christians or *conversos* sincerely faithful to their new creed. These latter were the first to think that the infection of Jews and Judaizers truly prejudiced the authentic Christianization of these latter. Some of those who

pretended to have this false Christian zeal would adhere to this idea, partly to cover their duplicity or to hush up their anxiety. I cannot doubt that some were tortured by an inner lacerating doubt, and partly through a mixture of shame and rancor. Shame before those who had the strength to remain firm in their faith, and rancor towards those who had accursed their apostasy and at the same time were noble examples for them of moral rectitude who had become accusing of their weakness or interest. All the *conversos* passionately defended and proposed the measures that seemed to them the most adequate to separate the apostate Jews from the orthodox ones. And the old Christians, angrily hostile to the Jews since time immemorial, for the reasons which have been mentioned, complacently and hopefully accepted the indications of the turncoats and endowed them with the strength of the law.

The new Christians began by believing, zealous in their new faith, that the enclosement of the Jews in special neighborhoods and the prohibition that they communicate with the Christians for reasons of friendship, service, profession or work, and by setting them aside from the apostates would facilitate their catechizing. This belief engendered the brutal Statute of 1412. In this document the residence, apparel and garments of the Jews were legislated. They were forbidden to maintain any type of friendly or affectionate relationship with the Christians All types of professions, crafts, trades, tasks and services outside their own Jewish circles were not allowed. They were denied authorization to have any type of servants or non-Hebrew employees and denied the right to conclude any types of contracts, even those of a labor type, with whom was not, like them, a Jew. During the minority of John II, his mother, the Queen Regent Catalina of Lancaster, an englishwoman foreign to the tradition policy of Castilian royalty favorable to the Jews, had it decreed. At the time the Chancellor was the then Bishop don Pablo de Santa María, Burgos rabbi, Salomón ha-Leví, before his conversion. The paternity of the barbarous edict cannot be attributed to him, but due to his position and influence in the court, he may not be freed from responsibility for that monstruous provision against his brothers in race. If don Pablo was not the author as many have come to believe, Millás among others, and still believe that he was —Torres Fontes supposes it to be inspired by an Ordinance of the *concejo* of Murcia, itself a product of the preaching of Saint Vicente Ferrer; others think the Edict to be the work of a *converso* because of his masterful understanding of the intimate atmosphere of the Jewish quarters— it is not doubtful that the Chancellor would have been able to impede its publication or to have mitigated its severity.

Benedict XIII, Pope Luna, reinforced the cruel precepts of the Edict by decreeing the confiscation of the sacred books of the Spanish Jews in a bull which oozes with hate. He was also a great friend of the Santa María family and commisioned the execution of his precepts to one of the sons of don Pablo.

The enclosement of the Jews in the Jewish quarters and the prohibition of them to practice their accustomed professions, trades and tasks and to communicate with the Christians, if it did not make many *conversos* happy, it could not have saddened them too much either. These precepts forced the possible competition with their brothers in race off the road and left them a clear path to easy wealth. In 1443 don Álvaro de Luna attenuated the violence of the Statute. The Jews were authorized to practice some trades in benefit of the Christians and to enjoy some of the Christians' trades for their own benefit, while the confidant of John II underwent the enmity of the *conversos*.

The years went on and the division of Hebrews and *marranos* did not produce the expected fruits. The great majority of turncoats continued to practice the Mosaic religion in the intimacy of their homes and at times openly. No one knew better than the *conversos* who had sincere Christian sentiments the duplicity of the others. Among them there sprang up the idea that it was necessary to look into the hypocrisy and doggedness of those who publically professed faith in Christ while mocking Him in private. This discovery and its suitable punishment, they thought, could serve to intercept the evil and to attain its remedy. Amador de los Ríos has already pointed out the responsibility of the *conversos*, especially of Fray Alfonso de la Espina, in the surging up and incorporation of the inquisitional idea. Today there is no doubt, and I shall deal with this subject later, that the Inquisition was a satanical Hispano-Hebrew invention. The very idea of its establishment is owing to the *conversos*. The turbulent denouncement of suspects has its roots sunk in the repugnant accusations of Jewish back-biters while the Spaniards rounded out the work guided by their astute juridical sense. The Jewish origins of the Grand Inquisitor, Torquemada, seem probable.

It is only right to admit that the persecution of the Jews and the Judaizers was enjoyable for the people. It came to satisfy their old and their new angers; their age-old hate against the Hebrews who had exploited and humiliated them and their new hate against the new Christians who continued to exploit and humiliate them while, masters of the workings of state machinery, were much more haughty with it than their ancestors, the Jews of the eleventh to the fourteenth-centuries. But I do not know if this popular rage can be charged with the responsibility for the cruel denouement of Hispano-Jewish history. During the half century that preceeded the expulsion, tthe echoes of traditional hostility of the masses against the Jews did not diminish, while the rumor of their new enmity with the *conversos* thundered. It was these latter who stirred up their blood-thirsty anger. The projections of the insolvable problem of the «heretical perversity» of the *marranos* created an atmosphere propitious for the tragic finale. Such a sad fate for the modest workers of the Spanish Jewish Quarters! The oligarchical minority of the Hebrews who had walked the paths of wealth and won for the others the hate of the people because

of their avarice, their wealth, their luxury, their pride, their power. This minority had been traitors to them and had had themselves baptized and fought with the others, at times with harsh words and with no less harsh actions. Now it was this minority, because of its religious hypocritical duplicity, who attracted the thunderbolts over the entire nation. Because in truth it was the anguished fury of the lower clergy and the people who had been fanaticized by them, confronted with the guile and mockings of the *conversos* (consult the long series of somber testimonies of this guile and mocking which appear in the *Urkunden* of Baer) that pushed the sad history of the Jews towards their terrible denouement. The Inquisition discovered the deepness of the Judaizing weakness of the *marranos*. Some twenty thousand *conversos* took shelter under the Edict of Grace of 1481, becoming reconciled with the Church. Three thousand received the penance of wearing a sanbenito and four thousand were burned.

The idea that made the definitive catechizing of the *conversos* depend on their total breaking off with those Hebrews faithful to the Mosaic creed increased one hundredfold. That long ago proposal for banishment that Alfonso XI received from the future Grand Master of Alcántara, Gonzalo Martín, and that the *procuradores* of the 1371 cortes aimed at Henry II, now launched and sustained with a clamorous hate by the clergy, finally won the agreement of the kings. Nor do we have the right to be surprised at the intolerance of the fifteenth-century Hispanic clergy, ingenuous as they were ignorant.

Thus did the terrible and frightening final denouement of the tragedy arrive: banishment, the uprooting of a man or a community of men from their native ground, has always been and continues to be brutal and cruel. The cruelty and brutality of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain are indisputable, as are barbarity and the monstruosity of the other enforced exiles of the Jews from England and France in the Middle Ages, and even more so, given the advanced state of history, the many persecutions suffered by Jews in several countries at times much closer to us as in the Germany of our days. But neither can the horror inspired in a normal man by the bloody finale of real or pretended tragedy be disputable. This horror is not enough to detain the fatal laws of the tragic game, neither in the lives of men nor in the creations of their inventive faculties. In this manner should we confront the barbarous, cruel, brutal and horrendous culmination of the somber drama that had been tracing the steps of destiny around the relations of Jews and Christians. I am speaking metaphorically, since I do not believe in destiny, but in God. Whatever the horror, it must be historically focused as inevitable. There was no other way of cutting the tragic knot that was becoming tighter and tighter during four centuries. An indefinite prolongation of that ferocious battle was impossible. England and France had not found another solution to their incomparably less violent friction. During the rule of the Anjous, the Neapolitans had imposed a no more

smooth finale to the confrontation. By not having declared the expulsion, a mass killing would have occurred. The tide of popular fury had reached an uncontainable force. The Jews could buy the tolerance of the kings, but could not quench the fury of the people against them. Could they not? Yes, they could have done so; but only by the Jews and *conversos* becoming other than they were and this was... impossible. The kings resisted the popular hate and, to repeat, the hate of some *conversos* vehemently hostile to their brothers in race, and thought that the expulsion would prejudice the interests of their kingdoms. They gave way when their consciences could not find a pretext for confronting the waves of popular fury.

I said before that the arrogant necessities of the Reconquest had caused the elevation of the Hispanic Jews to the preeminent position they occupied for centuries. The Reconquest also saved them many times. The fear of the kings, that those of their subjects who rapidly acquired great wealth which they could freely use would emigrate to Moorish lands, frequently moved them to give way to the desires of the Jews. Let us remember that Ferdinand III clearly expounded to the Pope his fears that the Jews might return to Islamic lands, when they requested from him the necessary authorization to not wear the distinctive sign that they refused to wear. Ferdinand III gave way to authentic blackmail. The Jews of Castile had just fled from the cruel persecutions of the Almohads and would not have returned to the wolves' mouths. But their financial constraints suggested to the king the fear of losing the possibilities of fiscal exploitation of the *aljamas* and this fear inclined him to comply.

He deceived himself, as did all of his successors, by estimating that the accumulation of wealth by his Hebrew subjects facilitated his Reconquest enterprises or helped him to escape from the cesspool of civil war in which he was many times inundated. They deceived themselves because this accumulation of wealth was done at the cost of the national wealth. It has already been said and proved that the Jews did not create wealth, they dried it up. They did not risk their resources except in fiscal or usurer loans or in retail commerce. They did not create any industry, did not finance the formation of the national navy, nor did they usually take a chance with maritime commerce, always exposed to unforeseen losses. They made their fortunes as usurers, retailers and publicans. The kings, by favoring them, out of fear that they would move to Moorish lands, truly helped to impoverish the wealth potential of their kingdom making its indispensable industrialization and the thriving of their mercantile enterprises difficult. What was not any less grave, by contributing to monopolizing the money business in the hands of the Jews, they stigmatized it as a base sin, unworthy of Christians and set their subjects apart from the banking practices creating in them a complex which was difficult to overcome. The greatest proof of all this is in the fact that outside Spain, in Nantes for example, where they could not be shamed by devoting themselves to shameful Jewish

business, the Castilians, according to Mathorez, dedicated themselves to exchange and banking after the Jews had been expelled from Britany. The kings, when they witnessed the turbulent usury and fiscal enterprises as sure ways to a rapid and easy enrichment, gave an example not worthy of repetition to the less scrupulous peninsulars and those of greater audacity while alienating them from the best routes for the development of national economic life.

For all these facts I believe, and there is not reason for me to hush up my opinion out of fear of scandalizing many and incurring the anathema of others, that the expulsion of the Hispanic Jews was late in coming. By having been realized a century and a half before 1492 it would have changed the psyche of the Spaniards and the economic face of Spain. The decisive twist in English history coincided with the expulsion of the Hebrews. It forced the English to replace them in their economic enterprises and, by being liberated from their terrible money swindling, it favored a free and growing unfolding of their industrial and mercantile industry. This is not my idea but Trevelyan's. By having expelled them from the peninsula when they were from south and north of the English Channel, they would have, furthermore, returned to the Peninsula when they wished, because the tremendous wrath against them would not have developed during their last years among us.

Indeed, the inevitable expulsion of the Jews was late in coming but, in reality it could not have been earlier. Because only at that time, when Aragón and Castile were united, did the danger of the exiles from one of the two kingdoms fleeing to the other and increasing their population and tributary potential disappear. Because only then, with the end of the Reconquest, did the kings stop fearing that their going to the Moorish lands would fortify the economic strength and, therefore, the resistance of their enemies. And only then was the throne occupied by a queen who, educated among the people, among country workers in the lands of Arévalo, and helped by the people with fervor to insure her unstable royalty, not only participated in the exalted and candid religious sensitivity of the masses and the popular feelings, but also felt obliged to defend them. Don Ferdinand the Catholic would never have expelled them *motu propio;* he who was the grandson of Jews through his mother, doña Juana Enríquez, and heir to the traditional policy of a double series of monarchs in Aragón and Castile, favoring and exploiting the Hebrews at the same time. As his predecessors, he used the Jews as fiscal agents and as official diplomatic agents, obtained substantial sums from them for the war against Granada and protected them from the excesses of his Christian subjects. In 1481 he sharply wrote to the Prior of the See of Saragossa because of his violent attitude against the Jews whom he called «our coffins and those of the national patrimony». It was Isabel who incarnated and served the feelings of the masses; the one who first decided to establish the Inquisition against the false *conversos* and then moved the king to accept the idea of their expulsion. The Jews

knew this very well and the Hebrew chroniclers and writers heaped their hate upon her, both those who remained firm in their faith and those who had apostatized. For example, Abraham ben Salomón wrote: «The ire of God has incensed against his people and expelled them from the cities of Castile by means of the King, Ferdinand, and the advice of his accursed wife, the perverse Isabel.»

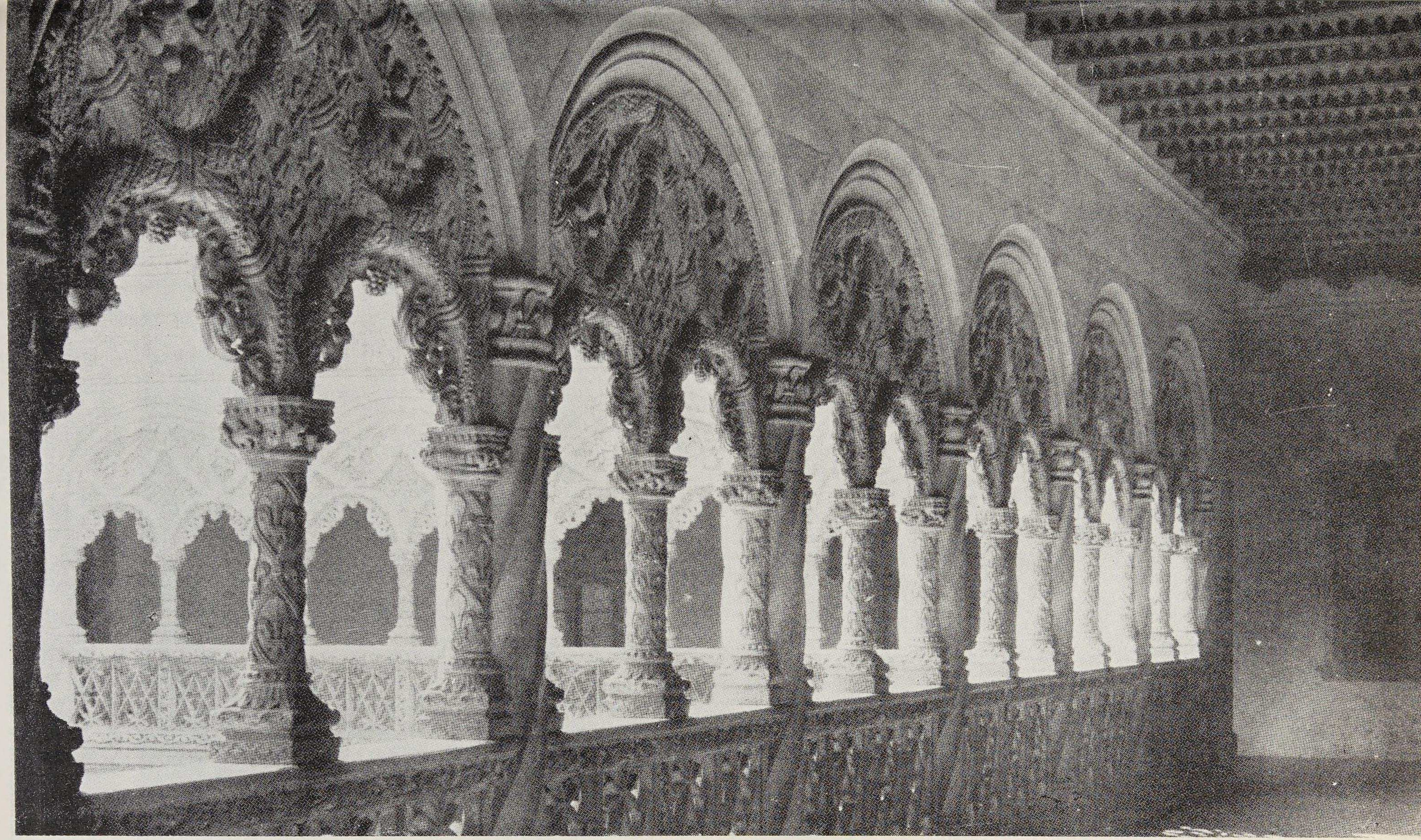
The expulsion was barbarous and cruel and, because of its tardiness, ineffective. It coincided with the most unsuspected historical occasion ever presented to a nation. And this coincidence terribly undermined the unfolding of the psychic and economic potential of Spain in the decisive moment of her history.

7. The Hebrew Contribution to Spanish Thought and Letters

Alongside the usurers, money changers, publicans and confidants of the kings, all of whom attracted a scourge of popular wrath on the Spanish Hebrew community, there were, naturally, thinkers, poets, writers, men of erudition and of science. I see no validity in the very disputable and always contradictory calculations that try to set the figure of the Hispano-Jewish population. I believe it was more reduced than is supposed. But whatever their number, there had always been a large proportion of learned Jews in the mass of our Mosaic nation, judging from the notices we have of their men of science. This disproportion gives witness to the mental potential of the Hispano-Jewish people and their taste for dedication to toilings of the spirit.

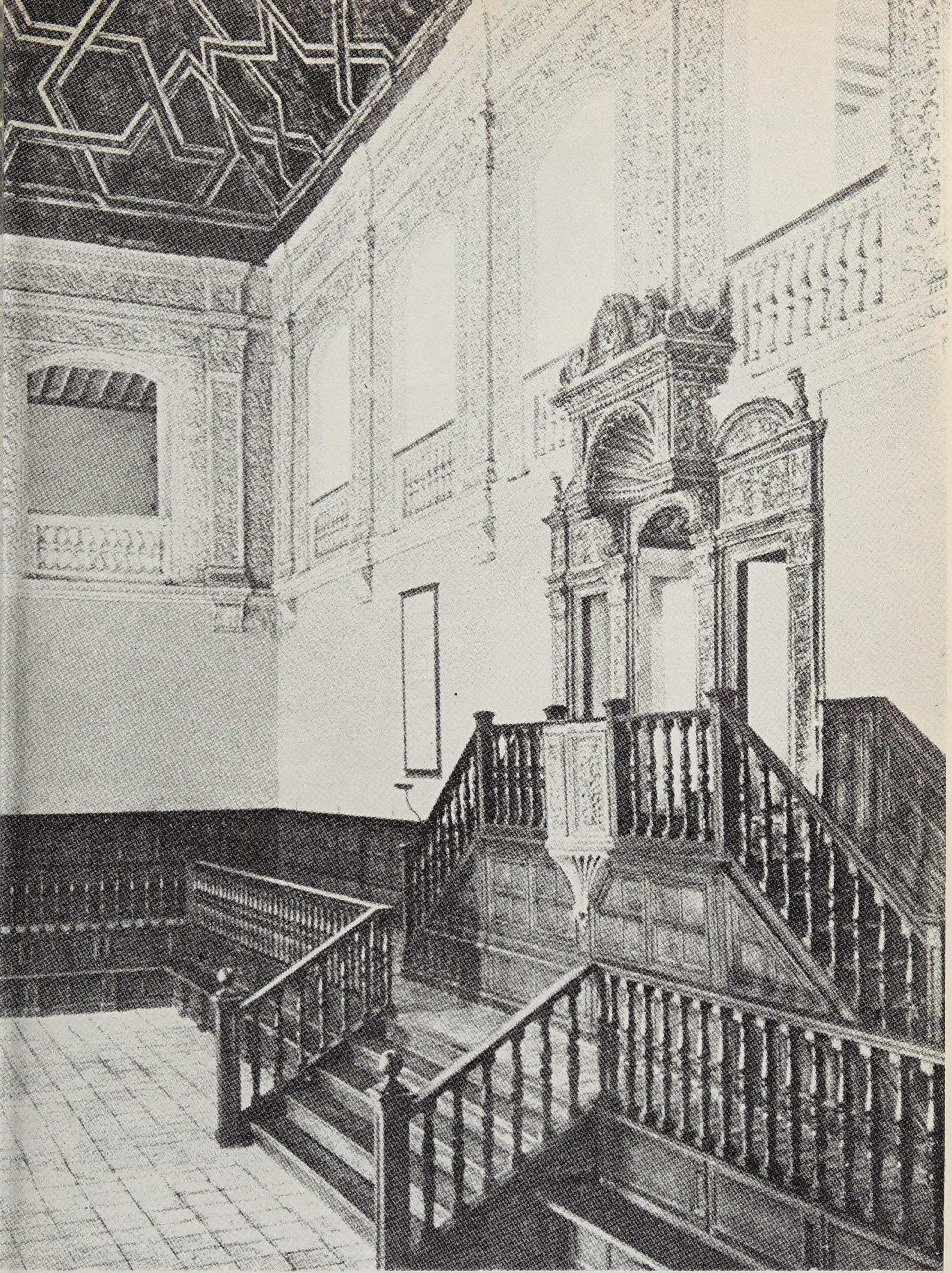
Some of these Hebrew intellectuals, Ibn Gabirol and Yehudá ha-Leví among them, clashed with the rarified materialistic atmosphere of the *aljamas* and stigmatized it. Others brought on an ascetic reaction against the Epicureanism of the Hebrew oligarchies. This is what the proponents of the so-called cabala movement did. This movement was later influenced by the Christian ideas of the *fraticelli* and the *spirituals* and, later by the Nahumites. But not a few of these Jews, men of letters or of science, were also men of business, fiscal agents or subtle court attendants. Of the many cases we could choose, it is enough to cite the examples of both Todros Abulafia of Toledo. The uncle was a commentator of the Bible, excellent poet and a great confidant of King Alfonso X while the nephew was a great poet, notable writer and an official of the fiscal administration of the kingdom and, as such, jailed by the Learned King when he was angered by his *almojarife's* conduct, don Zag de la Malcha.

The Peninsular Hebrew intellectuals were not, therefore, free from responsibility in the evils of the severe and finally tragic relations between the Jews and Spaniards in Spain. Nevertheless, Hispano-Hebrew thinkers, poets, writers, men of erudition and science were the only ones who piled up any historical credits against Peninsular Christianity. The



127.—*Upper Gallery of the Patio of San Gregorio of Valladolid.* Oriental lacework of the baroque «Isabel style», harmonius synthesis of the Hispanic artistic tradition and of Renaissance art, in the gallery of the patio of San Gregorio (Valladolid), previously a Dominican convent and today the seat of the great Castilian museum of polychromatic sculpture. The radical unity of the Hispanic peoples made the Castilian Isabeline style and the Portuguese Manueline style both contemporary and twin manifestations of Hispanic art.

128.—*Plaza of Segovia with the House of Juan Bravo.* In this corner of Segovia we find the house of Juan Bravo who, with the Toledan Padilla and Maldonado of Salamanca, led the army of the Comuneros, whose revolutionary council –they called it holy– met in Avila. A quixotic adventure, that of the Comuneros, by confronting alone –no Peninsular nation aided Castile– the regal authority in a period of full development. Like many other Spaniards in a similar position, the three captains knew how to haughtily confront death.



129.—*College Hall of the University of Alcalá* (Madrid). In this chair the figure of Vives might have lectured, if he had accepted the offer of Cisneros; just as it would occasionally be occupied by Nebrija, Morales, Suárez and all the masters who taught in this home of studies at the Complutense. In different times its walls would witness the presence of saints like Ignatius of Loyola and Juan of Ávila, princes like Juan of Austria and Alexander Farnese and writers like Lope de Vega and Quevedo, all of whom studied in Alcalá.

130.—*Facade of San Esteban of Salamanca,* home of the Dominicans who, with the leadership of Fray Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto, created modern international law, defended the rights of inferior nations, prefigured the supranational juridical community and inspired the philosophical, juridical and even economic thought of

existence of this debt is indisputable; however, it is not right to exaggerate it capriciously. We only owe just a little more to the learned Jews than they owe to us.

The philosophic or scientific creations of the Hebrews of Al-Ándalus, rooted in Hispano-Arabic culture and their Biblical or Arabic type literary creations, hardly exerted any influence on the spiritual life of the Christian Spaniards. It seems to me that the *jarchias* in Romance with which they used to end their *muwasahas* did not even cause poetic reactions among the Christians. Neither the Galician nor the Castilian lyric owes them anything. Only modern erudition could have any appreciable debt of gratitude towards them, since the existence of a Romance and Vulgar Latin poetry which was suspected but only recently proved had been revealed to us.

Their first great service to Christian culture was their frequent and valuable contribution to the translation of numerous philosophic and scientific works of the Muslims of the East and of Spain during the twelfth-century in the badly named Translator's School of Toledo. These translations, in which Jews and Christians worked side by side, spread the Arabic knowledge of those times throughout Europe and changed the face of European Medieval culture. Its efficacy was less among the peninsular peoples who were still involved in the colossal task of freeing themselves from the Almohad claws and recuperating their fatherland.

More fertile for the spiritual life of Spain was their intervention in the translations ordered by the Learned King and the writing of *Los libros del Saber de Astronomía,* to which the name of this king of Castile has been longlastingly united. Castile was already mature for the great undertaking of their culture's renovation, after having conquered Islam at Navas de Tolosa and after the great conquests of Ferdinand III and James I were finished. No one can argue the merit the Jewish collaboration had for the cultural adventures during the days of Alfonso the Learned; but no one must be allowed to overestimate their importance. The spiritual feats themselves of Alfonso the Learned and the adoption of Romance as a cultural language have been attributed to the disdain or enmity of the Hebrew towards the religious language of the Christians and Alfonso's X submission to the influence of the Jewish wise men.

I am not the first to believe that the historical intervention of the Jews in the spiritual renovation of Castile has been unreasonably exalted. Millás Vallicrosa, the great Hebrew scholar, has also objected to the supposed Jewish initiative for Alfonso's X use of Romance for scientific, juridical and historical efforts. According to him the Peninsular Jews did not only dominate the Romance language of the people, they likewise used the language of the church and the scholars. «We have irrefutable proof», he writes, «that Hebrew authors, as R. Abraham ibn Ezra de Tudela (1092-1167), wrote several of their works in Latin because they were destined for the Christian public. The collaboration that several Jews... gave to diverse studious persons who came to Spain to translate Oriental know-

ledge to Latin confirms this. This was aided by the innate tendency of the Jew toward polyglotism and their extreme mobility». He goes on to say that naturally the condition of many Jews as public servants also aided in this.

Learned Jews had used Arabic as a cultural language until their emigration to Christian lands throughout the twelfth-century. Although they also spoke Romance as did all the Hispano-Muslims, their speech was with a peculiar archaic dialect, quite dissimilar to Castilian. This has been shown by Menéndez Pidal. Until then they had never used this archaic Romance for the writing of serious work. The clumsiness with which the Jewish collaborators of the Learned King used Castilian and how their technical vocabulary did not come to form a part of the Castilian language has also been pointed out.

Before Alfonso X began his cultural enterprises, the use of Castilian had become generalized in chronicles, laws and deeds. Romance had been used for the *Anales Toledanos primeros* of 1219 and the *Crónica de la población de Avila* of between 1244 and 1256. During the reign of Ferdinand III (1217-1252) a long series of extensive municipal *fueros* were written in Castilian and the *Fuero Juzgo* was translated to Romance. Very shortly after the conquest of Seville (1248) the *Libro de los Fueros de Castilla* was written in the land of Burgos. From before this time is the *Devisas que han los señores en sus vasallos,* collected in the *Fuero Viejo*. The *Royal Fuero* dates from before 1255. Galo Sánchez has dated all these legal documents. Kingly orders in response to petitions from the cortes and royal and private deeds were also being written in Castilian. Previous to the imagined enticement of the Learned King by the Jews that the scientific and literary works published in his court be written in Romance, and due to the hate for the religious language of Hispanic Christianity, the language of the exalted Christians of Castile had already triumphed and Latin had been forgotten.

The Castilian-León writings of the second half of the thirteenth-century give not a few requests from Castilians and people of León to translate to Romance those Latin texts they claimed not to understand. Amidst this general ignorance of Latin by the people, along with the quantitative importance and the military and political force of the masses, is the key to the vulgarization efforts of the Learned King. He was well aware of the asperity and strength of his subjects at the same time. Nor did the majority of the clergy escape from this asperity since they were obliged to live the same mundane life as the nobles, villein knights, bourgeoisie and agricultural workers, sharing their same fate. Following the initiative, that the Saint King was not able to realize due to his complete dedication to the war against the Moors, Alfonso X wished to sharpen the spirit and fertilize the intelligence of the Castilians. —Ferdinand III had already had some didactic treatises translated from Arabic to Castilian: *Flores de Filosofía* and the *Libro de los doce sabios*—. For this reason he

attempted to place all the knowledge of both Christian and Islamic civilizations, among which the turbulent existence of his subjects had passed for nearly five hundred years, within reach of his people.

Since the Castile of the Counts had not been a society dominated by a caste of lords, the Castilian epic was a popular epic. Indeed, the history of any people cannot be studied without considering their institutional framework. The triumph of Romance as a language of culture was forestalled in the kingdoms of León and Castile because in them the people preponderated much more than in any other kingdom in the West.

The intention of the Learned King to enlighten his people by conquering their asperity is clear. At the head of his Romance version of the original Arabic work, *De judiciis astrologiae,* the translator, Yehudá ha-Cohen, praises King don Alfonso: «Who since he has been in this world loved and brought together the sciences and wise men in them and illuminated and completed the great need of the *ladinos* (53).» Later the king himself wrote in the prologue to the *Libro de las armellas*: «We do hereby order our wise man, Rabí Çag el de Toledo, to complete and make clear to understand, in such a way that any man who wished can enjoy this book.» Alfonso X is wronged by saying that he wished for a science that would not heat up the brain. He wished to remedy the great lack of culture felt by the Romanized Castilians, i. e., by those people of Arabic tongue called *ladinos* or *latinos.* He wished to make astronomical knowledge, and all knowledge, available to all men. For these reasons, two years after ascending the throne he established general studies of Latin and Arabic in Seville and began his great cultural enterprise of vulgarization.

Opposed to the bellyful of diatribes launched against the Learned King are the words taken from the *Crónica abreviada* by don Juan Manuel and reproduced by Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal. Don Alfonso speaks to his nephew: «There was a great space in which to study the matter to compose books, because he lived in some places for one year or two or more and, those who lived by his grace claim that one who wanted to, could speak with him whenever he wished. And so there was space to study what he wished for himself and even to understand and judge the things of knowledge that he commanded to be put in order by his masters and wise men, brought to the court for this reason.»

The Castilian Jews have been thought of as being convinced they intellectually dominated Castile, presaging their imperial future, wanting to give this empire a national language and even anticipating by centuries the spirit of the times. Because the Hebrew authors of the *Tablas Alfonsíes* proposed to initiate another epoch beginning with an event of their own times, the beginning of Alfonso's X reign, it has been said that the Jewish author «forgot the divine halos, he left aside the *scala coeli* and put his

(53) Term referring to Romance or Old Castilian and to those who spoke it as a second tongue.

cognitive experience in play through a notion of time. The consciousness (*vivencia*) of time was the support which sustained modern man at the beginning of his laborious march as an autonomous being. This personal and extracelestial style announces the humanism of the so-called Renaissance.» Who would dare agree with these words? Ishaq ben Cid and Yehudá ben Mosé limited themselves to adulating openly their patron. «And we see that in this, our time, a notable and honorable event took place which is of as much esteem as our ancestors. This event is the reign of the lord don Alfonso who excelled all other wise kings in knowledge, understanding and wisdom, law, piety and nobility. For this reason we deemed to designate the year when this noble king began to reign as the commencement of an era... so that the renown of this king last and remain forever.» Only Hebrew cleverness, prompt to the sweet, adulatory, winning-over of princes from whom the confidants could gain power and fortune, could have come out with such an extreme proposal. I have alluded to the habitual flattering by Hebrews, and the essayist in question speaks of the «servile flattering» of the Jews. But, no matter how moderately intelligent they might have been, they could not have avoided laughing to themselves at this proposal. It wos not because they had the assurance of intellectually dominating Castile; rather because they attempted to assure the favor of a king who was proud of his knowledge and of changeable moods, that they indecently adulated him. It is not possible to see any anticipation of the Renaissance modernity in this adulation.

However, Alfonso the Learned did have at his side some Jewish collaborators for the translation of some Arabic texts and for the writing of his books on astronomy. But this collaboration does not authorize us to suppose that he let himself be dragged along by them in order to realize their grandiose cultural enterprises. It should not be forgotten that Alfonso X did not feel any great sympathy for the Jewish population of his kingdom. From very early on he adopted harsh economic provisions against them; he legally confronted their usurious practices and finally persecuted them with a not very soft hand and even condemned one of their most unique personalities to death. How can we reconcile this firm position of the king of Castile with the giving up of his will to the cultural directionals of the Hebrews? How to reconcile it with his supposed decision to write great scientific, juridical and historical works in Romance in order to please the supposed fury of the Jews against the religious language of the Christians, their neighbors?

The personal psychology of Alfonso X has not been kept in mind. There was something in it of an intimate and lively taste for Romance language. Today we know of his failed attempt to Castilianize the Arabic toponymy of Andalusia. May we also suppose this geographic caprice of the king a result of his submission to the advice of the Jews? What could this Castilianization matter to the Jews and what could they gain from it?

These same questions contradicted the hypothesis that Alfonso the

Learned would have started off on his great cultural adventure due to the initiative of the Hebrews. We cannot eliminate the intellectual curiosity of the sovereign himself since he had the *Koran* and the *Escala de Mahoma* translated.

Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, in his study *Cómo trabajan las escuelas alfonsíes,* pointed out that during the initial period of the cultural activities of the Learned King (1250-1260) the methods used in the School of Toledo were followed at first. One Jew would verbally translate from Arabic to Romance while one Christian would be translating his version to Latin. The only novelty consisted in that a clerk was transcribing the Romance translation of the Jewish translator. The archaic aspect of the Hispano-Hebrew dialect required nevertheless, a continuation of the team system. The Jewish translator now had at his side a Christian who put his version into Castilian. If *De judiciis astrologiae* was translated into Latin through the collaboration of Yehudá ben Mosé ha-Cohen and Álvaro, the servant of the king, the *Libro de la ochava esfera* was translated to Castilian by the *alfaquí* (Muslim doctor of laws) Yehudá ha-Cohen and the clergyman, Gullén Arremon. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal gives us a list of the translators working for the Learned King and on it there are more Christians than Jews. The fact that many of the collaborators of don Alfonso were minor clergymen is shown by a study of the miniatures of the codices of the time.

The impulse for a spiritual renovation of Castile cannot be attributed to the Jews nor was Alfonso's enterprise itself Hebrew. This enormous service to Hispanic spirituality and to national language may not be counted among the cultural assets of the peninsular Hebrews. The Jews were a small minority in the group of Italian, Catalonian, Galician and Castilian wise men and men of erudition surrounding the Learned King. Furthermore, we know many of their names. The philosophical and juridical doctrines of the *Partidas,* the classic texts and the Medieval Latin texts translated in the *Grande general historia* and in the *Crónica General,* the popular legends collected therein and the sources for the *Setenario* and the *Cantigas* could not have been known in Castile thanks to the Castilian Hebrews. They were the essential productions of the studious group working around Alfonso X and those which had the greatest influence on national spirit and on Castilian language because they entered into the field of willful action where the Castilians spilled their vital impetus.

From the thirteenth to the fourteenth-centuries the mind and sensitivity of the Peninsular Jews could not have maintained themselves at the height they had attained up to then. Millás y Vallicrosa had recorded the decadence of sacred Hebrew-Hispanic poetry after the twelfth-century. In the centuries pointed out the Hebrew communities of Spain did not truly produce any figures comparable to Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Paquda, Yehúda ha-Leví, Abraham ibn Ezra or Maimonides. The explanation is simple, I believe. Jewish thought and science had been the projection of Hispano-Arabic science

and thought. In the Christian kingdoms the Hebrews did not encounter an intense spiritual life able to captivate and project, and its light, always a reflection, soon grew dim.

Their stage of greatest wealth and power coincided, therefore, with a decline of their contributions to the scientific, philosophic and literary life of Spain and Europe. Excepting the late cartographic efforts of Jews of Majorca, from their collaboration with the cultural tasks of Alfonso X on, no contribution of any great relief can be attributed to the Spanish Jews. «In the field of experimental science —writes Millás—, the Jews in this period become followers of a long tradition, now decadent. The center of gravity was no longer in Spain.» The only one to be saved from the shipwreck is the astronomer from Salamanca, Abraham Zacut. The Peninsular Hebrews lived of their spiritual past. Millás writes: «It seems that already in some sectors of Spanish Judaism, Hebrew philosophic language was not accessible and the master works of Maimonides and Yehúda ha-Leví were translated into Romance Spanish.» For this reason it is not prudent to exalt the services lent by the Jews to their Christian patrons. Mosé Arragel de Guadalajara's version of the Bible for the Grand-Master of Calatrava, don Luis de Guzmán, and the translation of Maimonides' treatise, *Guía de los descarriados,* by the *converso* Pedro de Toledo for don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, son of the Grand-Master of Santiago, are works without relief which cannot be compared with the authentic creative adventures of the Christian of those times. The presence of the astronomer «Zacuto» in the literary court of the last Grand-Master of Alcántara, don Juan de Zúñiga, along with the bachelor Fray Gutierre de Trijo, jurist, *maestro* (54) Fray Domingo, theologian, doctor de la Parra, later physician to the Catholic Monarchs, Antonio de Nebrija, and the great musician Solórzano must not be allowed to cross tits modest limits.

Castilianized, the contribution of Jews and *conversos* was more important for Castilian letters. But neither here may the initiative for great novelties in Spanish sensitivy and thought be attributed to them. However they have been related to the Christian-Jewish symbiosis poetical lyricism with Arabic resonances (Sem Tob, Juan de Mena...), origins of the novel *(La Celestina),* philosophic thought taken refuge abroad (Luis Vives, Francisco Sánchez, Benito Espinosa) and the somber ascetic and negative vision of the world (Lazarillo, Mateo Alemán, Quevedo).

In order to support such theories the racial Judaism of all those poets or prose writers suspected of being Jewish has been accepted without stopping to check the foundations and exactitude of the suspicion. A series of Castilian writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries have been unreasonably converted into *marranos* or *conversos,* while attributing some literary works of Castile of those two centuries to new Christians of Hebrew origins.

I am inclined to doubt the Jewish origin of all those who in the literary,

(54) Title of respect or dignity in monastic orders.

ecclesiastical or political world were in their day accused of being Jewish if sure testimony does not credit their Judaism. Rivalry, envy, enmity and rage were, are and will be always fertile mothers of calumnies. Men of today well know the turbulent inclination of people, wounded by spite, antagonism, hostility, hate, fear and many other ignoble sentiments, to launch unfounded and infamous accusations. Today we are happily qualified as Communists, Fascists, Masons or clergy, Anarchists or militarists... according to the hostile political climate which triumphs in each nation in the disconcerted and barbarous world of today. I fear that in the Spain of the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries the lowliest passions moved men to accuse many of being Jews who were not. Enmity, anger and jealousy could have decided to place this dangerous sanbenito on those who had not even a drop of Hebrew blood. What credit can be given to the irritated accusations of being a Jew that the Nuncio, Castiglione, delivered to the Valdés brothers who had just angrily attacked the Pope? Did the obscure little friar speak the truth when he accused the great Francisco de Vitoria of Judaism? Can we believe Lope's allusions to the Jewish origins of Góngora and the remarks made by some of the enemies of the Phoenix of the Geniuses concerning his?

Hesitation in accepting the Judaism of Juan de Mena has not been used. Nevertheless, it is very improbable that he was Jewish. Rosa Lida supposed him to be a *converso* basing herself on an injurious poem of problematic interpretation which was directed to him by a contemporary. It is not sure that an accusation of Judaism is contained in it, while it might be false and the result of anger. In the accusation of Lope toward Góngora, he was moved to reprove him for being Jewish in a well-known verse that no one has accepted as proof of the Jewish race of the author of «Soledades». On the other hand, we know that the grandfather of Juan de Mena was Ruy Fernández de Peñaloza, lord of Almenara, who cannot be supposed to be Jewish, and his father came from «average conditions» which does not explain that the Cordoban nobleman would have married his daughter, if, furthermore, he would have been Jewish and not of a «good nation» as it shows that he was. As Bataillon pointed out to me in Lima in 1951, and as Cantera has later pointed out when he studied the Santa María family: it was Juan de Mena himself who called don Alfonso de Cartagena a Jew in *Diálogo de la Vida Beata*. It is he of whom the rabbi from Burgos angrily said: «Don't think of harrassing me by calling my parents Hebrews.» Is it possible that the *marrano* prelate would speak thus to a man of his own race? Is it likely that a contemporary, Juan de Lucena, author of the dialogue between a poet and a bishop, would ignore the Jewish ascendancy of the poet? Is it logical that a Jew would have attempted to «harass» another alluding to their common ancestry?

The author of *Las Trescientas* was, moreover, psychically the archetype of the Western man of his epoch and of the Castilian man of his times. He can be included among the writers in whom the nearness to the Renais-

sance is foresaged and who felt with more vivacity than his contemporaries the historical problems of Castile and Spain; the Reconquest between them.

It was enough to qualify Mosén Diego de Valera as a Jew based on his being the son of a doctor, his allusions to the humility of his beginnings, his insistent invocation of the Trinity, «touchstone among Jews and *conversos*», and the supposed pleasure with which he speaks of the misery of the human condition in his translation of Saint Gregory.

Not all the physicians of the kings were Jews. In 1293 Master Nicolás was physician to Sancho IV, Alfonso Paredes was doctor to Ferdinand IV when he was still a prince, the physician of the Queen María, mother of Peter I was bishop of Osma before 1391. In 1450 the council of Burgos designated Master Martín as inspector of medicine in Burgos. The father of Valera was a *procurador* in cortes at the beginning of the fifteenth-century, as *conversos* were not, except for the Santa María family of Burgos who were so for the merit of the courtly influence of the prelates, don Pablo and don Alonso and that of the magistrate and chronicler himself, Alvar García, brother and uncle of the two bishops. If the invocations of the Trinity were enough to call a Castilian writer Jewish it would be necessary to make *conversos* out of Berceo, Chancellor Ayala and many others who it is known were not. And if the ascetic references to the ephemerality of earthly living were enough to affirm the Hebrew origin of a historian of Castile, a Jew would have to be made of Pedro López de Ayala, who when poetically commenting on the *Book of Job,* reflects the same ideas as Mosén Diego de Valera on the decrepitude of the human condition and insists again and again on the theme with much more somber words than those of the author of the *Memorial de diversas hazañas.*

Valera was page to John II, as none of the Santa María family was; he fought bravely at the siege of Huelva, fought heroically in Bohemia against the Hussites and won many spectacular tournaments in France. This is a rare series of courtly and military facts and services to be rendered by a Castilian *converso.* By the statements of one of them, Hernando del Pulgar, we know that the new Christians of the epoch were usually merchants or scribes and it is difficult to give examples of their dedicating themselves to the exercise of arms. The Jewish-Spanish historian Salomón ben Verga twice points out in the *Vara de Judá,* in Cantera's translation, the pusillanimity of their co-nationals, incapable of confronting death, nor even that of their enemies, because of the divine curse contained in *Leviticus* 26:36: «I shall send faintness into their hearts and the sound of a driven leaf shall put them to flight.»

The Spanish *conversos* were proud of their nobility. The statements on this nobiliary arrogance that Juan de Lucena put into the mouth of Alfonso de Cartagena may be quoted. However, for this reason it is not logical to suppose Diego de Valera's allusion to his humble origins to be a sub-

conscious shout of his Judaism. Elevated to a social position of indubitable importance, from a very humble birth into a modest family from Cuenca, De Valera must have had the good taste and talent to frequently recall his poor origins, so as not to be affronted by it as so many others coming from nothing were, for example, in the *Coplas del Provincial.* Someone like De Valera could hardly feel taken aback by a racial inferiority complex and allude to the humility of his birth because of it, when he defended that: «The converts to our Holy Faith who, according to their sect or law were nobles, retained their previous nobility on converting»

Nor do his statements on the misery and ephemerality of human life and on the decadence that damaged human passions demonstrate his Hebrew race. They were topics of the Christian moral philosophy of the epoch which are repeated to the north and south of the Pyrenees. The Marquis of Santillana and Jorge Manrique picked them up with emotion in fifteenth-century Castile and they even reached two joyful writers such as François Villon and the Arciprestre de Hita.

Rarely would a *marrano* use words alluding to the *conversos* and Jews in his *Espejo de verdadera Nobleza.*

Moreover it is doubtful that a *converso* as such, with a glass roof, would dare to write the irreverent parodies that Mosén Diego de Valera titles «Litany of Love» and «Seven Psalms of penance directed to love». An old Christian like Jorge Manrique in the fifteenth-century was able to venture to write this type of parody and could even, as don Álvaro de Luna, compose irreverent verses. Let us recall the following verses of the Master. «If God our Saviour / Were to take a girl friend / she would be my competition.» It is licit to doubt that a *marrano* would employ his pen in such literary games.

If he had some Jewish grandfather, as an inquisitional testimony discovered not long ago allows us to suppose, such drops of Israeli blood, as indeed the Catholic King had as well, do not force us to catalogue Valera among the Castilian Jews nor to believe that these drops influenced his psyche and temperament.

As long as conclusive proof does not turn up it will not be licit to judge the satiric poetry of quattrocentist Castile as the works of *conversos.* As studious persons have repeatedly observed the supposed Hebrew race of the authors of the *Coplas del Provincial* is ill-coupled with the wounding insults with which several distinguished Castilians are called *conversos* in these verses. Personages such as Juan de Zúñiga, don Duelo, Hernando de Tovar, Pedro Méndez, Doctor Castro, etc... It is doubtful that a *marrano* would have written the following about Hernán Dalvares: «He was a rabbi in his law / and believed in the true God.» Even more, that a verse writer of Hebrew origin could have written:

A ti, Diego Arias, puto,
que eres y fuiste judío,
contigo no me disputo
que tienes gran poderío (55).

Nor could Rodrigo de Cota, a *converso* and great enemy of Arias Dávila, have written that verse because it is known that he did indeed make bold to argue with him. And the tailor of Córdoba, Antón de Montoro, also a *marrano* could not have been as well informed on the customs of non-Andalusian nobility as the author of the *Coplas del Provincial* claims him to be.

Today it is the fashion to make Hebrews out of many people who played first class roles in Spanish history as soon as their lives seem a bit out of the ordinary. Columbus has even been called a Jew out of pure caprice. Exaggerating this tendency the author of the *Lazarillo* has been made out to be a *converso*. The anonymity in which the author hid himself has been enough to arouse suspicions. Bataillon has explained this by another method. The various personages, the distributor of Bulls, the friar of the Order of Mercy, the clergyman and the canon, would have furthermore induced any prudent Castilian to silence his name during difficult days when it was easy to clash with the Church as Cervantes later wrote. By not having taken such a precaution it is doubtful that the author of the *Lazarillo* would not have had great suffering because of his audacious jibes. It should not be forgotten that the work was prohibited by the Inquisition and ordered to be destroyed by Philip II. The days when the anticlericalism of writers and poets did not encounter any hindrances were already well past.

The social satire which flows from the pages of the *Lazarillo* does not support the theory of a Hebrew author because, naturally, the social satire was not an exclusive genre of the Jews; neither in nor outside of Spain. This type of satire is spirited in the *Rimado de Palacio* and in the *Libro de miseria del homne*, it was practiced with relish by the Arcipreste de Talavera and also appears in the *Especulum humanae vitae* by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo and in the pages of Jaume Roig.

Nor can the anticlerical satire which playfully escapes from some passages of the *Lazarillo* be a mark of the Hebrews because it has deep medieval roots in Western literature. Several lustful tales by Chaucer come to mind (in one he places twenty thousand friars under the devil's tail in one year), some French *Romanzes* and several passages of the *Testamento* by François Villon. Anyone halfway acquainted with Castilian literature will remember the anticlerical attacks of the *Rimado de Palacio*,

(55) To you, Diego Arias, you sodomite,
who are and were an Israelite
with you I'll neither argue nor fight
because of your tremendous might.

of Canciller Ayala, and some passages from the *Corbacho* by the Arcipreste de Talavera. The current of «Erasmusism» had made the crudest type of anticlericalism the fashion in Spain. A good example of this, among other works, is *El buen Pastor,* by Maldonado, a clergyman who has not been accused of being a *marrano.*

It is easy to suspect that the author of *Lazarillo* was a *converso* but, whoever wrote the work could not have been a nobody, but, rather, a humanist, as Bataillon wrote. Now, we know the list of *conversos* worthy of the name at the time when the Lazarillo must have been written; I ask if it is easy to attribute the paternity of the work to any of them. Unless we return to supposing it to be the work of Hurtado de Mendoza who, if he acknowledged some Jewish grandparents, gave no signs of being dominated by that vital anguish attributed to all *marranos.*

A decisive twist has been given to literary history and sensibility of Castile supposedly coming from the Jew of Carrión, Sem Tob. It has been said that: «We find ourselves before the great gate of the Spanish lyric.» He has been supposed to expound, with singular emotion, moral and ascetic ideas whose trajectory was to end in the Spaniards' tragic sense of life in the sixteenth-century. In another part of this book I have studied the human personality of the author of the *Libro de los Proverbios.* Sem Tob was a pure intellectual and a great poet. But the lyric of Castile does neither begin in his *Proverbios,* nor does it culminate in them.

The glory of having written the first page of philosophy in the Castilian language has been attributed to him. To grant him this honor surely does injustice to two Castilian writers who wrote in Romance Spanish on problems that still occupy philosophers. I am referring to Alfonso the Learned and don Juan Manuel. It would not be difficult to pick out one, or even several, passages of a philosophic flavor in the works of both writers. Perhaps it would even be possible to trace some of the ideas of Sem Tob in the writing of the king and the magnate.

The specific pages of Sem Tob that cause this comment are quite brief, and its ideological content does not imply a genius-like finding, clearly breaking with the thought and sensibility of his fellow-dwellers in Castile. In thirty verses, taken from a long series of different verses, it is possible to set the following ideas down: Compared with the static qualities of nature, whose essence and meaning escape us, man is *facienda,* that is, life and action. His continual temperamental mobility evaluates in a different way, i. e., as a function of his *talante* or mien, the reality that surrounds him. These changes in his spirit create his perpetual dissatisfaction and hazard.

We may not augment these philosophic findings, so full of modernity, because of their proximity to contemporary vitalist psychology. Nor can we present them outside the framework of fourteenth-century Castile and as a starting point of a novel, ideological current derived from outside sources and fed by subterranean Semitic founts.

It has been recognized that already in the twelfth-century Alain de Lille had set down the exceptional qualities in man compared with the universal law designed by God. The basic idea of Sem Tob, therefore, most probably pertained to the flow of those ideas constituting the mass of medieval peoples in the West. Where could his conception of man as a *facienda* have come from? It is natural that they have not ventured to place the roots of the Carrión Rabbi's idea in the Arabic tradition because in Islam it would lack that basic autonomy needed to project freely its own individuality Submitted to the extremely rigid and fatalistic propositions of the Highest, man was not a life of creative action and the freest type of living, but rather just one more element of nature, ruled by God. Neither are the Hebrew roots of the vitalistic psychology of don Sem Tob generally well-known. In the Hebrew doctrine it was the people of Israel that occupied the forefront in thought and in life thanks to their pact with God. It was the people themselves who were the actors in the process of life and religion while man was lost in the shadows of the community. Because of their conception of the complicated ritual obligations of Israel toward Jehovah, the Hebrews were not inclined to conceive of human existence as a *facienda,* in contrast with the rigid laws of Eternity that rule the world. For this reason it is not easy to uncover clear antecedents of the ideas of the Rabbi of Carrión in the Jewish-Spanish philosophers and poets: Ibn Gabirol, Yehúda ha-Leví, Ibn Ezra, etc. (I refer the reader to Millás Vallicrosa's texts and studies), nor in the mystic, Ibn Paquda (see the work by Vajda). It would not be prudent to relate them to the supposed anguish of Sem Tob because, as has been said, he was not persecuted and lived the last euphoric epoch of Peninsular Judaism leaving clear signs that he did not feel tortured by the anguished restlessness attributed to him.

From where could Sem Tob's conception of man have come? It occurs to me to relate it to the sensitity and thought of Medieval Castile. It has been pointed out that: «As for a Spaniard, be he or not of Jewish ancestry, there was not, in reality, any other world than his own, very person.» I have already said, and shall repeat many times more, that for Spaniards, and especially for Castilians, the only essential problem was man and man was, above all else, life and action. In no other country of the medieval world had the mutable and changeable life of man played such a decisive role in the forging of society and its temperamental inheritance. In Castile nothing had been static, fixed and durable except the earth and the heavens, and even the earth and heavens changed, varied, altered themselves as the frontiers advanced south with the passing of the centuries. Castilians did not have written laws until the thirteenth-century. They were making their laws as they lived and as a reflection of their lives. Their social articulation was lacking in rigidity. Compared with the static nature of the feudal and lordly hierarchies of beyond the Pyrenees, in Castile the social classes had been fluid and open. Whether each Castilian would remain in his original

«status» or would ascend to a higher and distinct social condition depended upon his vital dynamism. Castile, and I speak of all Castiles, was moreover, a fiery blaze of passion (I have already shown this) which in the end is life; and life in action. Complete dedication to battle against the Moors had separated the Castilians from Western philosophical meditation and had left their minds ready to project on to diverse subjects which concerned scholasticism; in other words to the theological thought of Christians, Moors and Jews. The executive life of the Castilians, in conjunction with their native landscape, had reaffirmed the traditional Hispanic realism, a realism of things and souls, and had made them get used to watching and seeing the flow of real life around them. Who could be better endowed than the Castilians, situated as they were with their backs to the not-too-different philosophic preoccupations of the two cultural worlds, Islamic-Hebrew and Christian-West, to take interest in the problem of man in his fateful and unforeseeable life? Let us recall the already classic trio of Algazel, Yehúda ha-Leví, William of Auvergne, Avicenna, Ibn Gabirol, Siger of Brabant and Averroes, Maimonides, Saint Thomas. Who better than they could observe man with interest and judge him as *facienda,* i. e., as action? Who could grasp better than they their passionate, mutable condition, his perpetual dissatisfaction and hazard?

In the midst of these people there sprang up a singular individuality having a clear and lucid mind and endowed with a singular formula of psycho-physical equilibrium which inclined him toward meditation and, because of his race, with the singular possibility of living restful in observation alongside those restless Castilians. This man was able to see and observe his own surroundings and, because of his marginal life in the tortured and dynamic Castilian society of his epoch, he was able to reflect on life at will and could bring into his verses the image which always brought him back to the social medium in which he lived. The image of a Castilian who was *facienda* in every regard; in other words, who had restless vitality for the concrete. It was the image of a man having a changeable mien *(talante),* variable in his judgements and emotions, for whom everything was in accordance with the color of the glass with which his spirit was and observed, a man rarely or never satisfied, always looking for a vague glimpse and always seeking a world beyond.

It has been correctly pointed out how the pen of the Castilians had been vitalizing their literary models. The way Berceo and Alfonso the Learned prompted life and action in tales of the Virgin's miracles which they at times had before their eyes, has been set down. And twice, it has been specified all the distance from the cold and schematic Western sources used by Juan Ruiz and his lively, exultant personal adaptations. The magic wand of Castilian vitality transformed all it touched, injecting it with life and action; human life and action because even in the description of miracles, man and his *facienda* came to stand out with vigor against the backdrop of marvelous celestial intervention.

Restlessness of life, mobility of the mien, unsatisfied longing and hazardous asperity... the complete man with his lordly integrity and liberty of action disdaining the non-human and whatever life as expression of will did not regulate and control.

It has been recognized that: «Reasoning in proverbial language of a Sancho Panza type and using life experience as a starting point sounds like a very Hispanic sort of thing.» It has also been stated that this philosophy of the Jew from Carrión was the only one which truly concerned the Spaniards. But how may one suppose that the verses of don Sem Tob could cause such a constant concern if they had not really Castilian ideology of the times collected together? What non-Spanish Arabic or Hebrew authors, before or after Sem Tob, offer an ideological projection the same as his? And nevertheless, there it is: throughout all Spanish history and, above all, during the medieval and modern centuries, an invariable exaltation of man and life as axis of the Hispanic being. Man, and the man of action, not by a quiet rationalizing nor a calm examination of nature, has centered around himself every category of arts and letters reconcilable with his condition as such: The epic, drama, the novel and painting. He has triumphed in the literary and artistic portrait and, with the crest of his wave, has splashed many other manifestations of collective thought and sensitivity.

Even more than Sem Tob are other Spanish writers of Jewish stock set in the frame of the thought and sensitivity of Hispanic literary forms. Many converts to the faith of Christ, or descendants of converts, essentially Hebrews of race or with a greater or lesser percentage of Semitic blood, have left us with literary, historical and philosophical works. These works are rarely insignificant and some are worthy of figuring among the most sublime creations of the inhabitants of the Peninsula. The list of such Spaniards having a greater or lesser number of Jewish ancestors is long. Just including the most famous in this list we should mention Alonso de Cartagena, Hernando del Pulgar, Fernando de Rojas, Luis Vives, the doctor Laguna, Blessed Juan de Avila, Saint Teresa, Jorge de Montemayor, fray Luis de León, Mateo Alemán, Francisco Suárez. Perhaps this list would have to be amplified with Antonio Pérez who was accused while still alive of being a new Christian. Magnificent Men! They and their many illustrious followers are the only luminous legacy received by Spain from the Hebrews who lived there.

Since great thinkers, sublime poets and notable men of science sprang up during the culminating epoch of Hispano-Arabic culture among the Jews living underneath the lofty vault, there also appeared prime figures of great magnitude under the spacious skies who were descendants of Jews. Nevertheless, the circumstances were quite different when both tides occurred. It was Hebrews of Mosaic religion who took advantage of the brilliant light of Arabic-Hispanic culture; a culture which was the creation

of Spaniards by race who had not yet completely spent their temperamental Hispanism. Those who now came to triumph were descendants of Jews through whose veins flowed a minimum quantity of Jewish blood, for example in Saint Teresa of Avila. All professed the religion of Christ. The temperamental intermixture of an extremely Hispanic type was, in almost all of them, what ruled the singular disequilibrium of their spirit, emotions and instincts; as were their cultural formation, ideas, sensitivity and literary forms. These do not reflect any little spark far removed from them, rather they helped to light the great bonfire.

For this reason it is not prudent to over-inflate the Jewish contribution to Spanish letters and thought during the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries. One question will suffice to prove the need to minimize the limits of this collaboration. What were the Jewish essential characteristics of the spiritual creations of these great Spanish figures having a greater or lesser admixture of Hebrew ancestors and what were those of their less famous descendants? No one has tried to investigate in detail what there was of authentically Jewish characteristics in the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* or in the *Generaciones y Semblanzas* by Hernando del Pulgar, nor of the same in *La Celestina* and the ideas of Luis Vives, nor in the sermons by Juan de Avila, *Las Moradas* and the letters of Saint Teresa, nor in the *Diana* by Montemayor, the lyrical of Fray Luis, in the *Pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache* and in the philosophy of Francisco Suárez, and in general, in the works of those poets, men of erudition, preachers, humanists, theologians, etc. having a few drops of Jewish blood.

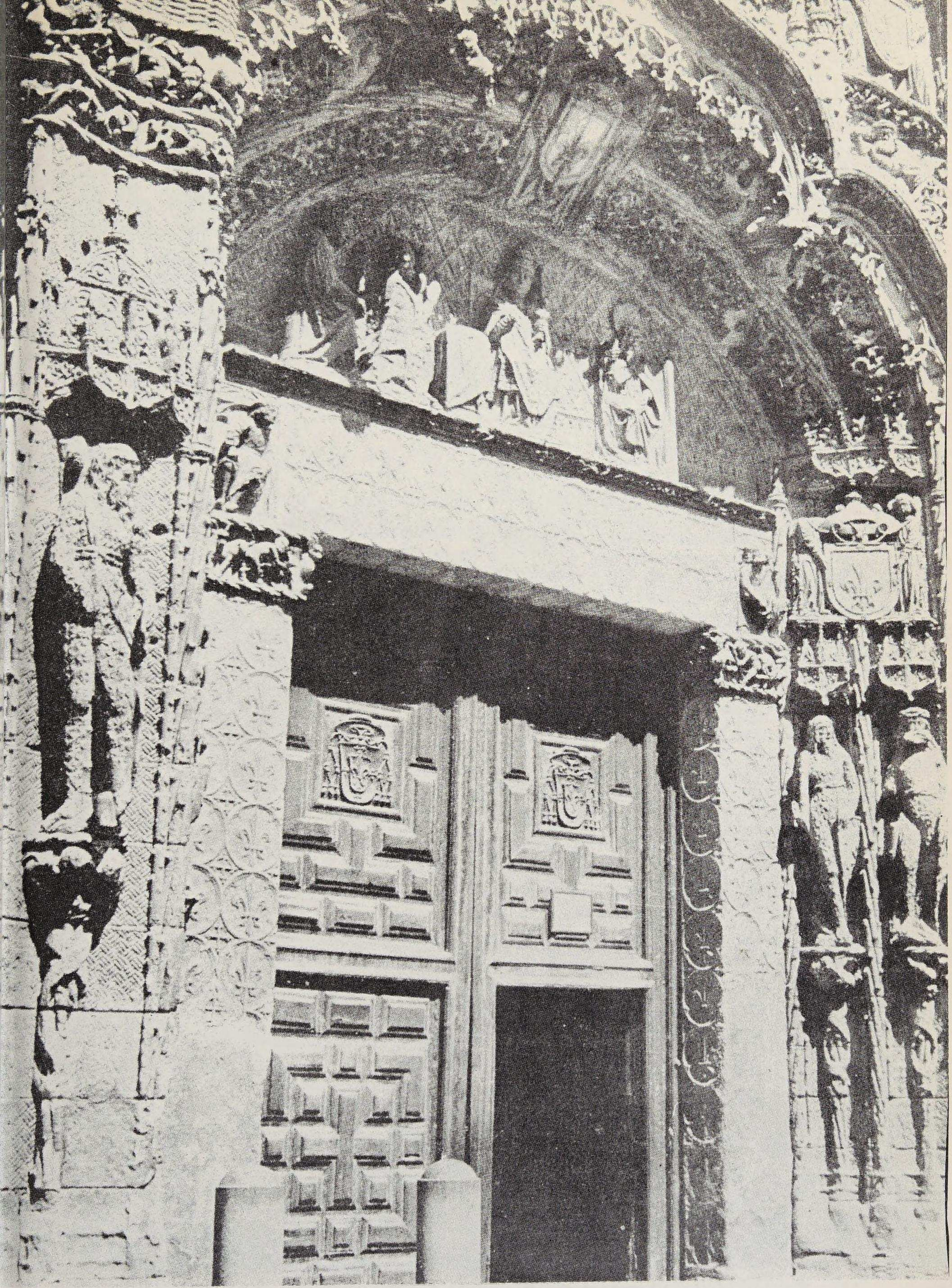
Bataillon has correctly pointed out the ease with which some *conversos*, especially those who wore clerical habits, slid towards Illuminism first, and then towards Lutheranism. It has been attempted without foundation to derive, from the supposed anguish of the *conversos*, the ascetic shadow of Spaniards and their tragic sense of life. I have previously, in what I believe to be a sound way, rejected that thesis. However, even if it were true, which I postulate as impossible, the somber ascetics and tragic sense of life could never be judged as Hebrew, but rather as the result of the bitterness which surged up among the *conversos* due to the outrages and persecutions suffered by them throughout the course of many decades. The inclination of some *marranos* towards heresy did not really have any influence on the thought, sensitivity, literary forms or in the erudite and scientific production of the great mass of those descended from Jews; nor did it in any way shift the trend of the creations of the aforementioned great figures nor those of their followers.

I shall again insist on the fact that no one, up to now, has investigated what was authentically Jewish in the personality and in the works of the Spanish writers or thinkers having a greater or lesser quantity of Hebrew blood. The fact is that this investigation besides being very difficult (the Inquisition itself, always alert, only scratched the surface of what religious dissidence might mean), is doomed to failure; as is that which might

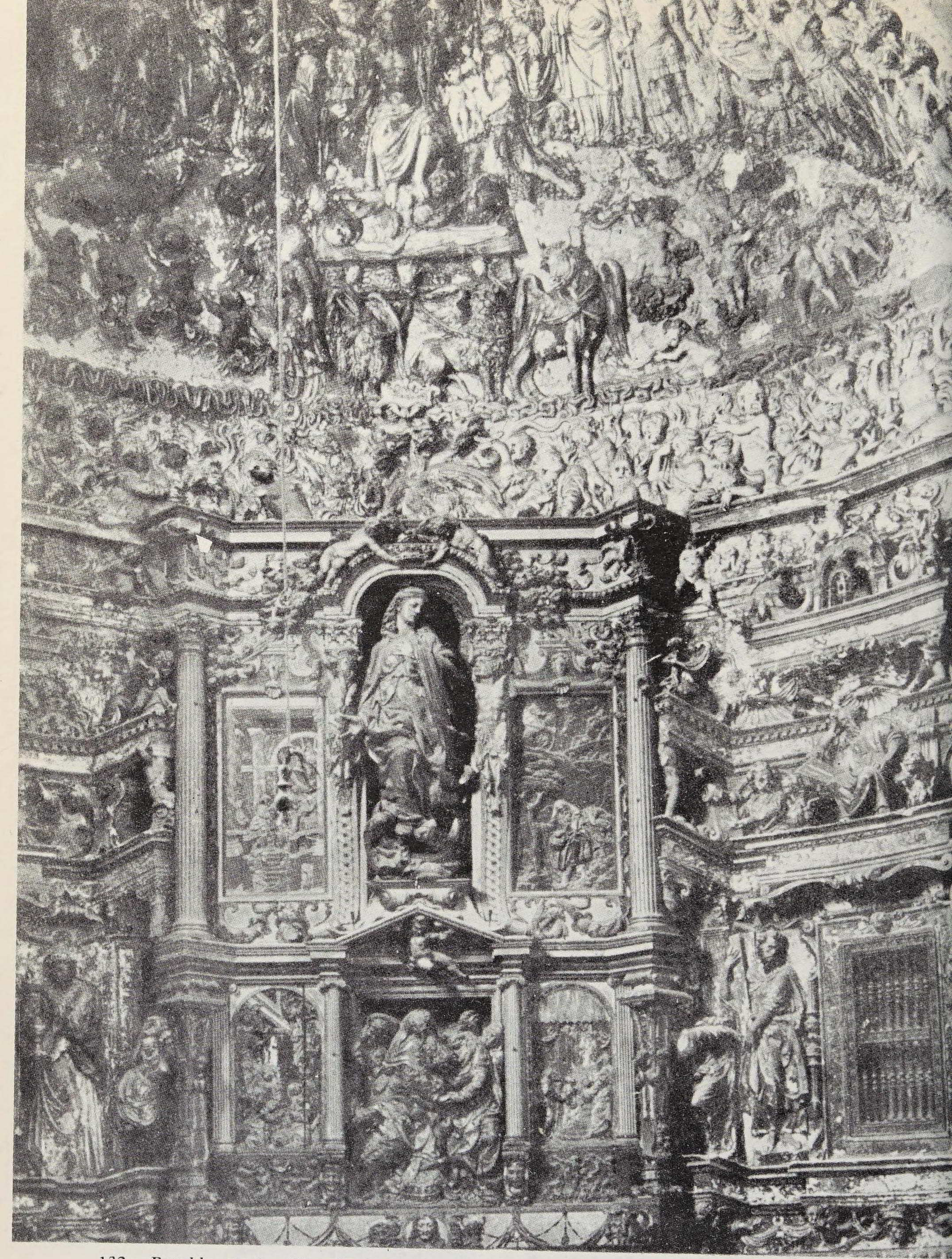
attempt to uncover what was authentically Jewish in some other Spaniards having Semitic ancestors, i. e., Ferdinand the Catholic, Admiral Fadrique Henríques, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Duke of Alba, the Count of Chinchón, etc. etc. This is because I am of the opinion that in Spain, from the king on down, no one can be sure of not having a Jew among his ancestors, and so much the less the closer one finds oneself to the higher social hierarchies.

I have often pointed out that three different, potential forces converge and intermix in the work of every writer: the temperamental inheritance of the historical community that his race forms part, his personal formula for psycho-physical equilibrium and the cultural complex under whose pressure his existence has transpired. The second of these sources of creative energy is absolutely distinct in each one and is only known to us *a posteriori.* The other two are open to speculation. No one argues over the multiple, unsuspected, invincible and long-lasting pressures on the writer from the cultural ocean among whose waves his personal, human navigation transpires. Furthermore, there is no room for disdaining the influence of the temperamental inheritance of the human group to which the author belongs by birth. He is slowly formed by a coordinated coming-together of earth and history; the earth that acts upon man through multiple ways, and the history in which the vital projection of race and the changing, renovated impacts are united in the community along with man's own spiritual creations and the symbiosis and antibiosis he has undergone or enjoyed in the eternal flow of time. He changes, more or less slowly, through this very adverse or favorable coming-together of history and earth.

Only their remote racial group distinguished thinkers, poets, mystics, ascetics, chroniclers, men of erudition and novelists who were descended from *conversos* from the other Peninsular dwellers. Their ancestors had lived during more than a millenium in the same Hispanic lands and had received from them the same permanent influxes as their other fellow-inhabitants. For many centuries their ancestors had lived immersed in the same sea of cultural and vital waves as the Spanish Christians. For example, imagine how many decades had the ancestors of Fray Luis de León lived surrounded by the ideas and ideals, and by the way of life of the inhabitants of Cuenca, their neighbors! Therefore, their temperamental inheritance had many points of contact with that of their contemporaries who hadn't a drop of Jewish blood. Moreover, they themselves received, from the same ideological atmosphere and the current of sensitivity which were triumphant in Spain at the time, the same pressure and the same impact as the old Christians. Furthermore, they had broken with the style of traditional life maintained by their elders. For example, it is difficult to relate the knavish Mateo Alemán with the industrious Hebrews, devoted to amassing riches by methods which are well-known to us. What differentiating influence could their racial diversity have on people who,



131.—*Doorway of San Gregorio of Valladolid,* where the great ascetic writer and great orator Fray Luis de Granada, the great theologian of Trent, Melchor Cano, and the archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza, tried by the Inquisition of Philip II, all studied. The Castilian imagination, exalted by the discovery of America, adorned with these figures of savages the florid Gothic style of this church of Valladolid.



132.—*Retable of the Chapel of the Benavente Family in Medina de Rioseco.* A beautiful altar in Santa María, in Rioseco (Valladolid), by ironies of fate the lordship of the Enríquez family, the Admirals of Castile. It was constructed by the Benavente family, rich bankers of the country. The wealthy Castilian bourgeoisie, constructed mansions and palaces but especially built churches, hospitals, chapels, retables, sepulchers. And they built them both inside Spain and outside of it in their zone of economic influence, from La Rochelle to Bruges, and even in Florence itself.

furthermore, complied with spiritual tasks in no way rooted in those activities, economic activities, in which the Jews had dedicated their firmest racial inclinations? Let us not forget that an abundant amount of non-Hebrew blood flowed through the veins of many of them, and the others, by being spiritual, were all the more susceptible to supranational matters.

If Sem Tob, in the first half of the fourteenth-century, in spite of his religious orthodoxy and fresh oriental roots of ample zones of his cultural formation, already seems quite Hispanicized, is it possible Fray Luis, Montemayor, Mateo Alemán and the author of *La Celestina* were any less so?

It is certain that another personage was, I am speaking of Luis Vives, who due to his long life outside of Spain had less occasion to become Hispanicized.

The same as Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, Vives has been presented as forming a triad of Spanish philosophers who best reflect Hispanic sensitivity and life style in accordance with the line of thought of three other magnificent Muslim thinkers from the Peninsula: Averroes, Ibn Hazm and Ibn Khaldun who had no Jewish strain.

Vives writes with great passion and vehemence against all and everyone, even against the poor people and beggars. He reveals a rough and audacious pride and takes pleasure in a sharp and violent criticism of his own Hispanic fatherland, while such reactions, which do not appear in the very diplomatic and honey-mouthed writings of the medieval Hebrews of Spain, are, on the other hand, quite normal in the Spaniards of yesterday and today.

His meditations centered on problems concerning the vital value of the fancies and conduct of men. Faced with the tendency of rationalistic thought to judge man unitarily and generically, Vives points out the infinite diversity of psychic state and of human inclinations, as a result of the infinite differences which separate men among themselves. Without going deep into a metaphysical study of the soul, he investigates its manifestations and fanciful reactions in the necessary tie between the spirit and the body united in the concrete man. Although he sets down the destructive effects of arrogance, he considers its natural foundations to be good, as a projection of a just love of man towards himself, because of its clear conscience of the notorious superiority of its origin.

In a few pages which I dedicate to what I call *Earthly Salvation of the Individual,* I contrast Dilthey's judgement on Machiavelli and on Vives. He correctly ascribes to the latter, the title of the first systematic writer on anthropology and the domain of life. Before the preocupation of the Florentine thinker of the State, the zeal for operative analysis of man's soul rises in the Hispanic thinker. If Machiavelli begins with human nature for his unitary conception, Vives bases himself on the inmense variety of psychic dispositions of man; the abstract man that reason is forging beyond the Pyrenees compared with the concrete man of Spanish stock.

Of Spanish stock? Of what other stock could he have been? I am not able to relate him to Hebrew traditions given the essential features of Jewish characteristics during the Middle Ages. In the pages I have just cited, and in many others of this book, I hope, on the other hand, to make the Hispanism of this singular conception of the singular man generally known. In these pages the idea of man as «*faciendа*» or action, which I believe to be rooted in the very life of Spaniards during our Middle Ages, is contained. Among the possible sources of idea-making of thinkers of all times the confrontation of their minds with the images of the society they form part of, along with «autognosis», may not be excluded. This confrontation might suggest ideas of thrust which are contrary or parallel to those of the vital potential of the human group whose life he is observing. These are ideas which tend towards the correcting of social and political groups or which are inspired in them. Do the theories of Machiavelli constitute a reaction to the anarchical nature of Italy of his times? The philosophic ideas of Sem Tob on the mutability of man and on the projection of this mutability in the judging of the world, and the ideas of Vives on the changeable peculiarities of each man and his projection in the quite diversified factual possibilities of the human soul, would have come out not as in opposition but rather as a reflection of life itself among the Spaniards who were their contemporaries. They, and other Hispanic Hebrews who conceived of ideas along the same lines would have picked up the escaped waves of the same organic texture of Spanish society on their cerebral antennas. Some coincidence in the thought of Sem Tob and that of Alfonso de la Torre and Benito Espinosa has been discovered. The undeniable merit of this series of Hispano-Hebrew thinkers would have consisted in having subtly transformed vital Hispanic currents into philosophic or moral doctrine Their removal from Scholastic theorizing and mental potential (the powerful intelligence of many learned or non-learned memebers of the Hebrew-Spanish community is well-known) allowed them to realize the portent of attracting certain teachings in the reality of Peninsular life which, without their intervention, would have taken longer in being used. The stammering vitalist philosophy of the mentioned authors would not have taken root among the Spaniards because don Sem Tob, Alfonso de la Torre, Luis Vives or Benito Espinosa had an intuition of it. Quite the contrary, they had an inkling of it because it was latent in the thought and life of the peninsular dwellers. Naturally, this all implies the intimate part of the Hispanization of learned Jews in Christian Spain.

The Hispanic-Jewish historian, Salomón ben Verga wrote in his *La Vara de Judá*: «It has already been said of old that there are three waters which are completely lost: Baptism water spilled on a Jew, the water which falls in the sea and the water which falls in wine.» Only the water poured into wine is truly lost, for the dedicated drinker, naturally. The sea is fed and goes on living from the waters, coming from her bosom,

cast upon her by rains and rivers. Without the water poured on the heads of Spanish Jews,upon converting to Christianity, it is doubtful that today we would possess the bountiful source of masterworks of Spanish thought and letters written by *conversos.* This is because of the fact that the entry of some Hebrews into the nodules of life of Hispanic Christianity made possible the works of Alonso de Cartagena, Hernando del Pulgar, Fernando de Rojas, Luis Vives, Fray Luis de León, Mateo Alemán or Francisco Sánchez. Indeed, Spain owes to the Jews great figures of Hispanic thought and letters and many others who, not worthy of being compared to them, contributed to the direction of literary currents and the development of humanistic studies. But the majority of both classes in their turn, owe to Spain all they came to be. Because from Spain they received the most fertile essences of the psychic and cultural life; a torrent of incitements to observation, calling cards to sensitivity and suggestions to the reason. They also received an invaluable treasure of forms of expression, spiritual movements and ethical appetite. Just imagine Alonso de Cartagena, Pulgar, Fernando de Rojas, Vives, Fray Luis de León and Mateo Alemán born out as orthodox Jews in Morocco, Turkey, Poland or Germany around the same fifteenth and sisteenth-centuries when they were born as Hispanicized *conversos* in Hispanic lands. And we can conclude, as in a purely algebraic equation, that they would not have been what they were for their own glory and the glory of Spain. For this reason I do not know if their debt to us is greater or our debt to them.

8. The Somber Jewish Heritage

Jewishness contributed to the forging of the Hispanic nature not through the roads of light but rather along the paths of darkness. Once compensated the debt that Spain owed to Hispano-Hebrew thinkers, poets, writers and scholars by the debt, no less big, that they owed Spain, in spite of the persecutions they suffered in the Peninsula, they cannot ascribe any credit against us; to this extremity did they leave us with deformations and misfortune, damaging our potential development and historical credit.

People may not repudiate the temperamental inheritances received from their ancestors, nor may they accept as a simple inventoried item the indebted patrimonies transmitted to them by their elders For our ill-being, we Spaniards had to be loaded with the heavy bundle of a somber Jewish legacy. We had to take up a poisonous inheritance from the Hebrews.

The historical flow free from any Jewish debts that we received was small. From all the evils that living together with the Hispano-Hebrew left to us I wish to eliminate two wrongly attributed to them. Neither the morbose exaltation of nobility nor the ultralively feeling of honor-fame have their roots sunk in the Hispano-Hebrew symbiosis. If Mateo Alemán

pretended to be noble and made a pompous coat of arms for himself this was not because the Jews passed on to the Spaniards a sickly longing for nobility nor because he sprang up out of the opposition between Hebrews and Christians. The author of *El pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache* fantasized on his nobility and fashioned his shield because *hidalguismo* had triumphed among the Spaniards long ago due to previously studied causes; and because these fictions gave him a pirate's license to navigate freely, as an old Christian, through the troubled seas of Hispanic life.

A decision of Rabbi Aser of Toledo, dated in 1319, concerning the loves of a Christian with a Jewish widow out of which she became pregnant to the great scandal of the people of Coca and surroundings has been alleged to back this point. From the Hebrew version of the story (they decided to cut the nose off the poor seduced Hebrew woman) it has been deduced that the propagation of the event was more worrisome to the Jews than the error committed by the beautiful widow. «The jurisprudence of Hebrew *aljamas* underlines, the effect of transgressions of the law on public opinion and identifies the fame-honor of the individual and the community.» It has been added that: «We find nothing similar in Medieval Castile, but we do among the Spaniards of the sixteenth-century who confused national honor and reputation with that of the individual.» However, this affirmation in inexact. Since the picturesque ennoblement of Mateo Alemán was no more than a ridiculous consequence of the infection of a grandson of *conversos* by the hyper-*hidalguismo* of the people of the Peninsula of his time, the feeling of honor-fame of the Jews of Coca in 1319 and their identification of individual honor with that of the community were but the natural result of their adaptation to the sensitivity of the Christians, their neighbors.

The existence of this sensitivity among Spaniards from a very early date has been proved in this very book. It will suffice here to recall that the Escalona *fuero* of 1130 gives witness to the liveliness of the feeling of honor-fame among the popular Castilian masses two centuries before 1319. In it the man who would force himself on a woman or shame her in any way is punished: «*Unde habeant suas gentes malum nomen*», where his family was defamed. Similar ideas are registered in the *Partidas* with relation to adultery (VII. 17.2) and the seduction of women (VII. 20 1).

Many decades before 1319, James I and Peter II believed to have already saved the honor of Spain with their personal feats. This belief gives witness to the identification of honor-fame of the nation and that of the individual. And the *Partidas* (VII. 21.1) point out that the sin of excess against nature: «*Sale ende mala fama, non tan solamente a los fazedores, mas a la tierra do es cometido.*» (Ill-fame, therefore, is cast not only upon the doers, but also on the land where it (the act) is committed.)

No; neither the morbose nobility worship *(hidalguismo)* nor even the exasperated feelings of honor of the Spaniards owes anything to the Jews. It was the Jews who let themselves be won over by such worship and

honor as well as by many other aspects of the Hispanic way of life. However, once the Hebrew inheritance is rid of these debts, it still presents an enormous and sombre outstanding debt. The stupid zeal for so-called *limpieza de sangre* (cleanliness of blood) that tortured Spaniards during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries has been correctly attributed to Jewish origin. A conclusive proof, taken from the *responsa* or legal opinions of the Rabinic courts translated by Neuman has been alleged. Towards the end of the thirteenth-century or the beginnins of the fourteenth, a Spanish Rabbi and the court he presided over, after receiving the testimony of elderly and venerable persons, declared that two brothers, David and Azriel, were of clean ancestry without any family spot: «Worthy of contracting marriage with the most honorable families of Israel, given that in their ancestry there was no mixture of impure blood, paternally, maternally or collaterally.» Another Rabbi from Barcelona confirmed this declaration.

«We have here the oldest text of the proof for *limpieza de sangre* in Spain.» It is also correct to state that the Medieval Spaniards were not concerned with such matters. I can reinforce such assertions.

Neither race nor social condition of the mother ever bothered Christian Spain or Islamic Spain. Many of the Emirs and Caliphs of Córdoba and the *Taifa* kingdoms were sons of mothers coming from the most varied lineages, and were not infrequently sons of slaves. Moreover, we know several cases of Christian kings or magnates married with prisoners of war or with women professing the Islamic religion, and other cases of kings or heirs apparently born out of relations with concubines of African or Oriental origin. King Silo was probably the son of a Mohammedan woman; Alfonso II was son of a Basque captured by Fruela I; Iñigo Arista and his family married with ladies of the Banu Qasi' family, powerful renegades from the Ebro valley; Arabic chroniclers call Bermudo II «Son of the Berber girl»; the illegitimacy of Ramiro I of Aragón is well-known; if Prince don Sancho, engendered by Alfonso VI with Zaida, the Moorish girl, had not been killed at the battle of Uclés, he would have reigned in León and Castile. It is not doubtful that nobles and commoners followed the example of their princes. Several municipal *fueros*, for example Cuenca II. 1.39 among others, and the *Partidas* (VII. 24.9) punished the sexual union of Jews and Christians with extremely harsh measures as they constituted a dishonor for Christianity. Furthermore, the *Partidas* (IV. 2.15) forbid the marriages of Christian men with Moorish, Jewish or heretical women, unless they embraced Christianity, before marrying. Nevertheless, no statutory or legal precept ever put a mark on the children born of baptized persons, whatever the race or faith of their progenitors. For all these reasons no legal or social difficulty impeded the fifteenth-century magnates of Aragón and Castile who wanted to marry Jewish *conversas* or the daughters or grandaughters of *conversos*. None of them thought that such a matrimony would dirty the purity of their noble lineage.

Moreover, if the Islamic or Hebrew stock of ancestors never spotted the Medieval Hispano-Christians it took some time to stimulate the legal condition of the ancestors. The fluidity and openness of the social classes in the peninsular kingdoms during the Middle Ages, and in Aragón above all, and the facility with which one could climb the higher nobiliary hierarchies through personal intrepidity attuned with knightly favor, made the torturing zeal for the lineage of one's grandfather impossible. The *Partidas* (IV. 2.17) took care to recognize the maximum honors for woman of *vil linaje* (common undistinguished background) who married kings or counts As someone in the fifteenth-century wrote, the sovereign would take their favorites or confidants even from a dunhill and recompensate courage in battle or fidelity in upheavals with advancements in social condition. Many of the most illustrious Spanish families descended from those who had really been sons of their own works or who had known how to win royal favor, not always cleanly. The close connection among us of power, riches, and service, as I have already explained, facilitated the sudden advancement of not a few.

It was only around the end of the Middle Ages that the hardening of the arteries of Hispano-Christian society set in. Its social joints began to be inflexible and rigid, and therefore, the yearning for nobility and zeal for family ancestry began to crystalize and finally to be confirmed. In his *Claros varones de Castilla,* Fernán Pérez de Guzmán describes a tortuous irritation with the facility with which the kings would capriciously elevate some status seekers and newcomers from nothing; thus following, although he does not say so, the oldest traditions of the monarchy. Coinciding with this bad humored disdain of a great lord towards new people, the knights of villein stock from the cities, after various centuries of an exempt and privileged life, also felt a glass-like pride of class. Hispano-Christian society had grown old; it had gone into itself and let itself be won over by a lively feeling for the dignity of origin. During this historical stage the massive infiltration of converted Jews into the ranks of old Christians took place. The old and exalted fervor of Jews for purity of blood, free from all impure contaminations, contaminated this already stiffened social mass, and came to provoke a reaction against the same ones who had transmitted their careful and exquisite zeal. This is because the commoners found a double and delightful pleasure in their differentiation from these *marrano* status seekers and newcomers: That feeling that (at least) some human groups were below them, and that of scornfully returning to the *conversos* the exploitation they had practiced on their grandfather, fathers and even they themselves. For this reason they began to pass statutes on the purity of blood lines, not those families having illustrious ancestry, but the equalitarian of Vizcaya and the low people of Toledo.

Hernando del Pulgar clearly saw the Hebrew responsibility in the crystalization of the zeal of the Old Christians for their pedigree being

free from all racial contamination with the Jews. He wrote the following to Cardenal Mendoza: «These people are now paying for the prohibition that Moses made upon their people that they are not to marry gentiles.» A sad inheritance of the extreme Jewish nationalism is what some contemporary Hebrew authors call Hispanic racism. This nationalism was already noted by Tacitus in the first-century: «They eat and sleep apart from the others... and do not unite with women of other races.» However, theirs was not an authentic racism because the Spaniards united with the women of all the nations they encountered on their great imperial enterprises. They furthermore united in lawful matrimony without their children being branded. In the choir of the Cathedral of Cuzco there is, or was, a representation of a wedding scene between an Incan princess and a Castilian magnate, I do not recall his name; yet out of this union a family of Spanish grandees was derived.

I also believe the thesis on the Hebrew origin of the very idea to initiate an inquisition for the «heretical depravity» of the *conversos*, the inquisitional spirit of informes and denouncement and the inquisitional procedures themselves, to be justified. It is unquestionable wthat the *marrano*, Fray Alonso de la Espina, was the first to put forward the idea that an inquisition should be set up for the Judaizing heresy of the *conversos*, and that he was the one who most earnestly defended it. Numerous and very solid proofs exist of the enormous diffusion that the muddy and repugnant backbiters or informers reached among the peninsular Jews. These people profitably denounced their brothers of race to the Jewish courts and the Christian authorities. The frequency in which the Rabbis of Jewish communities would launch threats of excommunication in order to obtain denouncements and testimony against those accused and suspected, and how irregular and secret was the procedure used in such circumstances has also been proved. This is accredited by the responses translated by Neuman and by numerous documentary and narrative testimonies collected by Baer: both testimonies being of unquestionable historic value. The textual words with which Neuman comments on his translations are impressive. He writes: «In the congress of *aljamas* celebrated in 1354 slanderous statements and writings were dealt with as if they were a national problem.» Upon describing the official procedure of making the opprobrious denouncement before the Jewish courts in secret and confronting the accused with his defamers, he writes: «There are even signs of inquisitional procedures.»

I can also support this theory from the angle of the sensitivity and institutions of the Peninsular Christians. Faced with this sombre atmosphere of blithe accusations, of religious pressure to obtain compromising testimony and of a procedure without any guarantees, the Spanish national tradition strongly arose. Informants and denouncers were repugnant to Hispanic asperity. The Spaniards became violently outraged. The municipal *fueros* register the vile expressions with which the villeins apostrophied and show

that the prelates and magnates were no less loose of the tongue. Not a soul was respected in their affronts. A case in which the bishops would be insulted was anticipated. They easily set their hands on the sword hilt, dagger or poniard and would wound or kill each other for the slightest reason. They realized other acts of brutal violence. For example, the municipal *fueros* and the *Royal Fuero* anticipate cases when a man might be obliged to stick his head in a dungheap or that human excrement might be forced in his mouth. However, they did not accuse each other, nor venomously denounce each other, nor did they like accusations and gossip.

Only one law of the *Partidas* VII. 6.8, refers to who would defame others unjustly. Nevertheless, the legislator alludes here to those who would spread contumelious remarks implying accusations of crimes. These he would punish, if what was said could not be proven, with the same punishment that the originally defamated person would have had. For example, he alludes to whoever would shout «traitor to the king or to the master» to someone's face, as set down in the *fuero* of *Zorita de los Canes*. There is no case of a backbiting type of accusation neither in the municipal *fueros* nor in the Castilian codes. The *fueros* and codes allow for hundreds of possible felonious acts of the most diverse types and categories; but none are referred to turbid and venomous denouncements. The legislation of Castile (see *Royal Fuero* IV. 20.1 and ff., *Partidas* VII. 1.1 and ff. and the *Ordinance of Alcala* XII. 1) regulated the accusations which private citizens could bring up in cases of grave transgressions against the king, kingdom, etc. It established the authorities and prerequisites before and with which such accusations should be presented and accepted (in writing, dated and with the name of the accuser and the accused). Finally it fixed penalties to be suffered by those who denounced false actions. «If the accuser does not prove the accused (to be guilty) of what he is accused of, he shall undergo the same penalty as the accused if he had been found guilty.» This is taken from the *Royal Fuero* IV. 21.7. Naturally, all these legal prescriptions do not allude to slanderous denouncements. They also regulated the normal initiation of juridical procedure based on the legitimate previous accusation, because the accusatory system of processing still triumphed in the kingdom over the inquisitive type.

However, the reception of Roman Law was opening way for this latter type. For this reason the king could, in those cases fixed by the law, order the realization of inquiries. The following is read in *Partidas* III. 17.1: «In Romance language inquiry *(pesquisa)* means the same in Latin as investigation.» This was done to discover the truth of damages or crimes whose doers were unknown: «*Because many times men do not wish to quarrel, nor show the state of the land through a quarrel or publicity.*» But if the king decreed an inquiry or *inquisito* to be carried out «so as to better reside in his lands», the investigation had to be done with all types of guarantees of justice and every element for a legitimate defense must be allotted the supposed guilty party. The *Royal Fuero* IV. 20.12

sets down: «If the king... orders an inquiry on someone, or some men or some singular act, be it done from his authority, be it the plaintiff of another, the person or persons against whom it is being carried out have the right to demand the names and the statements of the inquiry so they can defend themselves in full rights and answer to the persons of statements contained in it and carry through their defense as is their right.» In *Partidas* III. 17.11 it is decreed: «When the inquiry is carried out in any of the aforesaid ways, the king or the judges should make a copy of it for the person affected by the inquiry, the names of the witnesses and the statements, so that they may rightfully defend themselves against the persons in the inquiry or their statements and effect all the defenses necessary against other witnesses.» In the Ordering of the Brotherhood of the Castilian *concejos* it is established that: «If a mayor or royal judge or any other man kill someone from the confraternity through a letter or orders from the king our lord... without being heard or judged by *fuero,* the confraternity shall kill him for such reason.»

The legal accusations were limited and regulated and were obligatory within the dominant accusatorial procedure. Those accusations which could not be proved were punished. The kings were to order the realization of inquisitions or inquiries on grave transgressions because their subjects refused to make denouncements. Those accused had the right to know the statements and persons of their accusers and the witnesses against them so as to rightfully defend themselves. The *concejos* assured the procedural guarantees of the Castilians against the possible arbitrary actions of kings, threatening royal officials with death or anyone else disposed to carry through such arbitrary deeds. Can there be any greater contrast between this Castilian vital and procedural tradition and the atmosphere of venomous denouncements and processes without guarantees of the Jewish communities?

This contrast cannot be surprising. Attempts have been made to explain Jewish backbiting with subtleties as exquisite as they are superficial. It was supposedly owing to the fact that: «Oriental living is a "tergiversation" which passes on, like a continual thread, from the creative idea itself *(hadit)* to the story, novel, gossip and denunciation.» On the contrary, denunciation and informing do not seem to me to be the characteristics of a race, nor a people or a culture, but rather of a system of life. They seem to me to be the ill-fortuned fruit of the fear that wounds some human communities submitted to tyrannical regimes; of the living of some groups of men tortured by envy, without scruples and moved by frantic appetites which engender frantic hates; of the passionate exaltation for ideas or doctrines which are desired to be defended at all costs and which at all costs are desired to triumph; and of other accidental and passing causes which deform nations at times. All peoples have passed through epochs of turbid backbiting at some moments of their history and

have, at others, been free of such a sin. Thus has it occurred to Arabs and Israelites throughout the centuries.

It is difficult to prove an insalubrious atmosphere of accusations among the pre-Islamic Bedouins. The *wasi* or panegyrists only sprang up later under tyrannical Muslim states. Power, riches and life itself depended on the tenuous string of a Caliph or Sultan's gesture in such states. Under those skies, streaked by the lightening of princely rage or protected by the clouds of their possible favors, accusations were to flourish along with flattery. It was necessary to sidetrack the threat of a stroke of royal ire and to attract the beneficial rains of royal favor. Flatterers and panegyrists worked without rest. The author of *Poema de la conquista de Almería,* who was not a son of Castile, wrote of the strong, harsh Castilians: «Wild race, strong race – who fear not the death taste.» On the other hand, the Jewish nation had been deformed for more than a millenium of ill-fated history. The Hebrews had been uprooted from their native land for much more than one thousand years, obliged to live a dramatic exile, tortured by their subjection, intimidated (according to Salomón ben Varga the sound of a falling leaf made them tremble as prophesied by Jehovah), blinded by an insatiable desire for wealth, since gold was the key to their possible triumph in any hostile atmosphere, and jealous and envious of any coreligionists who crossed them, or who might cross them, along the harsh road of progress. Backbiting, the turbid accusation of one's brother, was the sad opposite of the flattery of powerful ones. It was practiced by a people who were flattened by ill-luck; which the Christians interpreted as the result of a divine curse because of the death of the Son of God, and the Jews as a divine punishment for the common sins of their race

The atmosphere of venomous accusations and illegal lawsuits rarified the life-giving air of the *aljamas* in such a way that they even applied the same system of groundless accusations and sentences against the backbiters themselves. They came before the kings and obtained death orders against those accused of being backbiter (the case of Yuçat Pichón in 1376) or full authorization to sentence them without trial or witnesses such as received by the Mallorquin Jews in 1383. This atmosphere of poisonous denouncements, threats of excommunication to obtain compromising testimony and secret trial in which the accused was unaware of the names of his accusers, a normal process in Spanish-Jewish quarters without any possible relation to the procedural system of Castilians and Aragonese (the procedural guarantees were even more extensive in Aragón than in Castile), was later to be the same atmosphere of repugnant accusations and secret procedures of the Spanish Inquisition. Let whosoever wishes, deny that the satanic institution was inherited from Spanish *aljamas.* If not, from what other source, could the turbid inquisitional methods have sprung, contrary to the sensitivity and procedural system of the Hispanic people? Castile had never been familiar with the Inquisition established beyond its borders; moreover our Inquisition was different from the medieval Inquisition.

Of course, the Jewish model was imitated because the struggle between Jews and *conversos* was creating a unique porosity in Castilian society for the reception of several characteristics. These were: Backbiting for purposes of accusations and informing, the synagogical custom of pressuring under threat of excommunication in order to obtain accusations and testimony from those slow in denouncing, and the procedural system without guarantees used in the *aljamas,* at times against the backbiters themselves. This porosity, which was the result of the irritated reaction of old Christians against the perfidy of many Judaizing *conversos,* was later accentuated. This was because the Spanish people soon found themselves in one of the aforementioned situations which were favorable towards the triumph of such diabolic methods. History soon placed them at the crossroads of sixteenth-century religious dissidence, and at this crossroads were won over by an extremely lively and passionate exaltation for defense, at all costs, of an idea which had always obsessed them.

Some Hebrew writers of our day, Boleslao Lewin among them, have come out against the thesis, in whose defense I write. It seems to be one of the most solid in *Spain in its History.* It has already been stated that its author supports his thesis with ideas expounded by Jewish scholars. Indeed, it seems clear to me that, like the strong desire for purity of lineage, the Inquisition may not be excluded from the Hebrew legacy received by Spain. No one should be surprised at this idea since there is an air of the paradox in attributing the forging of the hammer used to strike the persecuted to the persecuted themselves. There have been many similar cases in history. The men of today know something of this themselves; «something and even some things», as Sancho Panza would have said. As has been correctly stated, the peculiar and novel characteristics of the Inquisition, i. e, the subtle perversity of its proceedings, the mystery of its inquiries, the accusations and gossip upon which its judgements were based and: «The combination of spoliation and plunder of the victims with pretended zeal for the purity of creed», were of clear Jewish stock. Spain has received few other inheritances which were more somber and venomous throughout the course of her history.

The struggle between Hebrews and Christians first, and between Christians and *conversos* later, moreover contributed to the initiation of a decisive twist of the weather vane of our religious sensitivity bordering on Modernity. I cannot agree with this affirmation: «The mixture of religion with the civilian life, characteristic of the *aljamas,* would later pass on to (Spanish) society of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, whose tight and asphyxiating Catholicism differs as much from that of contemporary Europe as from Medieval Spain» I do not deny both differences; but they were not as great as is supposed; they only came about slowly. The dissimilarity of medieval Spanish religiosity with that of France is undeniable. They may not be explained by one single cause. Moreover, inter-

ference between religious and civil life may not be related to the synagogical tradition.

However, if I am not in agreement with this cutting statement, the *in crescendo* of the Christian-Jewish struggle during the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries aided the sharpening of the Hispanic religious problem during the following centuries. This is not because unique Hispano-Jewish sentiments were imitated by the Spaniards, but because the increasing violence of the relations between those of Trinitarian belief and those of the Mosaic faith provoked a double entanglement: The passionate vehemence of the Spaniards which, after the ruin of the Roman Empire, had never had occasion to placate itself or even to simmer down, and, at the same time, the extremely lively religious sensitivity of the same, which had no occasion to cool off either and change its direction. This was because the progressive hate that the Christian felt towards the Jewish slayers of Jesus, usurers, publicans and flatterers of princes, was adding wood to the fire of Hispanic passion, and the increase of this hate by the *conversos* guile changed the always live flames of their passionate violence into a roaring fire, a fire in which many possible changes of Hispanic living burned up. Also, by accentuating the religious aspect of the multisecular anti-Jewish fury of the Peninsular dwellers, because of the Judaizing heresy of the *marranos* or *convesos*, the religious exaltation of the Spaniards, which dated from centuries before and which the divine war of reconquest had been inflating for many centuries, darkened the storm clouds of Hispanic spiritual life.

No nation was so wonderfully prepared as Spain for the discovery and conquest of America at the dawn of Modernity. Only Spain could have realized the great adventure as I have said many times and later shall prove. But, on the other hand, no other nation was as poorly prepared as Spain to confront on firm footing the religious torments of the initial stage of the Modern Age. The acuteness of the Jewish problem added in a very important way to the devotional and passionate preparation which created this capacity for confrontations. The Jewish problem underwent a tragic denouement in 1492 but left behind as an inheritance, with its preoccupation for purity of blood and the wretched Inquisition, the exaltation of the traditional impetus of the Hispanic people and the confirmation of their militant Catholicism. Providence or fate, each may choose, by stirring up the decadent problem of the Reformation, of the Erasmus and Lutheran type, about two decades after 1492, which is all too brief space of time to placate the psychic and vital tide brought about by the Jewish-Christian confrontation, placed Spain at the head of tremendous historical responsibilities. And Spain at the time had just been relieved of the double crisis of the Reconquest and expulsion of the Jews. Destiny (I do not believe in destiny; I am speaking metaphorically), by not giving Spain a chance to breathe, increased the somber projections of the temperamental inheritance, which had not formed but had contributed to the confirmation of the

Hispano-Jewish symbiosis and antibiosis. The religious intolerance of the masses, heated by their spiritual struggle with Jews and *conversos,* overflowed into the ruling minorities of national life; minorities which up to then had preserved themselves from popular outrages and irreconciliability. Moreover, since Spain received impulses from above, and not sudden stops, the decisive change of Hispanic religious sensitivity was completed and, finally, the deluded Spain of the Counter-Reformation and Baroque was reached. The Hebrew legacy would not have sufficed to provoke the change (I shall later examine the process of this change), but without it would not have been accomplished as it was. The expulsion of the Jews in the fourteenth-century would have changed the course of Spanish history.

Something similar happened in the field of economy and finances, also decisive for the future of Spain. The Jews had willed to the Christians, along with an example of industriousness, many vicious economic, financial and fiscal practices which were to damage the unfolding of the promissory potential of Spanish wealth.

In competition with the Christians, the Jews had worked as craftsmen. The cruel Rescript of the Queen Regent, doña Catalina in 1412, the same document brought up to date by John II and don Alvaro de Luna in 1443, and the oft-reproduced statement of the Palacios priest on the customs of Castilian Jews just before their banishment in 1492, all give witness to the fact that in the fifteenth-century they continued to practice the multiple trades which may never be lacking in any urban community.

It may be suspected that they worked preferentially as tailors and silversmiths because these two professions facilitated their contacts with rich people and noblemen. Salomón ben Verga alludes concretely to the intervention of silversmiths and tailors for dukes and grandees in aid of their brothers in need. They were also retail merchants, old-clothes men usually, judging from the documents from Burgos. When the expulsion occurred, the old Christians were saved from the competition of Jewish industriousness, but they were not able to entirely replace them. The demand for artisan labor did not fall off. Shepherds and agricultural workers do not become tailors, silversmiths or... merchants over night. The banishment of the Jews attracted foreign labor or merchandise to Spain. The law of communicating vessels also applies to the history of economies. Its coincidence with the beginning of the great American adventure increased this flow because the needs of the New World created an economic set-up which could not be suspected, and was not suspected in 1492. The expulsion of the Jews in the fourteenth-century would have given time to the complete taking over of Jewish crafts by the Christian masses. The huge pull given to Spanish industry from America would have encountered the Spaniards better prepared.

Something similar may be said concerning other multiple facets of economic life. When the Jews had monopolized the monetary and fiscal

businesses and when the Christians had come to separate themselves from them, although the *conversos* continued the Jewish tradition, the timing of the expulsion of 1492 and the beginning of our Imperial enterprises in Europe and America, made it impossible for the Spaniards to confront such enterprises with the preparation and capacity which were indispensable.

Without blaming the Jews for all the damage done (the causes of their economic, financial and fiscal activities have been pointed out), it may not be denied that they gave a bad example to the Christians with vicious practices: The image of easy and bountiful profits which bank exchanges and usury procured; their aversion to industrial enterprises having slower and less abundant returns; their lack of audacity to undertake economic adventures full of risk; their taste for the lucrative and safe businesses of providing supplies and provisions for armies; their inclination for gearing kings to royalty and the receivers keeping the most secure incomes of the public treasury, or with the lease in pledge of the incomes of the Crown; and a never satisfied ambition to hoard cash, a practice which, by removing the money from circulation, far from fertilizing the national wealth, were soon lent to kings and private citizens.

The new Christians and, like them, the old Christians who felt attracted by the promises of rapid wealth offered by business, had no other example to imitate except that of the oftentimes secular practices of the Jews. By following them they did not allow the unfolding of national wealth and terribly damaged the fiscal potential of the State precisely when this unfolding would have been most feasible, and when the constraint was greatest.

Neither the old Christians nor the new Christians, by the very fact of being such, could dedicate themselves to the practice of monetary loans with interest without committing a sin since such practices had been forbidden by the Church since the thirteenth-century. Spanish theologians dealt with financial matters because of the suspicious usurious character of banking and exchange businesses so as to resolve problems of conscience for the peninsular masses. Therefore, Spain was inundated with foreign bankers, moneylenders and gentlemen of industry after the expulsion of the Jews which also coincided with the beginning of Spanish imperial adventures. If the expulsion had occurred in the fourteenth-century (I again repeat the same idea in the same terms) the initial history of Spanish capitalism would have advanced decisively before 1492, the economical psychology of the Spaniards would have changed and Spain would have been much better endowed to stand the weight of her Empire.

It is very venturesome to imagine what would have happened if the expulsion had not taken place. I have already stated and shall now repeat that I believe it to have been just as sad, brutal, barbarous and cruel as it was historically inevitable; the same as slavery in the Ancient World because servitude seems sad, brutal, barbarous and cruel to all, Medieval

Spain never experienced imperial adventures comparable to those accomplished by Spain under the House of Austria. The colonizing ventures of the Christian kingdoms of our Middle Ages may not be placed on the same footing as the gigantic Hispanic colonization of America. It is certain that the Jews would have done marvels and have become fabulously wealthy. But could they have created the healthy economy and powerful exchequer needed to sustain an ambitious policy as that initiated by Charles V and followed by his son and grandsons? I doubt it. The *conversos*, and those who sought fortune with them, failed with their methods. It overstepped the possibilities of any human group to lay the foundations of the load of the quixotic adventures undertaken by the Austrias onto the potential for wealth of Castile. «Prodigious magicians» would not have accomplished it either ;not without completely changing the flow of a foreign policy that began by ignoring the essential needs of Spain, or by changing her very constitutional structure and that of her empire or by changing the mentality of the Hispanic people. The formation of these peoples had been influenced by the asperity of their relations with the Jews, their fights and anger against them and the legacy they left behind. In sixteenth-century Spain there were old and new Christians who were more or less knowledegable of the mechanics of economic and fiscal life. Nevertheless, the bishop of Orense, fray Antonio de Guevara, directed the financial policies of the kingdom for some years. I shall later deal with this matter.

However, it is true that a part of the wealth which the foreign bankers, merchants and gentlemen of industry removed from Spain would have remained in the Peninsula; only a part because the intervention of foreign banking would have been inevitable because of the great dispersal of the kingdoms ruled by Charles V and Philip II and because of the impressive enormity of their expenses. But at what price would such a partial success have been gained? It is not difficult to protest the consequences that the Jewish problem in general would have had in Spain in the nineteenth-century, and particularly the Hebrew monopoly of monetary businesses and fiscal administration.

Wherever the Jews and the *marranos* emigrated, they naturally became terrible enemies of the people who had hated them. The day when the damage that all the activities within their reach, from espionage to the financing of military enterprises, caused to Spain in dramatic and decisive times for her modern history is examined in detail, and their persistence in violent hostility towards Hispanic things throughout the centuries is registered,even though we already know something about such damage and hostility –and the theme merits a book—, it will be understood how right I was in speaking in terms of a settled account. Our persecutions of Hebrews and of their sons the *conversos* on one hand, and their exploitation of the Spanish people during the Middle Ages, their somber legacy to Spain when they left and their fury after the expulsion on the other hand, settle the account.

133.—*Portrait of Luis Vives.* Of Israeli stock, as some maintain –his image seems to contradict this affirmation–, with some drops of Jewish blood, or of pure Hispanic stock, Luis Vives (1492-1540) was a Spaniard not only because of having been born in Valencia but also because of the projections of his philosophic thought, only explicable by his Hispanic roots and heritage. He anticipated the ideas which modern thinkers developed. And, as the engraver of his portrait wrote, he was the lively flame which illuminated Europe. His paragon with Machiavelli accredits his Hispanicism.

134.—*Adoration of the Wise Men*, by Alonso de Berruguete. Retable of San Benito (Museum of Valladolid). Form in Italy and in the tradition of Michelangelo, Alonso de Berruguete (1496-1561), though often reminding us of master in the subjects of some of his works and even at times attempting to follow him, was separated from Italian's style by his invincible Hispanic nature. He was not interested in the beauty of the form, but in life, mo ment and the expressive tension. His creations are characterized by their vitality, their dynamism, their drive. Góm Moreno has recorded this contrast. The Spaniards understood foreign ideas, techniques, styles..., but their vi make-up forced them to Hispanicize them.

Chapter XV

FAILURE OF THE PROMISSORY EXPANSION OF THE CASTILIAN BOURGEOISIE IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY

1. The Spanish Economic Problems at the Beginnings of Modern Times

It is notorious that as Modern Times approached, the Peninsular people in general and the Castilians in particular, found themselves ill-equiped to confront the economic problems that the new times provoked. Agriculture was not prosperous; the wool industry was the sole base of wealth; industry, although having advanced considerably, was still in its developing stage; foreign trade had reached a great volume but was limited to the export of raw materials; there was a great lack of banking experience; the bourgeois spirit had scarcely developed in the urban communities; its nascent bourgeoisie —some of Hebrew origin— lacked authority and influence in the government of the kingdom; and the businessmen had inherited many faulty economic and financial practices from the Jews, practices which would impair the development of the promissory potential of the Spanish wealth. These flaws were: the image of easy and abundant profits gained from usury, the reluctance towards industrial undertakings of slow and less abundant productivity, the lack of audacity to take part in risky economic adventures, the inclination towards the secure and lucrative profits found in supplying the armies, the propensity to enter into the machinery of loans to royalty with the subsequent retention and control of the healthiest rents of the Crown via the lease in pledge of the gathering of the most healthy rents, and a never satisfied ambition to store amounts of money in coins which, taken out of circulation, far from fertilizing the national wealth was ready to be loaned to kings and private individuals. I have said all this before.

If to all these serious flaws we add the fragmentation of Spanish economic life into truly separate compartments —the economies of the

diverse Peninsular kingdoms— the Catalonian economic crisis which Vilar has aptly studied and the fiscal crisis of Castile due to the clumsy policy of the late Trastamaras, the very bad conditions in which Spain entered the economic conjecture of Modern Times will be even more evident.

Yet it would have been difficult to guess during the reign of the Catholic Kings that all the possibilities to remedy such ills and cure the disease would be frustrated. Although not always well-guided, Isabel and Ferdinand attempted to promote the public well-being and zealously pursued the increase of the national income.

The economic history of Castile during the reign of the Catholic Kings is waiting for the researcher who will decide to dedicate a careful and rigorous study to it. In the works published long ago and the recent study by María del Carmen Carlé, *Mercaderes de Castilla,* we can skim for some news on the economic policy of the sovereigns. By securing internal peace they created the indispensable climate for the development of comercial and industrial life in the kingdom; this re-established peace was necessary so that cases like that of Pedro Méndez of Badajoz, captain of Henry IV, who in 1469 terrorized and literally besieged the merchants of Burgos, would not be repeated.

Isabel and Ferdinand also endeavored to raise the Castilian economy through a double policy of intervention. They favored commerce and foreign trade of the kingdom through a series of prudent measures and, in their own way, attempted to develop the national industries.

They took care to open and repair many roads and ports and urged the *concejos* to do the same. In 1492 they confirmed the privileges of the galley boatswains of Seville in order to encourage the activities of the city's port. In 1497 they reorganized the *Cabaña real de carreteros* in order to improve and facilitate the transportation of merchandise within their states. They contributed to the increase of the merchant marine of Castile: they offered incentives for the construction of ships of 600 tons and forbade the charter of foreign vessels, and in 1501 they prohibited the sale or pawning of Castilians ships to foreigners. In 1493 they created the *Consulado* of Burgos and, in 1511, the *Consulado* of Bilbao. They negotiated on behalf of the merchants of their kingdoms with the sovereigns of other kingdoms, whether it be to obtain entrance licenses for certain merchandise —in 1497 they obtained from Maximilian of Austria and in 1508 from Margaret of Flanders authorization for the Castilian and Basque merchants to disembark alum in Bruges— or to complain of the outrages that the navigators and merchants of their particular estates were victims of.

They also paid attention to the Castilian industrial life, perhaps with a more careful than effective zeal. They favored the guilds in order to improve the work of the craftsmen. For the same reason they dictated a long series of laws which regulated the textile industry, as well as that of embroidery, shoemaking, armory, soap manufacture, etc., etc. Eight laws

between 1494 and 1501 and a very elaborate, general Ordinance, in 1511 were promulgated, solely concerning the manufacture of cloth. To protect the silk industry they prohibited, in 1500, the entrance of silk thread, yarn or cocoons from Naples, Calcutta, Turkey and Barbary. In 1491 they ordered foreign merchants to use the value of their imports to buy national merchandise. To stop the rush of luxury, in 1494 they prohibited the entrance of brocade and gold dinnerware. They watched over exchanges. They attempted to unify weights and measures...

They did not always succeed. They regulated some industries, such as textiles, too rigidly and consequently slowed down their development. They excessively centralized the sale of various products of the country: they prohibited the silk trade outside the raw silk exchanges of Granada, Málaga and Almería They did not adopt any protectionist measure on behalf of the Castilian cloth imports, nor did they encourage the export of their own cloths —they even maintained the prohibition of entrance into the estates of the crown of Aragón for Castilian cloth— and instead favored the export of national wool. They did not listen to the petitions of the cortes against the inundation of the kingdom by foreign businessmen: don Ferdinand did not even accede to the very moderate plea of those assembled in Burgos in 1515, requesting that foreign businessmen be only allowed to trade in the kingdom for a year. This temporary restriction would not have harmed the Castilian economic life and would have prevented the establishment of thousands of dubious knights of industry in Castile. There were by then many and experienced Castilian merchants; Miss Carlé has verified this. The external fiscal pressures on the one hand and the foreign status that the personal subjects of the Catholic Kings enjoyed in Castile on the other, explain his negative decision.

But united to the well-meant zeal of the Catholic Kings for the national wealth and for the growth of the eternally slow but continuous development of industry and commerce in the kingdoms of the Crown of Castile, their economic situation under the protection of Isabel and Ferdinand is truly deserving of the praise which Carande has given it in his magnificent work *Carlos V y sus banqueros.* Of the epoch of Isabel he has written. «The Castilian economy achieved successes not known before.»

It is nevertheless important not to exagerate the economic successes of the Catholic Kings. Their economic policy could neither bridge the initial backwardness of our economy nor cure the ailments which encumbered its development. In less than half a century the picture of Spanish wealth could not change radically, nor obviously could the mentality of the peninsular people be moved. Only the continuation of such a policy could have assured its success. The mercantilism which made progress in the economic theory of the sixteenth-century and which so favored the enrichment of the Western European nations in that century, would have inevitably contributed to remedy the traditional deficiencies of the Spanish economy and the temperamental inhibitions of the Spanish towards eco-

nomic problems. Not even the expulsion of the Jews would have caused an unsurmountable loss to the national wealth. Sooner or later, the crisis provoked by the exodus of the Jews would have forced the Spanish to provide their own financial, mercantile and banking necessities, even if at first they might have replaced the Hebrews with foreign businessmen. Nothing different had occurred in England and France, for example, after the forced emigration of the Jews from either country. They were finally able to emancipate themselves from the foreign bankers and merchants.

Moreover, suddenly, two of the most decisive turns of affairs in the history of Spanish navigation are made: America is discovered and conquered and Charles of Austria receives both the inheritance of the Catholic Kings and the sceptre of the Holy Roman Empire. The Spaniards find a marvelous palisade for their thirst for adventure, their warring impetus and eagerness for glory: in the Indies, a limitless field for their spirit of conquest and the habitual wooing of wealth by thrusts of the lance, and in Europe, a propitious field to vent one's anger on the enemy, the man of another religious creed; the heretic and the infidel. The Spanish temperamental heritage is affirmed, accentuated and exalted and far from finding a propitious atmosphere to attract our attention and interest towards economic matters, everything conspires to prolong our inhibitions and our confusion towards the custody and development of the national wealth.

Evidently, we would be disfiguring reality if we supposed that all Spaniards were so shaken by a collective madness of such enormity that they would close their eyes to the ills of the Spanish economy. No; the eight or nine million of peninsular subjects of Charles of Austria who did not fight in the Indies or Europe, had always, day by day, to face up to the impossible-to-put-off problems of material life and had always to reason, confer and dispute economic questions. The records of the cortes and no few official and semi-official manuscripts also accredit a zealous attempt to safeguard and increase the wealth of the community and, at the same time, congruent and shrewd theoretical proposals or laws to succeed in such attempts.

The unfortunate inheritance by Charles V of the Spanish kingdoms and the projection of the conquest and colonization of America in the Castilian economy were more serious than the great blow the Spanish soul received as a corollary to the warring adventures of either side of the Atlantic, for it meant the dramatic continuity of the Spanish economic ills.

The arrival in Spain of great amounts of precious metals from America and the increasing demand of agricultural and manufactured products for the New World provoked the price revolution: the continual increase of the prices in the European markets. The rising tide rapidly grew in Spain and only later on also spread to Europe. The necessity to supply America

with the most diverse merchandise clearly favored the development of the national industry. But because the pull was so strong and surpassed the biological possibilities of industrial development —future production of the Castilian looms were anticipatedly bought to be shipped later to the Indies—, it was necessary to secure from outside the kingdom the merchandise that was urgently demanded by the newly conquered lands. Thus although my assertion may seem parodoxical, the double economic current coming from America, the shipments of precious metals and the demand for merchandise, doubly damaged the industrialization and, in general, the economy of all of Castile.

The rapid rise of prices within our country, prior to and always greater than beyond the Pyrenees, logically favored the entrance of great amounts of foreign manufactured products into the country which were cheaper than the peninsular goods. This entrance would have been sufficient to prolong the traditional unbalance between our exports of raw materials and our imports of industrial goods. This unbalance was accentuated by the documented need to obtain, from beyond the borders, the merchandise that the national industry could not produce to be sent to the Indies. The American gold and silver which could have favored the industrialization of the country were used to buy the foreign merchandise which was urgently shipped to America. And thus, the rooting of industry, the transformation of the economy and the birth of the bourgeois spirit in Castile was rendered difficult.

To successfully face the difficulties that the conquest and colonization of the Indies created in the Spanish economy, it would have been necessary to create a tight articulation of the economies of the diverse Spanish kingdoms, a continued protectionist tariff policy which would permit our industry to stay in competition with foreign industry, an intelligent state intervention favoring the growth and improvement of the peninsular industrial production, and the zealous aid of the State to foment national commerce and banking.

The peninsular economy, Castilian economy in particular, was growing in the midst of a struggle with an unfavorable geographic situation: scarce population, mountainous and rough land, uncertain rainfall, rivers not fit for navigation, difficult communications, location on the economic periphery of the West...; in battle with a hostile temperamental heritage, dominated by knightly and seigneurial ideals in which power, wealth and service were strongly linked and which had coined as an ideal life that of the quiet enjoyment of rents obtained in times of dramatic tension and frequently, by blows of the sword; and under the weight of a series of theoretical prejudices which had been inherited from the medieval economic tradition and were still in force in all the European countries during the first decades of the sixteenth-century. Nevertheless, they had been able to weather the two first crises, although with a great effort, and were pushing forwards. A new bourgeoisie of industrialists, merchants and bankers was

coming into existence. The bourgeois spirit was growing under the traditional superstructure. Clear minds who understood the necessities of the Castilian economy were not lacking nor were businessmen who would contribute to and favor the expansion of the economic potential of the kingdom. The pressures that the conquest and colonization of the Indies had on industrial and mercantile Castilian life during its period of expansion and growth, even though serious, could have been overcome, and the opportunity which the great American enterprise initially constituted for the Castilian economy could have been taken advantage of. The enterprise would have been very difficult, but it could have been accomplished if the State bureaucracy had taken care to understand the task which was required: the transformation of Spain into an authentic historical unity. It would have prospered if special attention had been given to Spanish problems. It would have been accomplished even if the Spanish people had fulfilled their destiny by following the clear, straight, audacious and Quixotic line which their temperamental heritage had drawn.

Yet, it was not possible to go upstream and come out well because imposing obstacles crossed the path of our economic reactivization. The sour fruits of the inheritance of the peninsular kingdoms by Charles of Austria proved unfortunate: his disregard towards the problem of the development of Spain, his frequent sacrifice of the Spanish interests to those of the other countries of his empire, his great fiscal exploitation of the productive forces of Castile in order to continue his European policy and his unfortunate surrender of the Spanish economy to the pack of hounds made up of foreign creditors. The state changed from tutor and protector into enemy of the national wealth and instead of pushing its growth, the state suffocated it for centuries.

Ferdinand the Catholic had demonstrated a zealous care for the economy of his estates in the Crown of Aragón; Vicens Vives has proven this. He approved a petition from the Cortes of Barcelona of 1489-1491 and prohibited the entrance of foreign cloths into Catalonia, except those cloths whose value was over 100 *sueldos*. To favor the development of the Catalan marine, in 1491 he prohibited ships from Genoa or Nice to load and unload national merchandise in any port of the Principality; in 1493 he exempted the merchants of Barcelona from paying dues in the port of Mallorca; he prohibited the import of foreign cloth to Sardinia; he imposed a 50% surcharge *ad valorem* on French cloth entering Sicily and he even prohibited the entrance of cloth from France and Languedoc into Naples, Sicily, etc. His grandson neither followed his example nor did he tend to the economic life of his Spanish estates.

I have maintained, many times, that the grandson of the Catholic Kings, although Flemish in his education, tastes and temperament, nevertheless had a Spanish soul: I mean to say that in his psychic reactions the Quixotic inclinations predominated —Quixotic before Don Quixote— the inclinations of a *miles hispanus*. It is however uncertain if he was ever

able to love Spain; though he did end up realizing how much he owed her. During the last years of his reign, the dramatic settlement of accounts he had to carry out made Charles V realize the formidable gap which separated his gigantic debt with the Spaniards and the minimal debt they had incurred with him. In 1548, speaking to his son, he acknowledged the great obligation he had to Spain. But it was late to remedy the inmense damage he had caused to the nation in which he would later choose to die. The nation in which he chose to die, knowing well that it was the only country in which he could peacefully await death.

Spain, or better, Castile had to bear, practically alone, the great financial burden of the imperial policy of Charles V. The economic corollaries to such a fabulous enterprise prevented the expansion of the potential Castilian wealth, frustrated the great opportunity that the conquest of America offered the Spaniards and aggravated all the traditional inhibitting weaknesses that the Castilians had towards the care of their own economy.

The cities and princes of Germany shackled Charles in the Empire with some strict agreements which would have deprived him of the fiscal aid of his Germanic subjects even if Luther had not been born. The financial contribution of the Crown of Aragón was minimal, that of Flanders was small, and Italy's was limited; the Castilian contribution was colossal.

The Castilian treasury was not prosperous; the Catholic Queen's testament and the fact that during her grandson's reign it became necessary to arrange insurance contracts so that the king and the troops could punctually receive their allocation and pay are testimony of the treasury's condition. The interests of the consolidated debt, of the so-called *juros de heredad,* ([56]) came to be 50% of the normal revenues of the Crown of Castile. Charles V obtained enormously important *servicios* i. e., extraordinary tributes, from the Castilian cortes, great quantity, whose amount was somewhat smaller than the sums of gold and silver received from America for the royal treasury during his reign —the sum of 4,160,000,000 compared to the 4,735,104,075 maravedis of America. He sacrificed the Castilian economy: to the necessity of keeping a rich and abundant pool of soldiers from which it was possible to recruit the necessary troops for his military endeavors; to the protection of the industry and commerce of the other nations of his empire whose interests were contrary to those of Castile he especially protected his homeland's industry and commerce—; and to his always growing and distressing need for money which forced him to surrender the defenseless Castilian wealth to the ruthless exploitation of the German, Flemish and Italian bankers.

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(56) *Juros* were state bonds which carned a 3-7 % annual interest rate, assigned upon specific future revenues of the Crown. Their payment was in the form of an annual pension. *Juros de heredad* were *juros* which could be inherited.

Any Spaniard who reads the works of Carande concerning the finances and economic policies of Charles V will feel a growing anguish. He was forced to engage in some 600 credit operations; of which 518 weighed on the treasury of the Crown of Castile. The sums received by this Caesar from those 500 loans rose to the enormous amount of 14,764,132,500 maravedis. Yet the Castilians had to pay more than triple the amount, because the agreed interests matured and doubled and tripled due to varied practices, such as extra gratifications, exchanges, discounts, etc., making the interests sometimes grow to 43% per year. It was hardly ever possible to pay back the capital received on the appointed dates and the accumulation of interests frequently doubled the amounts received. The rents and taxes forfeited by Charles V to his bankers naturally always produced profits which, ultimately, also encumbered the Castilian wealth and permitted the bankers to interfere and even control the industries and trade of Castile.

In the Instruction which Princess doña Juana gave, in December of 1552, to the accountant she sent to Brussels to assist her father Charles, we read the following: «You will also say to his Majesty what the council has told me regarding the excessive interest rates that the merchants take in transactions (*empréstitos* or state loans) made with them. The loans from Italy go at 26 % on the first exchange and besides this, here the ducat is payed with the escudo, there being a 7 % difference in the value of the ducat to the escudo (the ducat was worth 375 maravedis and the escudo 350), plus the profits made on them, which can be estimated in another 10 %. These add up in such a way that the first exchange ends up costing 43 % more and, as the contracts go from one to three or four or five or six years, one can count from one period to the other the interest on the capital. In this way the interest increases so much that, as you can see, the 339,000 escudos that the ambassador of Genoa had taken in exchange (in loan), now cost here 898,000 ducats, more or less, (336,750,000 maravedis instead of the 118,650,000 received). With these disorders and excesses in the exchanges we lose so much that there is no treasury that could stand up under them».

To form an exact idea of what Charles V's imperial policy really cost the nations that made up the Crown of Castile, it is not enough to compare the amounts of the loans negotiated by him: we must add 14,764,000,000 maravedis along with the amounts of the ordinary budget of the kingdom: 4,735,000,000 and 4,160,000,000 maravedis. Not even keeping in mind the inevitable tripling of the amount of the 14,764,000,000 maravedis received due to the fatal accumulation of the interest received and also to the earnings obtained from the leasing of rents and tributes by the creditors of the Caesar, will we be able to calculate the bleeding suffered by the Castilian wealth as a corollary to the international adventures of the Emperor. To do so it would be necessary to add to these amounts the profits of the business ventures that with them the foreign

bankers could realize in the kingdom. Besides, we must be aware of the considerable growth of the consolidated internal debt, whose interest increased, from 1522 to 1553, by 124,267,000 maravedis per year. This amount at 5% —the *juros* earned an interest of 3 to 7%— corresponded to a capital of 2,485,340,000 maravedis.

The national wealth would have always been robbed of those large sums even if money had been loaned to the Emperor by Spanish bankers. The money would have come from the Spanish labor, savings and capital to be used in naturally unproductive undertakings such as military or naval adventures and diplomatic or cortesan enterprises: the wedding of Philip II to Mary Tudor for example, was very expensive. But the amounts were so gigantic that the Caesar's Spanish subjects were only able to loan him a part of the thousands of millions which the new *juros* in the market produced and only a 18% of the thousands of millions received from international banking in short installments and at a high rate of interest. To determine that percentage we must also include among the Spanish creditors of Charles V those Castilian merchants, some of them of Hebrew origin, who were established in Flanders

It is certain that not even the Spanish Jews expelled by the Catholic Kings could have helped Charles V out of his difficulties. Their grandson was forced to seek, sometimes almost beg, the aid of dozens and dozens of Spanish, Genoese, German and Flemish bankers. Carande registers the names of the 220 bankers who loaned the Emperor the billions which the Castilians ended up paying. Only the global contributions by the most important firms of the European bank were able to satisfy the financial needs of the Holy Imperial and Catholic Royal Majesty.

The pressure exerted on the towns of the Crown of Castile to pay for the enormous sums Charles V received through the 518 credit operations, registered by Carande, and whose number he judges will increase with new investigations, sums which doubled and even tripled, as if by magic, as has been said would have been sufficient to crush the Castilian economy and consume her wealth. Yet the damage caused by such an enormous load was greatly aggravated by the fact that the Caesar's bankers were foreigners. Because they were foreigners they felt no solidarity with the Spanish economy and became the principal agents in its fall, writes Carande. He adds: «In fact they contributed to its downfall through more than one intervention. Since the bankers were also creditors for the treasury, they received as pledged leases some of the healthiest revenues of the Crown of Castile. The Crown saw healthy revenues, such as those enjoyed by the monarch as Grand-Master of the Military Orders, remain at the mercy of interferences which sometimes could not help but affect the agrarian policy. This was the case of the pasturage obtained by the Mesta. In other cases, as happened with the mines of Almadén and those of Guadalcanal later, had the bankers ended up becoming the leaders of industrial and economic policy. We have only to think of the difficulties of the revenues

of Granada silk —a favorite field of the Italian merchants, the leaseholders— to understand that, since they were not inclined to promote the silk industry they preferred to open the way in Spain, for the export of the raw material and thus receive double benefits, because by so doing they did not renounce the sale in Spain of the manufactured goods whose importation they hoped, would produce larger profits. In this way this prosperous branch of the national industry received an irreparable blow.»

Carande continues: «The Spanish merchants had to suffer the foreign participation in a large number of their own activities, having been displaced by the foreigners who traded within the country.» He points out how they bought up different commercial branches with the same amounts they received from the public treasury in payments for the loans they had made to the treasury, that is, with the same amounts that ultimately the Spanish people, the Castilians, payed to satisfy the costs of the imperial policy of Charles V.

2. The Rise and Fall of Industry

There is more than enough data to understand why neither the Castilian economy nor the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois spirit were able to develop in Castile during the reign of Charles V. It is possible to follow the process which frustrated the resurgence and growth of Spanish economic life and which secured the traditional life style of the peninsular peoples in the fatal conjunction of great historical problems begotten by the landing of Columbus in San Salvador and that of Charles of Austria in Tazones (Villaviciosa).

Castilian agriculture had never been prosperous. The alternatives between the war against the Moors and the resulting plagues that went along with such a harsh and prolonged battle frequently prevented the farmer from harvesting and enjoying the fruits of his labor. Moreover, due to the barrenness of the national soil and the climatic conditions of the two mesetas, farmers rarely obtained good harvests. Andrés Navagero, Andrés Laguna, Alonso de Herrera and others affirm that in the first decades of the sixteenth-century Castilian agriculture was still poor.

In order to favor the wool exports the Catholic Monarchs pampered livestock as much as they neglected the agriculture of their kingdoms: as lords of Sicily they depended on the Sicilian grain to clear the Spanish wheat deficit. The accumulation of many different states under the sovereignty of Charles V and the great necessities of soldiers and money aggravated the ills of Spanish agriculture. According to Carande, to secure the human resources he needed for his campaigns and to be able to have frequent recruitments in the peninsular lands, he halted the development of the most generalized cultivation, that which used the greatest number of laborers: the cultivation of cereals.

The bankers from whom he asked, year after year, for numerous sums, obtained as pledge for their loans the pasture grounds of the Military Orders. Thus Charles could not even think of promoting the transformation of his creditors' pastures into wheat-bearing fields. In 1552 he even ordered that the lands which during the past twelve years had served for cultivation be turned into pasture.

He did not attempt to extend the areas sowed with cereals, nor did he aid the farmers to improve and intensify production. While Francis I dedicated special attention to the French agricultural wealth, Charles V neglected and even harmed the agriculture of his Spanish kingdoms.

It became necessary to import grain from the other lordships of the Caesar: from Sicily, Flanders and even from the North of Germany, passing through the Low Countries. It was even necessary to buy wheat from enemy France.

A great part of the labored lands were seigneurial or ecclesiatical property, so that the farmers were obliged to pay rents which diminished their small incomes.

Already at the beginning of the century the farmers were pressed by debt, and agriculture lacked capital and credits. In the very frequent bad years, in order not to starve, the farmers had to fall in the claws of usury. Since in the years of good harvests, prices were fixed to stop inflation, they were never able to get by. Thus they led a miserable life In 1552 Prince Philip wrote to his father that the Castilian farmers were: «Reduced to such extreme misfortune and misery that many of them were naked having nothing with which to cover themselves.» That misery generated a growing emigration of the rural proletariat towards the cities during the sixteenth-century. Only that migration can explain the population increase in all the cities during the century. Yet such immigration only increased the number of peoples who roughly or roguishly struggled through life in the court or in the largest cities of the kingdom.

The Catholic Kings judged the breeding and conservation of livestock to be: «the leading wealth of these kingdoms.» That they truly were! Livestock secured great income for the Crown, the sheep-owners, the wool buyers and resalers, the muleteers who transported the wool and the ship owners of the Cantabrian fleets. It also offered income in general to all Castile by permitting it to have some foreign capital to import many of the foreign products which it needed.

The development of the Castilian textile industry during the fifteenth-century had moved the predecessors of Isabel and Ferdinand to decree that a third of the national wool would stay in the country to facilitate the supply of raw material for the Castilian looms. During the reign of Charles V, the amazing Spanish wealth in wool should have been used to provide for the manufacture of Spanish cloths. It was necessary to avoid the drainage the Spanish wealth suffered by the forcible acquisitions of Flemish and Italian cloths. This drainage grew rapidly due to the

necessities of the American market and the increase of population and triumph of luxury in Spain.

The Catholic Kings favored wool exports more than they promoted the development of the textile industry; but they did not loose interest in it. Many ambassadors and Italian travelers in the first third of the sixteenth-century give news of the development of the textile industry in many Castilian cities, and the pull given by the growing necessities of the Indies contributed to the considerable increase of looms in the most diverse towns of the kingdom of Castile and even its expansion to the fields and mountains. To give secure root to the textile industry among us it would have been necessary to have protective tariffs, zealous vigilance of the production quality and the dedication of new capital to its growth and improvement. That is how England was able to create and develop her cloth industry.

Charles was sovereign of a Castile which exported wool and imported cloth and also sovereign of Flanders which bought the Castilian raw material and exported cloth to the Peninsula. He demonstrated great zeal for Flanders and naturally had no special interest in damaging his homeland's wealth by favoring the intensive development of Castilian manufacture through a double charge on wool which left the country and on Flemish cloths entering the kingdom.

Charles needed Andrea Doria's squadron to secure his communications with Italy and the Genoese bankers at the time of his great financial troubles: in 1528 he was forced to grant the Genoese living in Spain the same rights which the Spanish were enjoying in the country and he ended up favoring and pampering them to the detriment of the Spanish The Genoese also bought wools and sold cloths but the Emperor did not dare to put obstacles in their double-faceted business either.

Carande affirms that there are no reports that Charles V favored the increase of the Castilian textile industry, and yet Carande could allude to data which prove his hostility towards it. If it was not he who inspired some of the mistaken petitions by the cortes for the admission of foreign cloths in order to stop the rise in prices, he clearly revealed his sympathies for the Flemish industry by his enthusiastic consent to such petitions: a consent which contrasts with his constant refusals of other demands of the *procuradores* which would have benefited the Castilian wealth. We can suspect that the Law of 1552, which ordered the forcible importation of linen and cloth for every twelve sacks of exported wool, was dictated in order to ingratiate himself with the Flemish merchants whom the Emperor urgently needed in this the most distressing year of his long financial penury.

The agents of Charles V's foreign bankers and Flemish and Italian merchants who were established in Castile under his shelter and protection, began to interfere in the wool market using the large sums which the

treasury owed and payed them. They made profitable dealings by buying wool cheap and selling it expensive. The sheep-owner received from 11 to 12 reales per *arroba*[57] and the resalers would charge 29 to 30 reales for it. This great usury while raising the price of the monopolized wool deprived the unpretentious Castilian weavers of raw material and favored the price increase in Castilian cloths to much higher prices than those imposed by the American demand. This artificial increase might have sufficed so that foreign textile industry could have competed with the national industry, since the tremendous disparity in the value of the wool compensated for the transportation costs to foreign looms where they were weaved. This competition was facilitated by the disproportion of the wage amounts which were much higher in Castile than in the other nations of the West, because, as has been said, Castile was to suffer first and more intensely from the rising tide of prices provoked by the rush of American gold and silver. Hamilton has aptly pointed this out. The high costs of transportation of national cloth through the long, harsh and bad roads of the kingdom, and the many series of «dry ports» or interior customs houses which they had to cross on their way from the looms to the market, increased the difficulties of the Castilian textile industry. It is true that the foreign cloth that was manufactured with national wool had to pay a surcharge on the raw material for its delivery to Flanders by sea and another surcharge for its return to Spain by sea. Yet maritime transportation was much cheaper than that by land; and the Castilian cloths, after being manufactured, had to be taken by mules from the looms of Zamora, Ávila, Segovia, Cuenca, etc. to Seville, and had to pay new *portazgos* (gate toll) and *fielatos* (octroi) which the ships crossing the Atlantic or Mediterranean Sea were naturally exempt from. Since the great Guadalquivir emporium was the place where the products of both industries had to compete for the American trade, national industry found itself in a difficult position to compete with that of the foreigners. The situation would have been different if the Sevillan monopoly had not been maintained. Yet it was continued for it permitted the royal treasury, always in trouble because of the cost of Charles V's foreign enterprises, to stuff all the exports to the Indies into the rigid fiscal mesh and to fiscalize, intervene and sometimes confiscate the precious metals which arrived from America. The reality of our general inferiority with regard to foreign cloth and the habit of the best buyers of the kingdom, the rich of the country, to dress themselves with Flemish or Italian cloth, closed the vicious circle of difficulties upon which our cloths stumbled.

It was very difficult to defeat the traditional preference the wealthy Castilians had for foreign cloths which they had been using generation after generation for centuries. Only an extraordinary improvement of the

(57) Variable weight measurement equivalent to approximately 25 lbs (11 kilograms and 502 grams).

national cloths and a severe tariff system could have accustomed the wealthy to the purchase of national merchandise, such a decisive potential factor for Castilian trade, which was always weighed down by the serious social inequalities and by the simian tendency of the bourgeoisie to imitate the nobles.

Besides, neither the Crown, due to its fiscal pressures, nor the noble, livestock and commercial oligarchies of the kingdom in their human and selfish interest had any desire to close the frontiers to the export of national wool nor to the import of foreign cloth. The Crown, had none because the double trade current facilitated large sums when they passed customs, *almojarifazgos, fielatos,* etc. The lay and clerical aristocracy resisted because such restraints would have raised the price of the foreign cloth they were used to and would have diminished their land and livestock rents since the price of wool would have decreased and thus their pastures would be less valuable. The national and foreign merchants also resisted: the former because they depended on the export of the raw material of the country and the import of foreign merchandise, the latter for multiple reasons. Others made no effort because they both imported and exported; others because they obtained the pastures of the great dominions owned by the Masterships of the Military Orders in lieu of their loans to the treasury, pastures which would not have been so expensive if the wool had been sold cheaper; many because they had seen their usurious maneuvers difficulted; the majority because the tariffs would have hurt the Flemish and Italian industry and ruined their respective homelands.

It has been said that in difficult times the Genoese were forced into bribery in order to safeguard their interests and prevent the adoption of the feared fiscal measures. I do not know, they were capable of doing so but perhaps it did not become necessary. Their interests ultimately coincided with those of the Crown and the national oligarchies. Did the *procuradores* of the cortes place private before public interests and sacrifice the national wealth to procure their own against the advice of Manrique to the *regidores* of Toledo? Those who know of their resoluteness in defending the interests of the Castilian taxpayers against kings such as Charles V and Philip II out of pure civic duty —since they were knights they were exempt from paying tributes— doubt that the petitions they made harming the industrialization of Castile were due to bribery. The initiative, if it came at all, had to come from higher up. It was just as easy to intentionally deceive them as it was for them to unintentionally deceive themselves; they who knew how to fight bravely but could not aptly judge the difficult economic problems, new in those times. They were troubled and at times alarmed by the growing rise in prices, which no one had yet explained.

The petitions of the Cortes of Valladolid in 1549 can be attributed to the anxiety over the uninterupted rise in the cost of living. petitions which Fontana wrongly supposes to have been «prepared» by the Genoese

gold. It is true that they asked that foreign cloth be allowed to enter the country without having to submit to the rules which regulated the manufacture of national cloth (CLXIX), to prohibit the exit of leather goods (CLI), and to promote production in the Indies so that Castilian merchandise would not be exported there (CCXIV). But these three serious tactical errors can be explained by the anxiety they felt at the rising prices. These same *procuradores* asked that usury be attacked (LXXVII) and that money exchanges be taxed —this usury was practiced by the Genoese and the exchanges were held by them— so that the interest rate would not exceed 10% per annum (LXXVIII). They violently rose against the exploitation of the kingdom by foreign merchants and solicited that none of them be able to trade directly or indirectly with Castile (CXXIV). They begged the prohibition of the entrance of foreign glass, «*buxerías*» (bagatelle), knives, dolls and playing cards because these were also manufactured in the country (CXXVI); and the prohibition of the exportation from the kingdom of iron and steel, so that the craftsmen and farmers would be able to buy their tools and their farm implements cheaply (CLXXVIII). They asked for measures against resales and monopolies in the fairs; these last measures being only feasible for the foreign merchants (CLXIII). They asked that the forests of Guipúzcoa be reforested so that wood would not be lacking for ship construction (CCIII) and that the people of Guipúzcoa not be allowed to sell the ships they built to foreigners (CCIV). They begged for irrigation works in Castile with the intention of assuring the harvests, stopping the rise of the price of wheat and battling hunger (CCIX). They demanded that the pasture grounds not be broken up and that the livestock not be resold (CLIII) so that the price of meat would not continue rising because in the last light or ten years it had already doubled in value, and if the poor could not afford to eat it now soon the rich would not be able to eat it either.

The ghost of the rise of the cost of living, whose sad corollaries are well known by people today, moved to err the Cortes of Valladolid of 1548-1549, the Cortes of Madrid of 1551 and all the other cortes which interfered in the road to industrialization of the country. They saw the prices of all merchandise rise and rise. Social distress grew and grew. They looked around without being able to find the key to the high prices and thus proposed solutions which in good faith they thought were capable of remedying the evil, solutions of which some were prudent and shrewd while others were stupid and counterproductive. The State bureaucracy went much further. It dictated drastic and ruinous measures which the cortes vainly reacted against. The textile industry was cruelly hurt at a critical moment of its promissory development. The traditional acquisition of foreign cloths to Spain which dated from three centuries before, remained fluid and active.

Perhaps for the purpose of facilitating the supply of the American market, the central State administration neglected the improvement in

quality of the cloth manufactured in Castile during the reign of the Caesar. For example, it did not secure the selection of specialized workers; it permitted half of the officials in the looms not to be examined and even authorized the admission of vagabonds and beggars. It made no effort to correct the deficiencies in manufacture in spite of the repeated complaints by the cortes. Far from favoring the emulation between cloth manufacturers —in 1528 the less known imitated the trade marks of the more famous—, they made it impossible by prohibiting in 1544 the use of trade marks (*Nuev. Rec.* VII. 16.12).

In spite of the high costs of the Spanish cloths, the inferior quality of some of them —others such as those from Segovia, for example, were excellent—, the official favor which the importers enjoyed, the preference of many Spaniards for the imported cloths, the lack of customs protection for the Castilian cloths, the difficulties of their transportation by land, the obstacles of the «dry ports» for their transportation and the competition they had with the foreign cloths quality and price; despite all this the American market's demand was so great that the Castilian textile industry continued to increase with the passing of the years.

However, it was not able to fly too high because its wing was laden with lead. Its rooting depended on the continuation and expansion of commerce between the Indies and Spain and on the capacity of the Spanish industry to resist the competition of quality and price of the foreign products. For reasons we will later point out this resistance became impossible and the Castilian commerce with the New World became more and more difficult. The most important industry in Europe at the time and the one which could have best taken root in Castile, because of the abundance of wool in our country, was not able to persist even within the limited field of a poor consumer economy.

The spinning of vegetal fibers and the manufacture of products derived from it did not prosper among us either. Charles V did not pay attention to the promotion of this industry. Castile purchased great quantities of cloths coming from his homeland, the Low Countries. He did not favor the creation of Spanish manufacturers which could have harmed those imports, nor did he listen to the recommendations of the cortes concerning the planting of linen in Galicia; he never even thought to put custom barriers on the yarns from Brittany or Normandy which would have benefited the incipient Castilian production. Thus this industry was not able to thrive and lost the great opportunity which the American demand offered Spain for many decades. The growing imports of foreign yarn contributed to increase the deficit in the balance of payments, the growing rise in prices and the drainage of precious metals. It harmed the general process of industrialization of Castile.

The traditional silk industry, praised by Lucio Marineo Sículo and by Andrés Navagero in the beginnings of the sixteenth-century, was ruined by the Italian merchants, creditors of Charles V. Carande has brought their

135.—*The Holy Burial,* by Juan de Juni (Museum of Valladolid). A Spaniard, and at times his sons and grandsons, remained faithful to the Hispanic temperamental inheritance whenever he was outside his fatherland. Examples could be the «Spanishess» of Vives' philosophic ideas and even many ideas of Espinosa. On the other hand, Spain Hispanized whoever set their roots there, even though they had arrived to the Peninsula spiritually formed. This was the case of the Frenchman. Juni and of El Greco. This difference should not be forgotten by historians.

136.—*Patio of the House of Rodrigo Dueñas in Medina del Campo* (Valladolid). The most famous trade fairs of Europe were held in Medina del Campo, Antwerp and Lyon. Until the Spanish crisis of the end of the sixteenth-century, Medina was the nodal center of Hispanic economy and finances. Among other businessmen, Rodrigo Dueñas, a banker during the days of Charles V, and Simón Ruiz, a financier at the time of Philip II, triumphed there. A hospital and a very rich archive is preserved from Simón Ruiz. Of the property of Rodrigo Dueñas there remains his house in which this beautiful Renaissance patio is contained.

137.—*Bust of Saint Ignatius of Loyola,* by Martínez Montañés (University of Seville). Dante already used the image of a torrent in describing the Spaniard, Domingo de Guzmán. Ignatius of Loyola, a Spaniard twice over for being a Basque, first captain of the king of Spain and later of Jesus, was also a torrent. Exhalting militant Hispanic Christianity, his «Company» confronted heresy just as Spanish Tercios or regiments confronted it but with different arms. Martínez Montañés (d. 1649) only saw the Saint, not the man.

138.—*Palace of the Pizarro, Marquis of the Conquest.* Trujillo (Cáceres). He left this place poor in material goods but rich in impetus, audacity and courage. This was the man who, with a fistfull of Spaniards, was able to conquer –fancy and adventure– the Incan Empire. American gold did not leave in Spain many architectural remains of a civilian type. On the other hand it was thanks to it that many palaces were built in Genoa.

schemes to light. Taking advantage of their rank as leaseholders of the taxes for the manufacture of silks in Granada they bought up the raw material at low prices and exported it to Italy before it could be woven in Spain. That way they could later import the velvet, satin and brocade manufactured in Genoa with the silk bought in the Peninsula. These could compete with the national cloths in the supply of the market for the Indies.

The Genoese also monopolized the soap industry using the ready money they had amassed by being the Caesar's creditors, but not without the cortes'protests against it.

Neither did the leather or metal industry which had reached a high development in the kingdom, judging from many contemporary local testimonies, deserve care and attention. As leaseholders of the Masterships, Charles V's bankers monopolized the production from the mines of Almadén and had no other interest but that of its export at high prices. The foreign creditors, pampered by Charles V, used a part of the sums they received from the treasury to purchase and export large quantities of iron and leather. The protests and petitions of the cortes which solicited the elaboration of both products in the country, were ignored.

Dominated by medieval ideas adverse to luxury, suntuary laws were dictated prohibiting the making of brocade, satin or golden cloth garments and dresses, as well as embroidering with gold and silver thread, the gilding and silvered furniture, leather work embossed in gold or silver, etc., etc... The only exception was the sacred vestments. «This regulation» writes Carande, «had disastrous effects in the development of many industries.» Spain had precious metals and extraordinary artists, as the treasures of our churches accredit.

«Everything that was needed to flood the foreign markets with national products was available.» Such tasks would have also channeled the current of the export of precious metals. The suntuary laws did not destroy luxury but they did cut the expansion of some industries of possibly great productivity. Carande affirms that this mistaken policy: «Should be registered as one of grave importance.»

Neither the hostility, nor the lack of attention paid by Charles V to Spanish industrial problems, nor the well-intentioned errors made by his government could be compensated for by the actions of private individuals. It was not easy to create new industries nor to fertilize the traditional industries, —cloths, silks, leather, iron...— through the concentration of new capital for their revitalization and development.

The competition of foreign industries was strong. Outside of Spain the disparaty between wages and prices continued which, by leaving a large profit margin, favored industrialization; within us the industrial activities to offer a profit large enough to have attracted new sums and new advocates for the industries. The elevated value of our money compared

to the less solid money of our competitors increased the advantage they had when selling us their merchandise.

In the face of such an unforgettable reality, the issues of *juros* and «exchanges» absorbed a good part of the available money of the Castilian bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie traditionally inclined to invest its silver in *censos* (58) infected by the usurious practices of the Peninsular Hebrews and by their inclination to live from their rents like the nobles and clerics, their prized models for many centuries. The growth of the fiscal duties destined to pay the Emperor's military ventures also drained a good part of the new wealth of the Castilian bourgeoisie which might have been invested in industrial enterprises. The colossal sums the Caesar's creditors received from the national income were not used by them to promote Castilian industry; no emottional tie could bind them to a nation to which they only looked upon as a fertile field for quick and unscrupulous enrichment; and besides, the increase of the industrial production of Castile would have inevitably harmed their homeland's production. The strong competition of the foreign industries, the difficulty in overcoming such competition because of the manipulations of the foreign merchants inside and outside of Spain, the insecurity it caused in industrial work, and the slowness of the industries in securing promissory yields —a slowness exaggerated by its contrast to the rapid prosperity of the merchants, bankers, money brokers, leaseholders of royal rents, etc., etc.— were added to the rosary of inhibitions and temperamental features which inhibited the Castilians' dedication to industrial enterprises: the idea of *hidalguía* which generally dissuaded many of the inhabitants of the Castilian cities from any economic chores; the traditional equation of power, wealth and service which dazzled many Castilians with the illusioned hope for a bureaucratic position thanks to royal favor, or a comfortable service under some grandee or even the magical acquisiton of an *Insula Barataria*; (59) the growing increase of the fabulous wealth of the Church and the not always pious vagrancy of its enjoyment —it has been estimated that there were 200,000 clergymen and about 900,000 others who lived off the resources of the Spanish Church at the time—; the roguish reverse of the mystical and heroic life, which also removed many Spaniards from industrial and mercantile work; and finally, the low standard of life which the Castilian had always been used to... Everything contributed to take capital away from industrial tasks where it could have compensated for the injuries, detours, neglect and errors of the central courts of the State on the road to the industrialization of the nation.

The urgencies of the American market and the growth of the interior market due to its flooding with riches from the Indies demanded a rapid

(58) A agreement in which a piece of real estate is tied to the payment of an annual pension or annuity as interest on capital received (mortgage) or in certain cases as rent for its use and usufruct.

(59) An allusion to Sancho Panza's government.

advancing movement in the development of the industrial businesses. Every year lost in the process of growth and settling of the Castilian industry was a serious defeat because it increased the unbalance between the possibilities of Castilian production and the necessities of the American demand. This unbalance increased the flow of foreign imports which in a fated vicious circle ended up harming national industry. In this race between the small amounts of Castilian manufactures, the urgencies of the market and the growing tide of purchases of foreign merchandise, the possibility for the intensive industrialization of the country was gambled and lost. Each day a step was taken towards economic crisis, the languishing Castilian inhibitions regarding industrial problems were aggravated and the economic transformation of Spain and the maturity of the national bourgeoisie were rendered impossible.

The Crown of Aragón lacked economic potential comparable to that of Castile; and the richest region of those which composed the Confederation, Catalonia, had never had an industrial life which could compare with that of Flanders or Italy and besides was exhausted from the long war it had maintained against John II and a series of historically adverse developments. Thus, the Catalonian industries could not have replaced the Flemish or Italian industries in the Castilian markets; but because of its exhaustion it did not even attempt to compete with them and became defensive. Yet, if Charles' government had taken care to organically integrate the Spanish economy, it is certain that the united action of all the Spanish towns would have been able to reduce to a minimum the indispensable imports and would have stopped the drainage of the national wealth. Yet Charles did not think of Spain as a unity. The integration was not effected. The industrial life of the Crown of Aragón continued to be stationary, while also suffering general ills due to the lack of a healthy economy.

Bodin could accurately write in 1568: «*L'Espaignol... estant contraint par force inevitable de prendre içi les bleds, le toiles, les draps, le pastel, le rodon, le papier, les livres, voire la menuiserie et touts ouvrages de main, nous vas chercher au bout du monde l'or et l'argent et les épiceries.*»

3. The Asphixia of Commerce and Banking

Their taste for action, risk and adventure made the Castilians more inclined to commerce than to industry. The example given by their Hebrew neighbors, who were enriched by trade and less addicted to industrial dealings, was sure to accentuate Castilian interest. Their necessity of exporting their livestock and land products and importing many manufactured objects, was the same one which oriented them toward trade and business. The expulsion of the Jews increased this pressure. The discovery

and conquest of America opened new markets to them. From the Italians they quickly learned banking techniques and those of exchanges and remittances. When Charles V arrived in Spain, Castilian commerce had greatly advanced on its way to an importance equal to that of the commerce of other nations of the West. We exported large quantities of wool, iron, leather goods, oil, wine, etc , and our marine was already competing with the foreign marine. Wool was concentrated in Burgos and, together with iron shipments, would leave from Bilbao and other Cantabrian ports. Northern merchandise would enter through the ports of Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya and Santander in inevitable communication with Burgos. Seville assembled and channeled trade with the Indies. The two cities of the Arlanzón and the Guadalquivir rivers had become important commercial emporiums. The number of national merchants increased in and around these cities. Of these Medina rapidly became the distributing nucleus of the Peninsular trade.

The fairs of Medina, and with them those of Villalón and Rioseco, were spaced between those of Flanders and Lyon. They were highly frequented. Besides the Castilian merchants, others from Valencia, Barcelona, Navarre, Lisbon, England, Ireland, Flanders, Genoa, and Florence also came to the fairs. The number of business transactions made at them grew year by year. The fairs served as nodal centers of import and export commerce and of national and international exchanges and remittances. «No commercial object was unknown», Carande says, «not even the slave trade. The princes supplied themselves with vessels, munition and artillery in the fairs. The needs of Tunis, Milan, Antwerp or of the Indies were many times satisfied in the fairs of Medina, Villalón or Rioseco...» In these fairs the artisans of the kingdom furnished themselves with raw materials, the retailers bought merchandise to supply cities and fields, and the nobles bought art or luxury objects. Many Castilian merchants thrived in the fairs and were able to make great fortunes. The chapel built in Rioseco by Alonso de Benavente and the palace erected by Rodrigo de Dueñas in Medina can still be admired. We have news of many other wealthy names from Burgos, Valladolid, Segovia, etc. At the end of the fifteenth-century the Gumiel and the Frías from Burgos had opulent sepulchers carved.

About the same time as Medina and Burgos, in the South, Seville had become a great commercial emporium. Many documents permit us to value highly the capacity of the merchants of Seville from the beginning years of the reign of Charles V. In 1524 the commerce of exports and imports of eight months had reached the sum of 250 million maravedis. Soon mercantile companies were organized and deposit banks were opened, in Genoese and Florentine fashion, by diverse native merchants from all the regions of the kingdom: the Espinosa from Rioseco, the Lizarrazas, a Basque surname, and the Morga, Martínez, Iñíguez, Mínguez... Even governing knights dealt in trade Not only were banking, exchange and

drafts made; ships were chartered, foreign merchandise was imported to be sent to the Indies and everything possible was bought and sold: from the gold and silver coming from America to the consciences of the city judges.

Outside of Spain, in Brittany, Normandy and Flanders, the Castilian merchants had maintained their positions and increased their wealth. In Nantes all the commerce was in the hands of the Castilians, and among them were some as rich as Martín de Aranda, Lord of Bouffay, who in 1510 built a beautiful chapel to Saint Roque. Around 1520 many Castilian businessmen traded in Rouen: the Sahagún, Salamanca, Saldaña, Morales, De la Peña, Pardo, Melgosa, Carrión, Delgado, Medina, Quintanadueñas... The Saldañas became magistrates in the local court, and a Medina was named counselor. Bruges and Antwerp had fought for the presence of the colonies of the Spanish merchants, and the first of the two cities was in debt with the companies from Vizcaya and Castile, and with some private individuals such as Gómez de Soria and Diego de Haro. Miguel Mollat has written that wherever the Spanish merchants went they found agents or friends from their same country.

Thanks to a lawsuit maintained around 1527 between the owners of the lands of the «Four Streets» and the merchants who would usually take lodgings in that zone of Medina del Campo we know that not only merchants from towns such as Valladolid, Palencia, Segovia, Ávila, Madrid, Toledo, Cuenca, Ciudad Real... frequented Medina. They came from any other places in Castile; some of them revealing unsuspected commercial activity: Ezcaray, Torrecilla de Cameros, Ojacastro, Logroño, Villacarriedo, Carrión, Roa, Dueñas, Tordesillas, Rioseco, Arévalo, Madrigal, Riaza, Pedraza, Coca, Sepúlveda, Santa María de Nieva, Illescas... Thanks to the same lawsuit we know of the great number of merchants who came to Medina from important cities and villages and even from unimportant places: ten merchants came from Ezcaray, for example. Therefore, Castilian internal commerce in the first decades of the sixteenth-century had thrived as much as the foreign trade.

Flemish and Italian merchants had, as early as the reign of the Catholic Kings, entered Castile to trade; yet since such businessmen frequented all the commercial markets of the West without drying out their wealth, their presence among us would not have been sufficient to prevent the Castilians from venturing, more and more enthusiastically, into banking and commerce. We can deduce this from the successes they achieved during the first decades of the sixteenth-century despite the fact that they had to struggle with the first disastrous consequences of Charles V's imperial policy on the economic life of Castile; and in spite of the disorder they faced, a disorder caused by the uninterrupted rise of prices as a result of the arrival from the Indies of large amounts of gold and silver. Yet they were not able to reach the goal expected from their dedication and impetus

because the foreign businessmen fell on Spain like a cloud of locusts, under the shelter and protection of the Emperor. Some were both subjects and creditors to the Caesar; and others were citizens of Genoa, whose squadron and money Charles needed. Even if the government had not favored them it would have been difficult for the Castilian merchants to resist the competition of that new invader which some Spanish pens compared to the Muslim invaders. As in the field of industrial activities, the measures of the grandson of the Catholic Kings sacrificed Castilian mercantile life to the interests of other nations which were also ruled by him, and to the voracity of the international bank, of which he was a moneyless debtor. The commercial and banking prosperity of Spain was hurriedly harvested.

The Cortes of Valladolid of 1548, in petition CXXIV, faithfully describe such great ills: «And besides this, we say that the cause of Your Majesty's need for Germany and Italy's aid has provoked the arrival in this kingdom of the great number of foreigners who have come, and there are some among them who, not satisfied with the businesses they have made with Your Majesty, are now making exchanges with the money they are collecting from Your Majesty's contacts; they have mettled in all the other affairs of the kingdoms... and, not happy in knowing that there are no Masterships, bishoprics, high positions, seigneurial estates nor *encomiendas* (60) to lease or benefit from, for some time now they have begun to buy the wool, silks, iron and steel and other merchandise and provisions which can be obtained from such positions which was what was left for the natives to trade and live on.»

Ranke has written: «When the Germans and Italians, in whose countries Charles V made his state loans, arrived in Spain to administer the dominions which had been given to them as guarantee, it did not take them long to busy themselves in other matters... The binding union between the foreign businessmen and the prince became harmful as it gave them an extraordinary license to export all Spanish articles, while the laws prohibited this to the nationals. In this way they cornered for their benefit the export of Spanish wools, silks and iron, and on another level the intention they had to immediately provoke the rise of the prices of all the goods in the country so as to facilitate imports of foreign merchandise»

«In payment», Carande writes, «for the sums loaned to Charles for short periods at high interest rates by the German, Italian and Flemish bankers, they not only received in lease the highest and healthiest rents of the Crown. Perhaps because all the available rents were already entrusted to their agents, or because the creditors preferred the precious metals which the national treasury received from the Indies, during his reign Charles V arranged many times for the gold and silver, whose arrival was awaited, to be delivered to his bankers. But soon the Crown's own remission was

(60) Lordships and rents attached to a dignity which, in certain Military Orders, were given to some knights.

not enough to pay the loans due and, beginning in 1523, and more frequently after 1535, they resorted to the appropriation of sums which arrived for private individuals, exchanging them for *juros.*» In 1536, in a memorial sent to the Empress, the Castilian merchants complained of such measures in this way: «By taking our moneys, trade is interrupted and prevented; we cannot pay our creditors, there is no money in the fairs and we are forced to take loans in this market, and since the foreigners cannot and do not trade with the Indies, and do trade here with their money, all the money is in their hands and they sell it four or five times higher than the exchanges used to cost before this necessity.»

The merchants of Seville could have also told the Empress that along with the sums the royal treasury received from the Indies, the sums the royal treasury took from them, and the other sums which they received from the public rents they had in lease, the foreign merchants had an enormous amount of money at their disposal to make ruinous competition with all the businessmen of the kingdom. A good part of the hundreds of billions of maravedís which Charles took in loan from the German, Flemish and Italian bankers, doubled and tripled by accumulation of interest, while other allowances were in fact used to control many branches of commerce, in order to obtain great quantities of merchandise to resell them at great profits, to interfere in the market of exchange bills, *juros* and bonds, to freely loan at usurious interest rates although banking was off limits for them, and even to buy Spanish ships to the serious detriment of the Spanish merchant marine. They would have been able to add that after the capital loaned to the Caesar had doubled and tripled, the bankers, sure of his protection, at the most convenient moment would at last take out of Spain the gold and silver accumulated by them through their substantial trades and businesses, as Carande affirms.

The harm done to Castilian banking and commerce was immense. Gold and silver coins rapidly disappeared from circulation. Here are three testimonies of this disappearance which have been compiled by Carande: On August of 1536 Hurtado de Mendoza writes to Charles V: «In this kingdom one can feel the great need provoked by the withdrawal of gold: it was evident in this fair of Medina where not a single gold ducat could be found.» On April of 1538 the Empress writes to Charles: «In this fair many merchants are bankrupt not because they lack wealth but because they lack money, as there are no ducats to be found and there have been merchants who have had to accept loans at 50% interest in order to pay their creditors, something never seen before.» Finally, in 1544 Cobos writes: «All the money of these kingdoms is gone, because although up to now only the gold coins were missing, we are now beginning to lose the silver coins, whose great scarcity your Majesty would not believe.»

Far from listening to these outcries Charles continued pampering the foreign bankers and merchants. In the fairs of Medina the lack of gold and silver began to be remedied by the use of certificate, symbolic pay-

ments, drafts and transferences. Ingenuity forced by necessity devised a system of exchange transactions which was soon applied in the other international fairs organized at that period and which served as a model for the organizations of the universal bank at the end of the sixteenth-century. Carande affirms and proves this. But this transformation of Medina into a clearing-house for the national trade and to a certain extent for the international trade, did not prevent the crisis and decadence of the fairs nor that of Castilian commerce and banking.

As his reign progressed, his money problems increased and his credit diminished, Charles was surrendering the Castilian economy more and more into the hands of his bankers. The growing usury of gold and silver, the control and resale of raw materials by the agents of the Caesar's credit firms, his frequent appropriations of sums from the Indies destined to private individuals... provoked the bankruptcy of the banks of Espinosa, Lizarraza, Morga, Iñiguez and others in Seville This especially harmed the Spanish merchants of Seville because the Genoese who had insured the banks in order to accredit them and be able to use their deposits, when necessary would evade the law.

In 1551 and 1552 two laws were enacted prohibiting draft remittances from one Castilian fair to another or to the fairs of Lyon. «Few ordinances harmed businesses so much... or contributed as much to the restriction of circulation of precious metals in the kingdom», writes Carande. The pretext used to pass such laws was the canonical illicitness of the high interest rates received from securities. But a Castilian merchant uncovers the hidden intention behind the laws.

Juan Delgadillo declares with Castilian irony: «Seeing that in Flanders it is permitted to receive interest (of 12 % per year), it is evident they must have a papal bull to be able to receive that interest and likewise they could bring the papal bull in for these kingdoms». As he continued reasoning the ills which the prohibition of draft remittances caused to the businesses, he notes that a large sum of the capital made in such deals was leaving Castile. When Delgadillo refers to that emigration of capital he hits the nail on the head.

The result of such laws was the quick ruin of the fairs. In 1557 another Castilian merchant sent from Flanders on an investigation mission by the new king Philip II, writes to Brussels the following: «And in fact, what I saw in this October fair cannot be described or believed without seeing it for oneself. Before I left this kingdom I toured these fairs for five consecutive years and comparing the business transactions I saw then with those I now see in these fairs, I assure Your Majesty that it cannot be believed, nor exaggerated; because where in a fair like this one deals of up to four or five million ducats used to be transacted —from 1,500 to 1.875 billion maravedis were made in these fairs— this year not even a half a million ducats were involved in transactions; and where before some two

hundred wealthy, accredited big businessmen would frequent the fair not even twenty came this time; and where a great number of business deals were sent from those States (Flanders) and Italy and other places, not even one out of one hundred have come to the fair this year».

López del Campo adds: «The principal cause for commerce to have arrived at this stage are the laws made six years ago: the first took away the exchanges from Medina to Seville and those from Seville to Medina and also the guarantees there used to be from fair to fair». He states that as a consequence of such prohibition the big businessmen had taken their money out of the kingdom to take it to other markets where one could deal without difficulties. He recommends that fairs like those celebrated in Flanders be authorized.

The taking of moneys to other markets by the rich merchants, which Delgadillo also observed, was the key to the two ruinous ordinances by Charles V. Because the majority of those sums would end up in Flanders and, once there, the merchants could facilitate new state loans with those sums in hand. It would not be misguided to presume that the Caesar's fiscal policy once again sacrificed Spanish economic life to his financial pressures. This is what Carande supposes, who footnotes his suspicion with these words: «Do not forget that these were the years of greatest tension for public credit. The years in which Charles V had resorted to his bankers most frequently».

Let us remember the words the German historian Ranke writes about the damages Charles V caused to the Spanish economy. Carande, a great admirer of the Caesar, nevertheless accuses him in this way: «He asks for sanctions against Henry VIII, dominated by lust, when pretending to patronize the schism born from the refusal of the Pope to consent to Henry's divorce from Catherine; yet upon seeing the profits gained from the transactions between the Low Countries and England, Charles V pleads on behalf of Henry to the Pope so that the punishment imposed on the monarch will not implicate the interdiction of their commercial relations. When did he do something like that thinking of the Spanish interests, whose wealth he was to squeeze until he impoverished our weak economy? Never once did the fomentation or custody of the Spanish economy disturb him».

4. Unsuccessful Initiatives and Struggles

No matter the strength of its wealth, and even if it had a special knack for economic matters and a well-equipped minority for industrial, mercantile and banking affairs, no country would have been able to succeed in such an inexorable battle with a hostile destiny as the battle which Castile had to endure during the growing stage of its national economy. Let us remember that the admirers of the Castilian wealth had to fight against the

terrible bleeding that was the fabulous cost of Charles V's imperial policy; against the, almost always conscious, constant sacrifice of the national interests to the insatiable voracity of the foreign creditors of the king; against the zealous defense by him of his homeland's economy, frequently in conflict with the Castilian economy; against the theoretical and methodological errors of his government when faced with economic problems that for the first time appeared in the nations of the West; against the continuous and harmful unbalance between prices and wages in the Peninsula and the prices and wages of those countries which were economic and sometimes political rivals of Spain; and against the enchantment and magic dazzlement of the more audacious of its sons by the enterprises and adventures on either side of the Atlantic. It is difficult to imagine that a greater number of adverse factors could have coincided with the youthful expansion of the industrial and mercantile potential of a country which had just finished a heroic age. Naturally, Castile was unable to resist the fierce attack of its cruel fate. It saw how its possibilities, which the dawn of the Modern Age could have foretold for the near future, were frustrated.

As they were not stupid and had plenty of drive, Castilians were able to rapidly learn and securely enter into the mysterious labyrinth of industrial and banking problems; they took to business with zeal and gusto and defeated the scruples which medieval Christian tradition had raised against it. In the statements with which Ginés de Sepúlveda and other writers of the time lament the decline of the bellicose spirit in Castile, can we see the confused and unprecise perception of the change of the sensitivity of their contemporaries driven by new social winds? Would Díaz de Valdepeñas, Cristóbal de Villalón, Saravia de la Calle, Luis de Alcalá, Martín Azpilcueta... have written during the reign of Charles V about usury, exchanges, contracts, moneys, loans, markets... if a new spirit, a new preoccupation for economic matters had not existed in Castile? The words of Juan Delgadillo and López del Campo, mentioned before, do they not testify to an evident victory over the previously invincible medieval scruples? The taste for business extended in such a way that the Dominican Fray Alonso de Medina, in his day a *comunero* (61) and later a preacher of Charles V, having received many royal favors from him amounting to four thousand ducats, immediately handed the money over to the banker Rodrigo de Dueñas, his fellow townsman, to do business with it. In 1568 Bodin already recognized the Spaniards' capacity not only in the practices of war but in trade as well.

In the first half of the sixteenth-century the Spaniards had learned much and had satisfactorily entered into commerce and banking. There

(61) A participant in the Revolt of *Las Comunidades* or *Comuneros* from May 1520 to April 1521. It had many and confused aspects but was *generally* against the «Flemish-ness» of Charles and his advisers.

were many Castilian families, especially from Burgos, who had business enterprises in Nantes (Brittany), the Ruiz and the Presa, among others; in Rouen (Normandy), Pedro de Álava, Hernando de Miranda, Hernando de Sevilla; in Antwerp (Flanders), the Curiel, the Maluenda, Alonso de Camarena, Diego Chávarri, Andrés de la Maza...; in Florence, the Montoya... In Burgos many lineages of rich and experienced merchants could be counted: the Maluenda, the Salamanca, the Ortega, the Bernuy, the Curiel, the de la Torre, the Presa, the Pardos, the Santa Cruz, the Cuevas, the Orense, the Carrión, the Arriaga... Medina continued to be the homeland of the great bankers. In the middle of the fifteenth-century Fernán López was so accredited in Medina that the prince of Asturias, the future Henry IV, had deposited in his house the dowry of Doña Juana of Portugal, one hundred thousand florins in gold doubloons. During the reign of Charles V the banker from Medina, Rodrigo de Dueñas, had achieved such fame that the then prince regent, later Philip II, called him to the council of finance. Simón Ruiz Embito had at this time made a great fortune and had acquired important contacts in the Western financial world. Within sight of the court some businessmen such as Pedro de Isunza, Antonio Suárez de Vitoria, Juan Luis de Vitoria... established themselves in Madrid. The development of trade in the Castilian cities and villages, even in the towns of lesser importance, has been shown. Seville had become the magnificent emporium which, for example, Fray Tomás de Mercado describes.

These merchants, money brokers and bankers of the kingdom of Castile constantly ventured into enterprises with greater pressures and risks. The archive of Simón Ruiz offers researchers great surprises. Thanks to him we know of a «Universal Company of Nantes and Medina» established by the Andrés and Vitores brothers, Simón Ruiz, their sons or nephews and Francisco de la Presa. It was a company which lasted until somewhat after the death of Francisco de la Presa in 1577. Through Simón Ruiz we know of some very savory details which permit us to judge the importance and wealth of the company. On 21 January of 1576 Simón Ruiz and Francisco de la Presa, to rescue the army in Flanders from its tragic situation —on September 1575 Philip II had decreed a second suspension of payments in his kingdom— signed a draft for forty-four thousand escudos payable in Antwerp immediately. When the wild son of Francisco de la Presa, Juan, declared bankruptcy in 1579 and was imprisoned, Fray Diego de Miranda laments in a letter to his brother, Simón Ruiz, that his friend's son had to eat from earthenware, a valuable testimony to the fact that such merchants habitually used silverware. Lapeyre in his recent book gives news of the *asiento* (62) of January of 1576, and Manuel

(62) Contract normally prepared by the Council of Finance stipulating the times and places for the bankers to deposit their loans to the Crown, together with the terms of interest and the methods of repayment.

Basas in the *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* gives accounts of the wanderings of Juan de la Presa.

From the register of Simón Ruiz, García Rámila has taken the data which allows us to know that in 1580, Alonso Pardo, the Salamancas and Francisco de Arriaga formed in Burgos a commercial company which remitted twenty-four million maravedis. In the suspension of payments of 1575, hurting many Genoese bankers, Simón Ruiz lost 1.108.369 maravedis with the Lomellini and 500.000 with Grimoldi, prince of Salerno. Yet these losses did not affect his fortune, as he was able to immediately arrange various drafts in Flanders. The Castilian businessmen took advantage of the favorable opportunity that the temporary distancing of the habitual foreign *asentistas*** (63) gave them and intensified their credit activities.

Henry Lapeyre has found many *asientos* in the archive of Simón Ruiz, negotiated between the Castilian bankers and merchants immediately after the 1575 bankruptcy. In 1576 (January-September) Ruiz Embito signed two bills for 44.000 and 45.000 escudos respectively. Jerónimo de Curiel obtained from the Spaniards of Rouen a loan for 35 000 escudos for Don John of Austria. Two Castilian businessmen from Flanders, Andrés de la Maza and Diego de Chávarri advanced Don John large sums of money. Pero Ruiz, nephew of Simón, signed an *asiento* in June of 1557 for 16.000 escudos, and in November another one for 25.000. In 1578 Andrés Ruiz from Paris negotiated a third *asiento* for 36.000 escudos.

On 27 March of 1577 Philip II and his creditors reached an agreement, the *Medio General,* and once again the international bankers arranged many and substantial *asientos,* both loans and drafts, with the government of Madrid. But the Castilian businessmen did not abandon the road taken, and either competed or collaborated with the foreign *asentistas.* Simón Ruiz participated with the sum of 422.453 escudos in the *asientos* subscribed by the Balbani, the Ludovisi, Pero Ruiz and Arziniega between 1578 and 1582. The two Spaniards mentioned here signed *asientos* for 100.000 escudos each, while the Italians subscribed to no more than 15.000 escudos. Melchor de Herrera, Marquis of Auñón, arranged an *asiento* for 700.000 escudos in 1585 and two of 650.000 and 500.000 escudos in 1586. In 1588 Juan Ortega signed an *asiento* for 550.00, in which Simón Ruiz participated with 27.500. To the 240.000 escudos one subscribed by the Balbani in the same year, Ortega, from Madrid, contributed with 60.000 and Pedro de Álava, from Rouen with 30.000. Camarena participated with 41.400 in those signed by Felipe Jorge in Brussels in 1588 and continued participating in those *asientos* contracted in Spain by diverse banks from Genoa or Lisbon. The Portuguese Felipe Jorge advanced 1.281.966 ducats in Brussels during 1591. Between 1588 and 1591 *asientos* were signed in Spain by: Juan Ortega de la Torre for 120.000 escudos; Alonso de Curiel for 80.000; Maluenda for 200.000; Suárez de Vitoria and J. de Carmona for 100.000,

(63) Bankers possessing *asientos.*

and Juan Luis de Vitoria and Maluenda for 300 000. Only the Spinola surpassed them. In 1594 Simón Rodríguez advanced 100.000 ducats with the help of some Spaniards. Many of them, the Rodríguez, the Camarena, the Pardo, M. de la Vega, F. Jorge... continued arranging *asientos* in Spain in 1595 and 1596. It has been recorded that the Maluenda subscribed for three large *asientos*: for 600.000 escudos in 1593, for 280.813 in June of 1595 and for 560.000 in July of the same year. Juan Luis de Vitoria signed another *asiento* for 140.000 also in 1595. Only the Spinola, the Fugger and the Doria surpassed them. Lapeyre has obtained all these facts from the archive of Simón Ruiz. From it we see the continuous intervention, in one way or another under different headings, of this cautious and scrupulous banker from Medina in the greater part of this long serie of loans and drafts.

In relation to these credit operations the majority of the above-mentioned Castilian businessmen obtained diverse licenses for exports, at times chartered freighters and arranged insurance to cover the risks which the sea and pirates could give to their shipments to Nantes, Rouen, Antwerp, Genoa and Florence. The wealthiest and most active of those financiers had agents and factors in the nodal centers of banking and trade: Lope de Arziniega and Francisco de Bobadilla represented Ruiz Embito in Madrid and Diego de Vitoria in Bilbao. Different members of the Maluenda or the Ruiz families worked together in Flanders, France and Castile. The most important maintained close contacts with international banking in Genoa, Lyon, Antwerp... and, while it was still possible, they continued their commercial dealings in Brittany, Normandy, the Low Countries, Italy, etcétera.

Castilians frequently realized the ills and deficiencies of their economy. The reports and demands of the merchants of Seville and Valladolid and some of the arguments of the cortes have been published. Their confrontations regarding the continual price rise sometimes were wrong. It would be difficult for the *hidalgo* representative of the Castilian cities in the first decades of the sixteenth-century to have discovered Keynes'recent doctrine on the increase of the wealth of nations in periods of profit inflation. But they soon corrected their error. The Cortes of Valladolid of 1555 turned against the royal laws of 1552 which, by their mistaken ordinances, were endangering national industry. These cortes and all others, advised the kings of helpful measures on more than one occasion.

The cortes asked for the intensification of old cultivations, flax for example, to facilitate the manufacture of linen cloth and thread; the transformations in the country of some raw materials, iron among others, so as to avoid the need to import manufactured products; the establishing of some industries in the Indies to prevent purchases outside the kingdom of merchandise which was not produced in sufficient quantity in the kingdom; the creation, in Castilian towns and cities, of factories for the manufacture of those products that could be made with materials abundant

in Castile and yet were exported to foreign countries and there produced; the granting of fiscal privileges and exemptions to the officials of the industries thus created, in order to secure success and stability of those industries in the country; the prohibition of entry in the kingdom of merchandise which had before been manufactured in the kingdom or which could later be manufactured there, in order to extenuate the competition they made or could make to national manufacturers; the interdiction to foreign merchants of the purchase of wools, silks, irons, leather and other raw materials which could be elaborated in Castile, to prevent both their rise in price and their export; the braking and limiting of the mercantile and banking activities of the foreign creditors of the Emperor and the other foreign merchants who were under his protection, to prevent high prices, resales, forestallings and monopolies, —that of the «solimán» (the sublimated) among others—, and the observance of the old laws pertaining to the national merchant marine, which bound them to use Castilian ships rather than foreign ones and prohibited the sale of ships to foreigners by the natives of the kingdom of Castile.

The cortes also asked for the correction of some measures ruinous for the Castilian economy: the prohibition of working embossed leather and making golden cloth which harmed a prosperous and secular national industry; the continuation of fairs which ruined credit and scared away the businessmen; the appropriation of riches coming from America which the Castilians were waiting for; the prohibition of exporting cloths to Portugal and the obligation to bring cloth from Flanders for every bale of wool exported; the difficulties which prevented the entrance of the French dyes which were necessary for the dyeing of the Castilian cloths, etc., etc.

In this century Sayous (1928), Ullastres (1941), Larraz (1942), Grice-Hutchinson (1952) and Iparraguirre (1953) have dealt with the economic theories of the Spanish theologians of the sixteenth-century. Ullastres studied *Martín Azpilcueta y su comentario resolutorio de cambios.* In the *Época del mercantilismo en Castilla,* Larraz was interested in the problem in its entirety. We owe to *The School of Salamanca, Readings in Spanish Monetary Theory. 1544-1605,* by Grice-Hutchinson, the most complete study of it.

These theologians were interested in financial and economic matters in as much as money dealings received moral condemnation by the Church for usury. They ended up dealing with the readjustment of the economy perturbed by the consequences of the discovery of America. The most famous among them, Domingo de Soto and Martín Azpilicueta, belonged to the first generation of disciples of Francisco de Vitoria. They studied state commerce, the fixing of prices, their fluctuations, the creation of commercial companies, the moral problem found in investments and profits from such businesses and maritime and life insurances.

They observed and analyzed the economic life inside and outside of

Spain, reflected upon it and proclaimed three theories which would become classics in modern economic science. First, the psychological theory of value was applied to goods and money: the extreme subjectivity of value was formulated by Saravia de la Calle and, in time, Pedro de Valencia declared that the value of the products which fulfilled the vital necessities should be calculated by a work unit. Secondly, the quantitative theory explained that the rise in prices was due to the increase of precious metals arriving from the Indies: perhaps Francisco de Vitoria already suspected it, Juan de Medina (1546) refers to it, Domingo de Soto (1553) and López de Gomara (1555) declared it and Azpilcueta (1556) summed it up. Finally, the most original of all the theories was the one which, when facing the problem of international exchange, recognized the unequal purchasing power of money, basing it on the law of supply and demand: Juan de Medina refers to it, Domingo de Soto was the first cleric to defend it and Azpilcueta concretely used the phrase which was to remain: purchasing power. This theory was important because it lifted the moral sentence on usury which was even imposed on the most genuine exchange operations.

These theories were developed and popularized by Fray Tomás de Mercado. Both prior to and surpassing the French writer of treatises, Bodin, he established the relation between the monetary mass and the level of prices and even determined the relation that tied these factors to foreign exchange.

On praising Cristóbal de Villalón, author of a *Provechoso tratado de cambios y contratos de Mercaderes,* Valladolid, 1542, and Fray Tomás de Mercado, to whom we owe the *Suma de tratos y contratos,* finished before May of 1568, Carande has said that it would be a vain effort to look in the contemporary literature of any European nation for pages similar to those of both Spanish thinkers.

Shrewd proposals to avoid the crisis of the Castilian economy were not lacking. Luis Ortiz, accountant of Charles V, presented to the regent princess doña Juana, in 1558, a memorial that constitutes one of the earliest defenses of the mercantilist theory of commercial balance. His perception took him to formulate points of view which the foreign economic theoreticians of the second half of the sixteenth-century would later subscribe to. Carande writes that with his ideas concerning the direction of foreign trade in the interests of national industry, by means of the manipulation of customs duties, «He becomes a precursor... within mercantilism.»

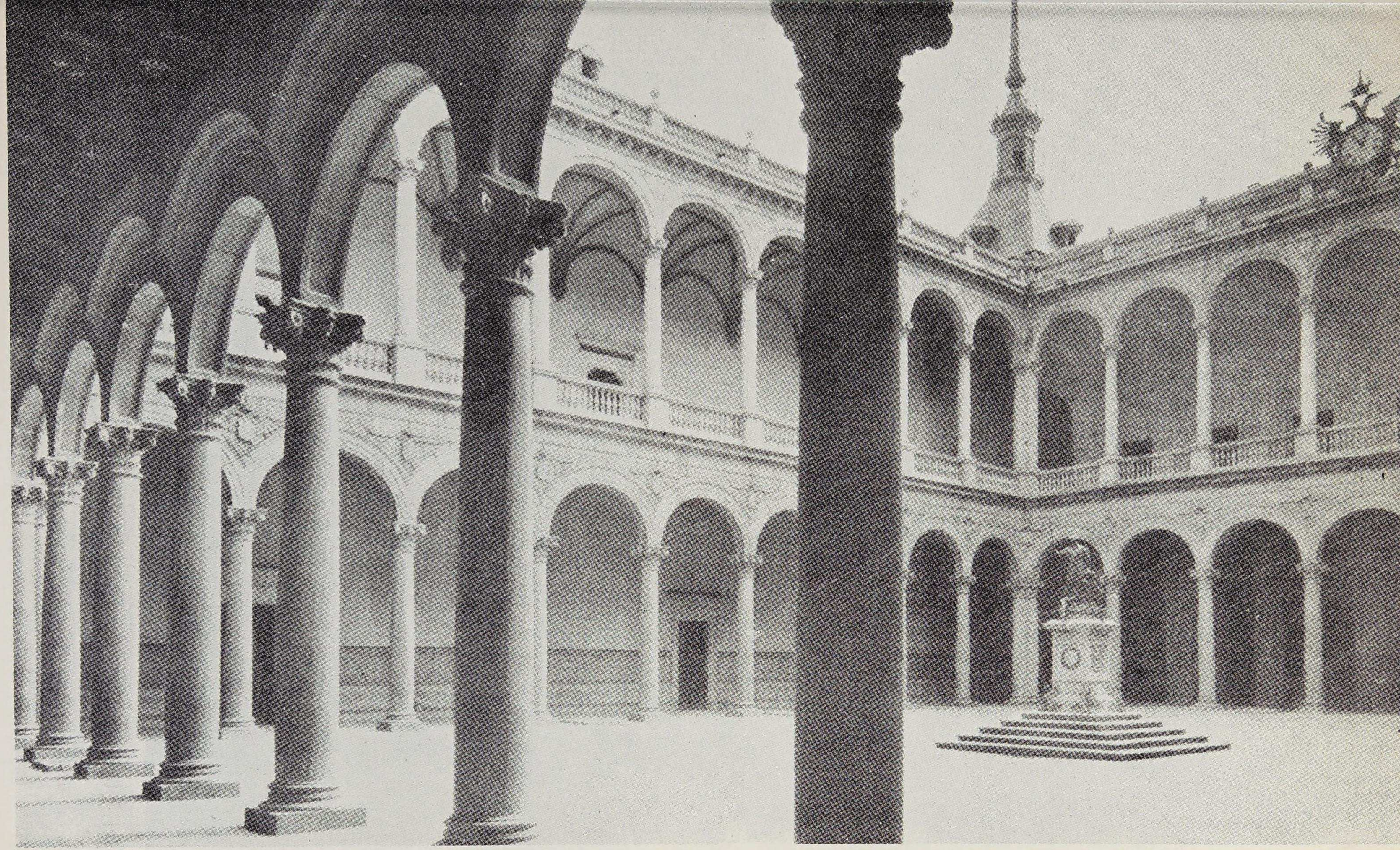
Luis Ortiz calculated that for each ducat of raw material that the Spaniards sold they would have to pay from 10 to 100 ducats to the nations who manufactured the materials. His possible errors in computation do not spoil his theory. According to Carande, he hoped to force the foreigners to spend eight or ten million ducats in manufactured goods instead of a million in raw materials. He advised that the export of raw materials be prohibited for four years and he admitted that this date

could be prolonged. He recommended that the producers be provided with implements and materials, that they be exempt from ordinary and extraordinary *servicios* and that the technical training of expert operators be pursued with determination importing the most capable foreigners. He trusted them with the instruction of the nationals. He counted with a protectionist customs system to channel foreign commerce... He did not forget that the obtaining of materials necessary for industrial uses could be intensified within the country and, in this way, counteract the import of foreign goods. This, he hoped, would contain the exit of precious metals and increase the production of articles as necessary as wax, flax and hemp. He recommended the cultivation of white mulberry-trees, reforesting, the planting of certain leguminous crops, the introduction of improvements in the windmill system and the canalization of some rivers. He estimated that the new cultivations and the increase of domestic production would prevent the exit of two million ducats provoked by the import of threads and paper. He even mentioned some invisible exports.

Thus Luis Ortiz formulated a project of economic planning which was almost a complete system, and pointed to solutions which reveal his fine insight. Beyond the Pyrenees this policy, already clearly mercantilist, triumphed in the England of Elizabeth, especially after Burleigh was charged in 1575 with the administration of the treasury, and the France of Henry IV and Sully, at the end of the sixteenth-century. In Castile the Cortes of 1559 and 1563 made theirs, so it seems, the most important ideas of Luis Ortiz concerning the industrialization of the kingdom, customs protection and the defense of maritime trade. The petitions they formulated to Philip II at the dawn of his reign concerning such problems are mentioned above.

The works of Fray Tomás de Mercado, faithful mirror of the economic life of the kingdom, of its ills and defects, must have led to the same conclusions. He clearly writes down ills and problems, discovers their causes and even points out remedies. In two years, two editions of his *Suma* were published. It cannot be doubted that his work extended and won the interest of the Castilians of his time. The diffusion and success of his work and the reception given by the cortes to the ideas of Ortiz prove that national attention had turned towards the problems of the economy.

The enormous cost of the policy of Charles V, his surrender of the national riches to his creditors, his sacrifice of the Castilian interests to those of other states ruled by him and the excessive pull given by the American demand caused terrible damages to any possible expansion of the economic potential of Castile. But that shrewd way of looking and that clear way of reflecting on the vital matters of national economy testify that the errors could have still been mended and the rising curve of the Castilian wealth in the second half of the sixteenth-century could have still been followed. It would have been necessary, evidently, for the central State administration to have listened to the clamor of the merchants,



139.—*Patio of the Alcázar of Toledo.* The Renaissance in Spain. Patio of the Alcázar of Toledo where Charles V established his center of government. «In a spacious hall» of the Alcázar the Count of Benavente received the order to remove the traitor high constable of Bourbon. The order was obeyed, but as the ethic rigour of Spaniards hated treason, they later burned his palace to purify him. This is according to the apparently historical note collected by the Duke of Rivas. Destroyed during the Civil War, national reconciliation will return it to life

140.—*Equestrian Portrait of Charles V*, by Titian. Prado Museum (Madrid). Charles V, as Spain herself, with his lance readied against heresy. If the Flemish grandson of the Catholic Monarchs had not reigned over the Spaniards, we too would have fought against it, but not at the Elbe. Since the heir of the Austrias and of the Burgundians likewise inherited Aragón and Castile, we were for centuries mixed up in Central-European politics, fighting at Mülhberg against the Lutherans and at Vienna against the Turks

141.—*University Chapel of Santa Bárbara. Old Cathedral* (Salamanca). In this chapel of Santa Bárbara of the old Cathedral of Salamanca the students of the university would take their doctorates. The university was founded by Alfonso IX (1215) and Ferdinand III (1242) as an extension of the Cathedral school. For the «titles taken with pomp», the masses, refreshments, dinners, bullfights, etc., with which the new doctorate was celebrated in the rowdy student town, followed the grave academic acts celebrated in this chapel. In Salamanca many carefree nieces of «The Faked Aunt» triumphed.

142.—*A Young Philip II*, by Titian. Prado Museum (Madrid). Can we recognize the physical archetype of pure «Spanishness» in this young man with blond hair and blue eyes? The son of Charles of Ghent and Isabel of Portugal, Philip II was not a Spaniard psychically either. Born and educated in Castile, he received the complex of ideas, ways of living and political traditions of the *Homo Hispanus*. But, because of the anti-Spanishness of his character, he could not confront in a Spanish way the problems of Spain. He was more Flemish and Portuguese than Castilian.

the economic theoreticians, the technicians, the *hidalgo* representatives of the cortes, the Castilian theologians and even friars like Tomás de Mercado.

Philip II, king of and for the Spanish, although very different from his father, —in contrast to his father he was Spanish in his education and devotions, but was half German half Portuguese in his psychic reactions— nevertheless continued Charles' quixotic Spanish policy. His expenses in war and peace greatly surpassed those of Charles. In his international ventures he used gold in abundance: gold to pay for his frequent campaigns, pursuing the centuries' long battle against Islam and in defense of Catholic unity in Europe, as well as to maintain sympathetic factions —the French Catholic League cost him fabulous sums— and buy consciences —unsuccessfully most of the time— in nations hostile either to Catholicism or to Spain.

An exact calculation of the great expenses of Philip II's policy has not been made yet. Some figures that have been brought to light are sufficient to provoke, more than just amazement, shock. When he decreed the second suspension of payments in 1575 he owed more than 17 million ducats to the Genoese bankers and I do not know the sums he owed to his father's bankers, the Fugger, whom he excluded from his drastic measure. When he signed the agreement, the *Medio General,* with his creditors in March of 1577, he obtained from them a new loan for 5 million ducats. In 1584, taking advantage of the silver arriving from America, he placed 2 million ducats in Milan to be remitted to Alexander Farnese in monthly payments of 150,000 ducats. The correspondence of the banker from Medina, Simón Ruiz —the material at Simancas has yet to be studied— offers disturbing news of the long series of credit drafts sent to the Low Countries between the two bankruptcies of 1575 and 1596. It will be sufficient to name a few examples.

Between 1586 and 1587 only one banker, Camilo Balbani, advanced 891,666 *escudos* to Farnese in Flanders. In those years, the government of Madrid sent through international banking more than seven million escudos to Flanders, while at the same time remitting 1,200,000 to Genoa with the same final destination. No sooner authorized by Philip II, Farnese began to sign bills against the royal treasury. In only one day, he remitted a draft for 600,000 ducats. Between 1588 and 1591 bills from the Prince of Parma totalling 4,495,966 escudos were handled by Simón Ruiz: we can suppose that the Prince subscribed many more. In those years between 1588 and 1591 the royal finance in Madrid arranged for *asientos* of 11,130,000 escudos in Flanders. Farnese's successors remitted drafts against the Spanish treasury between 1593 and 1596 for the amount of 3,321,389 escudos. During these years the government of Philip II asked for advance drafts payable in the Low Countries for much more than 7,730,813 escudos. This being the incomplete amount of the financial deals known to Simón Ruiz.

These examples can be easily multiplied throughout the precise pages of Henri Lapeyre, *Simón Ruiz et les asientos de Phillippe II*, and will be completed to draw the exhaustive picture of what the campaigns of Flanders cost, when the new generation of historians of Modern Spain decides to attentively research this subject.

All that series of millions and millions of ducats or escudos, which amounted to hundreds and hundreds of billions of maravedis, cost Spain, i. e. the Castilian Crown, even more. The geographic extension of Philip II's dominions, the situation in which he was forced to make war abroad and the tendency of the financial weight of his monarchy towards the treasury of one of his kingdoms, Castile, forced the treasury of Philip to place a large amount of those fabulous sums outside of Spain.

During my youth and even during my maturity, when a difficult venture had been reached with success, in Spain one still said: «He has placed a pike in Flanders.» It might also be said that «It's as difficult as placing a doubloon in Brussels.» The king, his secretaries, his treasury counsellors would have hesitated before either of these comparisons. They knew well how much it cost to send money to any Flemish city. Today we know this thanks to the archives of Simón Ruiz and thanks to all those who have already done research in it.

From the time that Elizabeth of England in 1568 seized a ship which held the money sent to the Duke of Alba for his army's pay, it became unwise to send gold or silver to Flanders by sea. Soon any remission of funds to the Low Countries by sea became impossible due to the battles they had to fight against the English and Dutch pirates. Their remittance through France was expensive because, in order to grant a safeconduct, the court of Paris demanded a third of the sums to be transported; furthermore soon it became as dangerous as it was by sea. Besides, the government of Madrid was forced to ask for the assistance of international banking in order to remit the indispensable sums to maintain the war against the Flemish rebels, and afterwards, against England and the French Huguenots.

Yes, Philip II was forced very early to arrange *asientos*, i. e., state loans and drafts, with businessmen who could place funds where they were needed. These businessmen only subscribed to the *asientos* with the hope of obtaining healthy and quick earnings. They committed themselves to paying the sums in the place or places and date or dates agreed upon, and the royal treasury guaranteed them the repayment of money they had remitted in Spain, within a reasonable period of time and with a part of any revenue received by the public treasury or of the precious metals arriving from America. Rarely did the reimbursement occur outside of Spain; sometimes it began before the sum was fully payed in Flanders and usually the *asentistas* also obtained license to export large or small sums of silver reales.

Business evidently depended on the agreement of interest rate on the amount of the *asiento*, on the fixing of a higher than normal exchange rate of the monetary units in which the draft would be payed and also on the difference in value in and outside of Spain of the money which was authorized to leave the country.

The first *asiento* of Simón Ruiz with Philip II, on 21 January of 1576, will serve as an example. He remitted to the Finance Council bills of exchange for Flanders for the value of 44,000 escudos. For every escudo sent to the Low Countries he would receive 385 maravedis in Spain (the *escudo* was worth 350 *maravedís*), and a license to export up to 16,940,000 maravedís, which was the sum he received due to the favorable exchange agreement.

Lapeyre has calculated the profits the banker from Medina made from the *asientos* he subscribed to, or in which he participated, between 1577 and 1586. The profits oscillated between 6.50% and 22.20%; and the earnings were acquired in very few months. His drafts and profits are thus: 23.6.1581=22.2%; 31.12.1581=13.4%; 20.3.1582=7.6%. Since, Simón Ruiz was extraordinarily scrupulous, he ended up leaving the *asiento* business to appease his conscience; other bankers sometimes obtained greater profits. His nephew Pedro Ruiz advanced don John of Austria 16,000 escudos at 485 maravedis for escudo, to be paid in ten days, and with a license to export 9,790,000 instead of the 7,760,000 maravedis which was the sum obtained from the loan so liberally valued.

Philip II tried to prevent the terrible bleeding of the *asientos*. He accepted all suggested formulas to be rid of them. According to Hamilton, in 1576 he ordered that a project for the creation of national banks in the many countries of his empire be studied, a project too novel to be accepted at the time. In 1584 and later years he had great sums of money placed in the castle of Milan to serve as operating cash. He discused, bargained and struggled with the *asentistas* as much as he could. Yet, after zealously defending the national interests he found himself in the end having to accept the conditions imposed by the bankers because the war did not allow time for the arrival of the fleets from the Indies nor for the collection of taxes or duties. Only the complex network of businessmen from Castile, Portugal, Genoa, Lyon, Germany and Flanders could transfer the necessary funds on the date and place where the money was needed. Simón Ruiz ventured to arrange his first *asiento* relying on his relations with a group of Portuguese financiers. Because of their shipments of species to the Low Countries the Portuguese had credit in Antwerp. The Castilian silver sent to Portugal was useful for their colonial businesses. Attracted by Simón Ruiz to this business, the Portuguese had the agreed sum to payed in Flanders. Other times the draft jumped from Castile to Brittany and later crossed France; it went from Castile to Lyon and from Lyon to Flanders; it left for Germany and from Germany to the

Low Countries, or it crossed the Mediterranean towards Genoa to later go up to Antwerp or Brussels. The difficulties of the governing officials of Flanders were such that they were frequently forced to ask for loans from the Castilian and Portuguese businessmen residing in France or in its court or from the factors of some bankers of Lyon, Genoa or Germany who were there established; and they were forced to sign bills against the treasury of Madrid with conditions which were even less favorable than those of the *asientos* arranged in Spain.

The frequency with which the sums crossed Catalonia, destined to France by land or to be shipped from Barcelona to Genoa provoked the great development of the Catalonian banditry of which Cervantes in his *Quixote* leaves testimony. J. Reglá Campistol has just finished studying this subject.

Year after year the sums devoured by the war in Flanders grew. These sums fabulously increased when Philip II decided to intervene in French affairs. The drainage suffered by Philip II's treasury was colossal because added to the wars were the great profits which the *asensistas* made.

It is necessary to add to those millions and millions the additional cost caused by: the revolt of the Moriscos of Granada, the battles with the Turks, the Portuguese adventure, the war with England, the intervention in the Atlantic and Mediterranean regions of France, far from the Low Countries, the disturbances in Aragón... To calculate the real cost of the adventures of the Spain of Philip we should add the amounts that the battles cost, the amounts contributed to what we could call «cold war» which preceeded and always followed military enterprises; amounts which volume was also colossal. Only this long addition will permit us to see the terrible bleeding which the quixotic policy of the prudent monarch caused on the national wealth. The gold and silver from America and the tributes, *servicios* and duties which the Peninsular people, the Castilians that is, payed were not sufficient to meet the fiscal burden of the empire.

The royal treasury was exhausted when Philip II reached the throne. Cabrera de Córdoba writes: «The debts of the Emperor were many and ministers proposed to abolish them or not to pay them.» He adds: «The Council of Finance was the loudest when asking the king, who had just succeeded to the crown, for moneys, and to complain when they had to seek and obtain those sums by any possible means. The Emperor had spent so much that they knew not how to remedy his son's necessities, due to unwillingness to even give the 3,300,000 reales he asked for.»

Philip II's fiscal pressures were chronic and huge. He received sums from America which were much greater than those received by the Emperor, close to 14,100,000,000 maravedis compared to some 4,700,000,000. Castile's fiscal burden grew terribly; there was not one source of wealth which was not unmercifully bled; the percentage of the *alcabalas* was increased and they were even collected in the previously tax-exempt fairs; the customs duties were also increased, even exports were thus taxed, as well as the

traditional rents of the Crown of Castile; diverse excise taxes were invented and collected; monopolies were created; ordinary and extraordinary *servicios* were extracted from the cortes and a new tax, the *millones,* (64) whose name gives us an idea of its quantity; ecclesiastical subsidies were frequently received; a high nobiliary donation was obtained; lordships, titles, *encomiendas,* aldermanships, *hidalgo* rights... were sold and, despite all this, Philip II had to suffer three bankruptcies in 1557, 1575, and 1596. On his death he left a floating debt of about 100 million ducats, that is, 37,500,000,000 maravedis.

In the Cortes of 1573: «The commissioners in charge of the redemption of pledges reported to the kingdom what they had been told by the president and assistants that the amount His Majesty owed in his fixed debt and what had to be payed from the ordinary tributes and rents or *juros* amounted to 35 or 36 millions (of ducats, from 13,000,000,000 to 13,500,000,000 maravedis) and 70 life-long *juros* (26,250,000,000 maravedis) and certain wheat, barley and wine in perpetual grant which could not be taken away; all of this according to the testament they were given.»

In a letter Philip sent to the city of Burgos, in December 1573, informing that he had extended the cortes, he said that the treasury was: «Exhausted and spent and our royal rents are sold, pawned or on consignment due to the excessive expenses caused by the defense of the Christian religion and of these kingdoms and of our other states.»

The royal proposal which was read in the Cortes of 1576 painted the situation even worse. Despite the *servicio* granted for ten years by the previous cortes, he had: «No treasury nor possibilities, there being no form or way to negotiate by way of *asientos* or exchanges, not even with interest, because the royal patrimony is so exhausted and spent due to those *asientos* and exchanges and so many *juros* that, as you know, the royal rents of these kingdoms find themselves sold, placed and charged to those merchants and businessmen who received them »

The *procurador* of Toledo, Agustín Alvarez, in a speech he read to the Cortes of 1579 said that they wanted to show to the king: «The great inconveniences which have resulted and which each day are experienced by the increase of the *alcabala,* the impossibility to meet such an increase, the intolerable necessities of the kingdom, the misery of the poor, the universal discontentment of all...; because since Your Majesty has extended to the foreign nation (the foreign merchants) real estate and *juros,* they sell those as they sell everything else, and thus control all the money which was laying fallow in these kingdoms. Without this money it is impossible to trade as it is the substance of commerce; especially as there are also other outlets which drain the money out of this kingdom, which all the other nations and foreign kingdoms profit from, while these kingdoms are

(64) Tax on essential consumer items such as oil, meat, etc., established by Philip II.

left without anything.» He then analyzed the different ways the gold and silver left Castile. The first were the shipments made to tend to the necessities of other kingdoms and estates, especially Flanders: «Which by having lasted and lasting so much time, is a flowing fountain, which until it is emptied, will consume all the wealth of these kingdoms» «The other way» he added is the money which the foreign nations that come to trade and deal take out of the country... The licit means by which they take out so much money are the licenses Your Majesty grants them with the *asientos* (state loans) they make, whose interests are so excessive that although this business is of much importance and it brings about such universal and unimaginable harm, it is for them merely a prerequisite of other much greater profits. And what is worse is that with a license to take out 100 they take out 100,000 and this multiplies the drain... Therefore, there seems to be no other remedy than to forbid all foreign nation from intervening in the country, so that the wealth they acquire may stay in the hands of the natives of these kingdoms or, if it is necessary to yield to them and impossible to live without them, then we must order that the foreigners who want to trade and deal in these kingdoms, and thus become wealthy, become citizens in such a way that they will not be able to leave these kingdoms nor establish themselves in any others.» He judged shipments to Rome to be the third route taken by the money that left the country; he considered it to be very important and pointed out ways to remedy it. He described the fourth route as: «The great frequency with which extraordinary and tax-exempt merchandise enters this kingdom... only to leave us with what we do not need and take our money in exchange, which is, the powerful and invincible strength of these kingdoms.»

Carreras and others have verily pointed out the significance of these texts for the economic history of Spain. It is not necessary to magnify the damages they caused to the Castilian economy: the colossal tributary oppresion which asphyxiated the creators of national wealth —farmers, industrialists and merchants— and the plundering of Castile by the «nations» of foreign merchants protected by Philip II. These damages were even greater because this asphyxia and plunder of the national wealth coincided with the Philippine military ventures which maintained, affirmed and enlivened the millenary epic-heroic Castilian tradition.

None of the ills which prevented the economic transformation of Castile nor the expansion of the bourgeois spirit during the first half of the sixteenth-century, had therefore found any remedy in the second half of the century.

The pursuit of military ventures to defend European Catholic unity accelerated the treasury's debt with the foreign bankers who were continually imposing heavier conditions on the monarch, due to the loss of credit after each bankruptcy. The creditors of the Castilian treasury continued having great sums of ducats with which to deal in the market of raw materials, wools, silks, leathers, iron, minerals and cereals; and

continued provoking pools, monopolies, price rises, exports... so that, in the end, they took back to their home country the sums they had loaned Philip II, but not before the sums had doubled or tripled because of deals, contracts, loans, usury... And there was no possible competition on the part of the Spaniards, because the substance of all the kingdom, as the graphic phrase of the *procurador* from Toledo said, was in their hands; and because the Castilian merchants continued suffering frequent appropriations of their assets from the Indies, to the extent that Cabrera considered as an exception any merchant who was not deprived of his moneys.

Don Baltasar de Alamos y Barrientos, a man of political experience during the reign of Philip II, a month after the king died, sent to the new king a *Discurso* which read: «What makes the tributes intolerable is the fact that their proceeds come from the same who payed them and from the natives. Because when it leaves and returns in the benefit of the people coming from some and going to others in the same kingdom and province, no matter how much they gave they are left with plenty, since what they gave is ultimately returned to them... Yet this ceases to be so when our wealth passes to foreigners, there being no way in which it can come back to us... because of (foreign) wars, trade and commerce have stopped and the profits have ceased...»

The increase of the amounts of silver arriving from America and the terrible fiscal oppresion of the farmers, industrialists and merchants —the nobles and the clergy were still exempt—, accentuated the price revolution. The continued rise of the value of things, always much greater here than beyond the Pyrenees, as Hamilton's tables prove, and the rise in wages, *which Bodin estimated to be triple that of the French wages in his time*, contributed to the torrential invasion of foreign workers, merchants and merchandise in Spain. Fray Tomás de Mercado ironically writes that for each peso arriving from the Indies a merchant from other kingdoms entered Castile. Some modern authors calculated that they reached the number of 100,000 in a Spain which had eight to nine million inhabitants; not half the amount of Goths who entered the Peninsula in the fifth-century but highly surpassing the number of Muslims who in the eight-century crossed the Strait. The protests against this invasion raised by the cortes of 1563, 1566, 1570, 1583, 1586, and 1592 were in vain. Philip II dismissed the Cortes of 1573 because they imposed as a condition for granting him new tributes, the prohibition of foreign trade and commerce in Castile.

The State did not attempt to compensate for the unbalance between prices and wages on both sides of the Pyrenees, nor to compensate for the unbalance which separated Castilian coins from their rivals, differences which served as a powerful magnet to the foreign men and merchandise by prohibiting the imports of foreign products and by stimulating its own exports, by limiting the activities of the businessmen from other countries,

and lastly by having a prudent devaluation of the national money. None of this was done and even grave tactical errors were made. With unusual blindness, in 1566 the duties of the harsh *almojarifazgo* of Seville were doubled and foreign merchandise which entered Seville en route to the Indies was exempted of the 5% *ad valorem* which the nationals had to pay upon leaving for overseas. Foreign merchants and bankers who kept receiving sums from the treasury for the *asientos* they had contracted continued manipulating to the detriment of Castilian industry and were able to sustain the current of foreign imports such as fabric, cloth, silks, weapons, etc., as they had done for many decades. The fiscal pressures of the treasury always, always, always obstructed any attempt to protect national economy. They feared that such measures would scare away the foreigners from whom they could obtain credits and drafts, since more and more revenue was needed and they feared that the devaluation would increase expenses.

It was increasingly more difficult for the young national industry to compete in quality and price with the foreign industries; not only outside of Spain but also in the market of Seville which supplied America and sometimes even throughout the internal market of Castile. The government showed no desire to remedy this situation, fearing the loss of the valuable customs revenues that the foreign merchandise payed for the *almojarifazgo* of Seville and the *almojarifazgo* of the Indies. The loss of the rule of the seas in the last decades of the century and the consequent setback for the national merchant fleet, by facilitating English and Dutch contraband along the coasts of the New World, closed more and more the American market to Castilian industry.

The increase and generalization of the *alcabala,* the establishment of multiple excises, the continuance and increase of tolls collected in the dry ports; in other words, the terrible and growing fiscal oppresion along with the lack of concern for the roads on the part of a government involved in higher enterprises, and the continual difficulties of the treasury which could not pay its debts on the assigned dates, ruined internal trade. For example, the fairs of Medina del Campo declined. The fairs were not even able to continue functioning as clearing-houses for the kingdom. They were no longer duty-free nor exempt as the *alcabala* extended to the transactions arranged at the fairs. The frequent impossibility the treasury found of planning in the fairs the necessary drafts to settle accounts forced the government to extend their duration, sometimes for months. As the treasury was unable to settle its debts, the businessmen were likewise unable to pay theirs and had to go into bankruptcy. The prolongation of the fairs, by extending the dates in which it was licit to pay the bills remitted to Medina, eventually rendered any payment date uncertain and restricted and ruined the necessary confidence for trade. If the *alcabala* scared away the merchants, this double insecurity discouraged the money brokers, *asentistas* and bankers from participating in the fairs.

The international balance of payments was increasingly more unfavorable to us, and thus the drainage of precious metals and the rushing current of imports increased. This drainage and increase, as in a vicious circle, provoked new depressions in the industrial and mercantile life of the kingdom. The Spanish industrialists, merchants and bankers saw the horizons of success closed to them by the threatening clouds of the growing foreign competition and the above mentioned difficulties In 1555 the regent princess doña Juana wrote to Brussels: «The situation has became so extreme that the merchants wanted to unload the merchandise they had on the ships going to the Indies, saying that they did not want to trade with them and rather wanted to sell them here in order to pay their debts and not find themselves in prison or having to flee.» Many Spanish bankers of Seville went bankrupt: in 1570, Diego Bernuy Jr. and Jerónimo de Curiel; in 1577, Juan de la Presa and Diego de Gamarra, etc., etc.

The situation worsened as the reign of Philip II advanced. The war in the Atlantic against Holland and England and the religious wars in France interrupted Castile's trade with Brittany, Normandy and Flanders, a trade more than three centuries old. The Castilian merchants who had dedicated themselves to that trade, had become rich because of it and their trading-houses in Nantes, Rouen, Antwerp, went bankrupt. This crisis, along with the terrible fiscal oppresion, provoked the vertical fall of the mercantile cities of the kingdom. In 1590 some *asentistas* received *juros* —consolidated debt— in payment of some of their credits to the royal treasury. Some of the *asentistas* gave orders to sell them, others decided to keep them. The very intelligent banker from Medina, Simón Ruiz, advised his agents in Lyon, the Balbi: to keep the *juros* which were backed by the taxes —a cash unit did not exist yet— of the districts of Palencia, Cerrato and Arévalo, since these were agriculture and livestock-raising lands whose rents could not decrease, something not so sure in: «*centers of trade where the loss of business and merchandise results in the lowering of rents.*» This in 1590! Regard for economic life was not lacking nor was clear vision in the face of the crisis; but because of the terrible prolongation of Philip II's foreign policy this crisis was incoercible.

Many businessmen settled their accounts and invested their profits in lands and rents. New industrial, mercantile or banking vocations could not grow in the fog which darkened the desperate hopes for prosperity in the wasted atmosphere in which they were drowning. Fray Tomás de Mercado writes in 1568 of Seville: «Sixty years ago when the West Indies were discovered, a great advantage and opportunity to achieve great riches again occurred, an opportunity which invited and attracted some of the important men to become merchants, seeing in it so much profit... Since then and in this way the merchants of this city have increased in number and their wealth and riches have innumerably grown. Their social status has been ennobled and improved: among them there are many people of

great reputation and honor in the town whom rightly one must take into account.» (Regarding Mercado refer to the study done by my son Nicolás).

The pursuit of the favorable conjuncture —it should be noted that I am not giving these words their current technical meaning— would have ended up attracting the practice of trade and commerce the nobility of modest rents and difficult life, as happened in England, in Holland and in other countries: in 1480 the Duke of Medina Sidonia was actively interested in some enterprise of foreign commerce. The triumphant invasion of the foreign businessmen and the ruinous competition they made for the nationals thanks to the funds received from the treasury of Charles and Philip, ended up accentuating the inclinations of the rich to live from the rents of their riches.

The parvenus of all times and countries have ordinarily surrendered to the same temptation Examples of such failures in waning medieval times and during the first century of Modern Times abound in all the nations where the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois spirit triumphed. We even know of many European bourgeois of those times who struggled to open their way into the more or less closed nobiliary, feudal or Renaissance hierarchies.

In the countries which experienced an adventurous bourgeoisie, new generations would replace those who had enriched themselves in business. Unfortunately Castile did not enjoy such renovation. Success attracts like a formidable magnet; failure or the accumulation of difficulties discourages and disheartens, dampens the faith in a change of fortune, paralyzes the impetus and ultimately turns aside, drugs or destroys that vital anxiety. This happened to the towns which integrated the Crown of Castile during the sixteenth-century.

All through the first century of Modern Times which does not begin in the Peninsula with the taking of Constantinople by the Turks but with the conclusion of the Reconquest and the discovery of America, the old and new inclinations of the Spaniards struggled against each other. The preoccupation for commercial and banking life which moved some theologians and moralists to write of the exchanges and usuries and not few of them to focus their attention on deals, contracts, moneys, loans, markets... accredits the volume reached by the new activities of the Castilians. Testimonies of the industrial development of the country are many: workers were lacking and there were too many wages. The clear mockery of the old life of *hidalguía* which appears in the pages of Lazarillo, does it not also constitute a clear symptom of the beginnings of a new spirit in Castile? Does not the anonymous author uncover his pious but firm contempt for the extent of honor which prevented Lazaro's master from supporting himself by means of non-noble occupations? The Medina which the Empress visited and the Seville described by Fray Tomás de Mercado are two new cities shaken by vivacious appetites for prosperity and saturated

by bourgeois and even capitalist spirit. Prince don Philip, regent of Spain, breaking away from all the prejudices of the nobiliary and clerical caste, calls to the Council of Finance and appoints as counselor the banker and merchant of Medina, Rodrigo de Dueñas. The knights of Seville begin to marry the daughters of the enriched merchants. The preoccupation for the economic and fiscal decline provokes peculiar reactions on the part of the clerics and nobles. Fearing this decline the Castilian theologians advised Philip II in 1566 to grant freedom of worship to the troublesome Flemings, and the *hidalgo procuradores* to the cortes confront the king's policy in defense of the faith and dare to tell him in 1588: «By chance, will France, Flanders and England be more virtuous when Spain becomes poorer?» In 1593 they ask: «That, whenever possible, Your Majesty ease up with the armies you have in Flanders and France because with this so far the rebels who do not want to follow the holy faith have been well and rigorously punished; *that since they want their own perdition let them have it.*»

I am certain that an exhaustive investigation in the narrative, literary, juridical and documentary sources would permit us to align other numerous testimonies of this new spirit revealed by the aforementioned testimonies. However this new spirit was not able to mature and root in the midst of the storms which the policies of Charles and Philip raised in their path. The Spanish economy and finances were not ruined because the capacity to face the economic and fiscal matters of the nation was lacking.

Thus the large series of intertwined causes provoking the great crisis which exhausted the bourgeois impetus and the ideal of a new life which was beginning to open its way in the dawn of the Modern Times, have been outlined. The majority of the causes were alien to the will and temperamental heritage of the Spanish. They cannot be blamed for many of its deficiencies: not for the deficient infrastructure of their national territory; nor for the fact that the Habsburg inheritance of the Spanish kingdoms coincided with the beginnings of the great American conjuncture; nor that this opportunity was offered to us when our *divine* enterprise of the Reconquest having been recently concluded, our economic life was still undeveloped; nor the errors made by the central State, administration from the days of the Catholic Kings, when trying to bind the nascent Castilian economy into rigid guild organizations which were foreign to the national tradition; nor for the negligence on the part of Charles V and Philip II towards the basic task of the creating of Spain and the organically developed economy of their Peninsular states; nor for the huge fiscal burden which the imperial enterprises of Charles threw upon the towns which integrated the Crown of Castile; nor for the Emperor's surrender of the Castilians' industrial and mercantile life to the pack of hounds of his German, Italian or Flemish creditors; nor for the favor which Charles granted to the industry and commerce of his Flemish homeland and his ally Genoa, to the detriment of the economy of his Spanish states; nor

for the price rise —in Spain, more intense and lasting than abroad— due to the flooding of the country by America's precious metals; nor for its forced confrontation with this then mysterious problem which for the first time appeared in the West and which was difficult to understand and to resolve without making many errors and zigzags; nor for the fact that the new bourgeoisie was unable to accumulate capital to expand its activities because wages and prices rapidly caught up with prices; nor for the competition which foreign industry could create for the Castilian, because the delayed and attenuated arrival of the tide of the price rise in the nations beyond the Pyrenees maintained an unbalance between wages and prices which permitted them to produce more cheaply than in Spain; nor for the continuation and aggravation of the tremendous drainage of the national wealth due to the effort of Philip II to maintain the Catholic unity of Europe; nor for the fact that, as a result of the wars which that effort and other adventures of Philip provoked, the economic axis of Castile-Flanders which had served as a pivot to the Castilian economy for two centuries and had contributed to its development, was broken as the trade along the coasts of Atlantic Europe was interrupted and the royal treasury went bankrupt, at the same time ruining the cities which were nodal centers of this axis and provoking a general crisis; nor for the small purchasing power of great masses of the urban and rural population: either bound to the oppresing seigneurial yoke which a magnate held over the town in which they lived, or tied to the no less harsh strap of the proprietor of the miserable land they worked; nor for the fact that these masses without resources grew along with the economic ruin of Castile after the interruption of the Castilian exports and the collapse of our economy; nor that the promissory attempt to renovate our contexture coincided with: a) the discovery by many Spaniards in the adventures on both sides of the oceans of a great opportunity for the development of the Castilian temperamental potential, or better the Peninsular potential, which was forged in the harsh battles of the medieval centuries; b) the synchronous increase of the possibilities for prosperity under the shelter of power or service, due to the hypertrophy of the monarchy's civil and military bureaucracy; and c) the parallel swelling of the powerful current of riches which spilled from the Indies onto Spain.

All that burden of organizational faults, ruinous economic synchronisms, the rain of precious metals, the projection of the political errors on the national economy, the growing fiscal oppression of the creators of the Castilian wealth, inhibiting temptations, weakness in the face of crisis with an inclination to live from the rents —what Braudel has called: «The betrayal of the bourgeoisie»— continued to burden Castile and the Castilians in the first decades of the seventeenth-century and the harm no longer could be remedied.

The nobiliary and knightly spirit triumphed in the end, the old functional structure of the Spanish was affirmed and the traditional temperamental

equation between power, wealth and service once again became the only key to the daily existence of the Castilians and of all the Peninsular people. The fact that the *hidalgos*, a minority in Castile, tenaciously kept to their secular prejudices against the industrial and mercantile tasks did not matter so much for the future of the Spanish as the fact that the non-noble masses had not dedicated themselves to those tasks and took the *hidalgo* life as an archetype. «It seems that these kingdoms have been reduced to a republic of enchanted men who live outside the natural order», the economist Cellorigo wrote in 1600.

The cities, whose population was increased by those who came from the fields fleeing from hunger —the poor and harsh land could not support the farmers, who were overburdened with rents and tributes—, when Castilian industry and commerce declined, saw a hundred hands outstretched, asking for alms or a job. The parvenus of the price revolution and the American trade led an ostentatious life, away from their businesses and after investing their moneys in *censos* and *juros*. More than ever the *hidalgos*, they found themselves paralyzed by their honor and looked to the service to the king or the grandees for a remedy to their haughty misery. The knightly spirit, *hidalguismo* had reached the marrow of the Castilian society, had softened its nervous potential, had frustrated the materialization of a bourgeoisie and the maturation of the bourgeois spirit, and everything concerned with here below. It frustrated any renovation of a taste for the observation of nature, any inclination towards empirical knowledge, any devotion to experimentation and technology, any rupture with the theocentric concept of life and any attraction towards the free interchange of reason and desire.

Chapter XVI

SPAIN AS A HISTORICAL UNITY

1. Towards the Formation of Spain

The advances made in the study of Spanish prehistory in the last decades have radically changed the traditional image of primitive Hispania. Today it seems clear that from the Paleolithic Age the Peninsula was, both ethnically and culturally, much more unified than we had supposed. Archeological culture had already reached all of the Peninsular regions and bone fossils of its creators come from the two extremes of Spain: from Gibraltar and from Bañolas (Gerona). A people, the creators of a culture called «Gravettian», later occupied the whole of the Hispanic soil, while another, also from Europe, stretched out along the Cantabrian zone. The Aurignacian painters, forming a part of this last group, later advanced to the center of Spain and along the Mediterranean coast: traces of that advance have remained in the caves of Sahelices (Guadalajara) and of Parpalló (Gandía). They even reached the beaches of Málaga in the South: there are remains of their arrival in the cave of La Pileta. The incorrectly termed cave culture or Hispano-Mauritanian culture later covered Spain completely. Schematic painting, born in the Southwest, advanced along all the mountain ranges of the Peninsula up to the coasts of the Atlantic. The culture of Almería, in its second or «Millares» (65) period, extended throughout the lands of Andalusia and Extremadura, towards the West, and along the Levant, towards the North. The megalithic cultural phenomenon, of foreign origin but developed in the South of Hispania, later reached the North of Portugal, from where it spread along the Cantabrian coast and through the valleys of the Pyrenees. It probably reached Catalonia by sea and penetrated, via criss-crossing routes, to the two central mesetas

(65) Los Millares is the excavated site of a settlement of the Copper Age in the province of Almería. One tomb has been dated at approximately 2430 b. c.

of Spain: dolmens have been found in the province of Madrid. The so-called bell beaker *(vaso campaniforme)* culture spread radially throughout the entire Peninsula and on more than one occasion returned to the center from the periphery. The Argar culture grew along the coasts of the Levant, until entering France through the Eastern Pyrenees, ascended the Ebro up to Cantabria and the Basque Country, and through the valleys of the Duero and the Tagus reached zones which archeological finds have situated little by little further west and further south. In the extreme Peninsular Northwest the circular type of dwelling characteristic of the Almería culture took root; a form also adopted in the Portuguese Algarve. The bronze culture of the Atlantic, having first arrived in Europe after the Mesolithic period, advanced to the maritime zone of the south of Spain. The Illyrians (?) or pre-Celts, who entered through the Occidental Pyrenees, reached down the Ebro, spread to the meseta of the Duero and, from it, descended to the Cantabrian coast and even to the valley of the Tagus. The Celts crossed the Pyrenean range through all its passes and inundated the Peninsula; they reached the Cantabrian Sea and the Atlantic, they advanced to the mountains of Málaga and Cádiz and even appeared on the beaches of Castellón and Alicante.

The size of the Peninsula is too small for anything else to have occurred. From this immense America, the size of the bull skin of Iberia is easier to discern. Any people or any culture that set foot in it, even though their vital impulses were not great, could splash about to the most distinct parts of Hispania, no larger than two Argentine provinces. For this reason all the Peninsular regions witnessed the appearance on their frontiers of the most diverse ethnics and cultures. In some zones of Spain the Neolithic racial and cultural *substratum* absorbed and watered down the ethnics and cultures having reached them; in others the cultural and ethnic impacts received from the Orient triumphed; in some the Ibero or Mediterranean vital context finally predominated as did, in others, the European pre-Celtic or Celtic. Yet all the Hispanic tribes that the Romans met were a fruit of a complex cultural and blood mixture, in which entered, though in different proportions, almost all the races and civilizations which earlier or later had reached the Peninsula.

Indeed, all the nations of Hispania were truly hybrid all of them: from those who inhabited the mountains and beaches of today's Catalonia —Bosch Gimpera has recently reminded us that Hecateus called them «misgetes» (mixed)— to those who occupied the plains and mountains of what is today Andalusia; and from those situated on the coast of the Levant to those centered in the valley of the Miño. Indeed, all of them were a result of an admixture, even those who lived in the harsh regions of the Basques, because they too, as all the other Peninsular groups, were a late result of the millenary accumulation of diverse cultural and racial detritus. Pericot has just rejected the idea that the Basques were the descendants of Paleolithic man and the rest of the Spaniards, grandchildren

143.—*Religion Saved by Spain,* by Titian. Prado Museum (Madrid). That aid can symbolize our history from the beginnings of our «divine» war of Reconquest. We fought in Spain against the Moors and in the Mediterranean against the Turks, we struggled against the heretics in Europe and on the sea and we brought the Holy Faith of Christ to the New World. A Spanish painter would have placed more asperity and dramatism than Titian, when giving plasticity to our militant Christianity.

144.—*Saint Teresa of Jesus,* by Fray Juan de la Miseria (Carmelites of Seville). Saint Teresa of Jesus and of Ávila (1515-1582), one of the most extraordinary women in history. She was able to realize a marvelous introspection and peer into the souls of others. She made mystical meditation and restless activism compatible. While she awaited the higher life after death, she intensely lived here below. And she received marvelous celestial grace without losing her feminine cheer. She was old and ugly in this portrait by Fray Juan de la Miseria (Carmelites of Seville).

145.—*The Burial of the Count of Orgaz,* by El Greco. San Ildefonso (Toledo). Between heaven and earth. Mystic fantasy and earthly realism. Saints and men. The mysterious and hallucinating afterlife open to mortal men. These men gazing to the sky with their feet firmly placed on the ground. And a gallery of portraits of Toledan *hidalgos.* A foreigner and an excellent observer, El Greco knew how to capture the temperamental make-up of the Castilians and immortalized it in the Burial of the Count of Orgaz, San Ildefonso, Toledo.

146.—*The Inquisitor Niño de Guevara,* by El Greco. Metropolitan Museum (New York). The Inquisitor Niño de Guevara, by El Greco (1541-1614); a whole man and a sharp brush. As in all the institutions which men create and rule, also in the somber Inquisition the personalities which ruled it ended up shaping it. The history of that influence is yet to be written. In many of the inquisitorial trials, hates and emulations were decisive. Let us remember the one of Archbishop Carranza.

of the later invaders of Hispania. The land of Vasconia —already inhabited by cave dwellers the extremely remote Aurignacians colored by waves of Magdalenians—, was later reached by many peoples: the Hispano-Mauritanians who bore the so-called cave culture, perhaps Neolithic shepherds coming from the Caucasus, the dolmen builders, the creators of bell beaker ceramics, the Almerians of Argar or primitive Iberians, the pre-Celtic Illyrians (?) and the historical Celts. More and more traces are being found in ancient Vasconia. The Basque language itself was also the result of very complex mixtures: on an extremely remote substratum of Paleolithic origin (?), Caucasian contributions were imposed, as were Ibero-African (?), Celtic and Latin additions. Today these mixtures are not doubted even by the most erudite among the nationalist exiles of Euzkadi.

Pre-Roman Hispania was, therefore, made up of peoples intimately interrelated by ties of culture and blood. They spoke different tongues because, according to the unequal proportion of the mixtures from which all had been born, each one had kept the language of this or that invading nation of the Peninsula. They were separated more by the ethnic differences of their ruling classes, the continuers of the victorious clans in each region, than by any sharp racial opposition among the masses. History had been separating them by placing the denizens of Andalusia and the Levant in contact with Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, while keeping the other nations of the Peninsula isolated from the cultural currents of the Mediterranean. They lived unattached and at times in conflict, because that was the situation imposed by the horizontal and vertical configuration of the Peninsula, and because they were pushed to this inevitable conflict by their temperamental relationships. Their common coarseness, their analogous vigor, their similar drives, prides and passions and their identical love of a free life hindered their grouping into human units above that of the tribe. At times the ties that united the urban and rural communities of some of them were even weakened. Triviño has studied this coarse singularity of our grandparents from two milleniums ago. Only occasionally did some Hispanic generals overcome that localist spirit: according to Livy, Indíbil and Mandonio aspired to the rule of all of Spain. But their ambition, if they even felt it, did not alter the nature of the Peninsular people their contemporaries.

The lack of solidarity, the secessionist pride, the absence of political sensitivity and the ultra-individualism, all essential traits of the vital make-up of the primitive Spaniards, which triumphed among the inhabitants of the Peninsula upon the arrival of the Romans, both facilitated and hindered the conquest of Hispania by them. They made it possible because Rome could defeat and conquer one city after another and one tribe after another, since it never had to confront all the Hispanos together, structured in a unit comprising the whole Peninsula. It did not even have to fight great united tribal groups. If we remember that Scipio needed 70,000 men to

tame a small town like Numantia, which had been fighting for twenty years, we will be able to calculate what it might have cost the Romans to conquer an army that was composed of the masses of all the Celts and all the Iberians.

The functional framework of the Hispanos also made the task of Rome difficult, because their greatest victories only gave the Romans the lordship of the tribe or city conquered by them. The defeat of a tribal or urban community did not alter the designs nor did it diminish the spirit of the neighboring tribal and urban communities. Rome was to fight long and hard to gain the submission of each one.

Yet the cultural and linguistic variety, the egotistical political separatism, the proud temperamental dissociation and the geographic isolation of the Peninsulars were overcome by Rome. This Romanization began from the day in which the Scipios set foot in Spain, and greatly advanced during the two centuries that preceded the termination of the conquest by Augustus —by means of a complex and slow process which I have just studied— and continued without interruption throughout the four centuries which the lordship of Rome lasted on the Peninsula.

The Romanization provoked a slow and steady equalization of the linguistic, juridical and religious cultural differences which separated the Peninsulars before the arrival of the Romans. It also fashioned the daily way of living and the font of their ideas and sentiments. Finally it favored and encouraged communication and contact. All these were to contribute, naturally, to its articulation in a historical community.

The most recent studies of geographical numismatics of Gómez-Moreno and Mateu y Llopis reveal an already active human commerce between the Peninsular tribes and cities conquered by Rome during the two first centuries of its lordchip over them. Coins from very distant and distinct mints have been found in many diverse villages of Hispania. Statistical figures published by my disciple Irene Arias bear witness to how money flowed and circulated already before Christ, from one confine to another of the zones occupied on the Peninsula: from the Atlantic beaches to the Pyrenees and from the Valley of the Duero to the coasts of the Levant and to the Meridional tip of Spain. Now, this going and coming and trading of coined money leaves no doubt regarding the communication of the geographically most distant peoples and tribes. Coins are not moved through the air, like miasmas, they travel in the pockets of men.

Irene Arias has also just recorded nearly a half thousand Hispano-Latin inscriptions which accredit the frequency of the movements of the Peninsular peoples during the Roman domination. They were dedicated to people who lived or died in cities different from those which had seen them born or from those where they had normally taken up residence. Moreover since these movements known to us today, by means of epigraphic testimony, cannot be more than a minute part of those which really took place, it

is clear that the Hispanos communicated continuously and thus knew one another much more than has been supposed.

Inhabitants of the diverse tribes met at the seats of the «juridical covenants» to request justice and to negotiate public or private affairs. To the same ends and to celebrate the imperial cult and to participate in the provincial assemblies, representatives of the urban and rural communities of each province coincided in Tarraco, Emerita or Corduba. In Tarragona, for example, peoples from the distant shores of the Atlantic, from the Cantabrian coasts, from the Pyrenean valleys, from the Mediterranean, from the plains of the Duero and the Tagus, from the flatlands of the Ebro, from mountainous Celtiberia, from tamed Galicia, from harsh Vasconia and from the basins of the Turia or the Segura, all came together annually and coincided for a few days in fiestas and religious and political meetings. And the people from the Andalusia of the Guadalquivir and from the Lusitanian Portugal and Extremadura congregated each year for the same purposes in Córdoba or Mérida.

Legionaries from all the provinces came to garrison the never-safe northern lands, from Galicia to the Pyrenees, and returned as veterans to the cities of their birth or to those of their wives. Merchants of grains, oil, wine, wool, leather goods, hams, pickled fish, medicinal or dyeing plants, minerals, wood...; vendors of works of art or of manufactured products, from the Hispanic, Italian, Gallic or Oriental workshops; buyers of slaves or livestock; architects and builders of roads, bridges, dykes, acqueducts, seaports, lighthouses, temples, hot baths, theaters, amphitheaters, circuses...; silversmiths, sculptors, painters, lapidaries, mosaicists, ceramists...; pedagogues, doctors, actors, gladiators, etc., etc., all crossed continually the dense network of roads that the *infinita cupiditas aedificandi* of the Romans had constructed over the abrupt terrain of Hispania. All those priests, legates, legionaries, merchants, artists, technicians, specialized laborers... brought with them ideas, customs, news, sayings, books, techniques, and, above all, they placed the different peoples of the most isolated Peninsular regions in contact with each other. In some *civitas* in the northern part of Asturias, the municipal law of the Baetic Osuna was imitated; the tower of Hercules of La Coruña was built by a Lusitanian; samples have been found of *terra sigillata* in the workshop of Tritium (Nájera), far from the Rioja; the buildings and works of art of very different Hispanic cities are similar in style; various treasures of travelling silversmiths have been found; in distinct zones of the Peninsula artistic bronzes and irons, rich objects of silver or mosaics and statutes which could not be made by local artists have been found; and we possess epigraphic testimonies of the presence in diverse Hispanic *civitates* of many citizens from other very different and distant places. There were Vascones (from Vasconia) in the Sierra Morena; Lusitanians in Lugo and in León; Cantabrians in the Alcarria, in Jaén, in Navarra and in Madrid; Celtiberians in Pamplona

and Barcelona; Galicians in Burgos and in Segovia; Vettones, from Gredos, in Beja, in southern Portugal; Astures (Asturians) in the Rioja and in Toledo; Carpetani from the Tagus in Catalonia...

Along the dense network of roads built in Hispania, the Peninsular peoples recruited as legionaries or auxiliaries would travel to and from part of the armies sent by Rome to the Rhine, to the Danube or to the frontiers of Persia or of the desert; and so would the Hispanos who by necessity or for pleasure, on government or judicial affairs, for commercial or juridical transactions, to learn, teach or to make one's fortune or because of simple wanderlust, went to the capital of the Empire and to any of the other cities of the Roman world.

This is accredited by some of the poems of Horace, the geography of Strabo, the Natural History of Pliny the Elder, the epigrams of Marcial, the epistles of Pliny the Younger, many other literary texts and hundreds of inscriptions: the remains of the anaphoras containing Spanish oil which arrived in Rome, ended up forming a hill, Mount Testaceous.

And along those same roads, all those travellers and emigrants, victors or vanquished by life would return to their Spanish homes either nostalgic, ill, old and disillusioned... or euphoric, proud, wealthy and triumphant. Yet they would return after having tasted the differences which separated their distant Hispanic homeland from the other lands dominated by Rome. And they returned only after having listened many times, from other lips, to the idea of the human community which, outside of Hispania, Hispania was for those who were not Spaniards.

Scholars from some of the peripheral regions of the Peninsula continue to consider today the Roman domination to be a political superstructure inoperative for the coalescence of the Hispanos into a historical community and they emphasize the plurality of the Hispanias which Rome maintained in their administrative terminology. By saying this they are letting themselves be seduced by modern nationalist devotions. The Hispanias were no more than the provinces of Hispania, of one Hispania which the Greek and Roman writers and politicians considered to be a precise and defined geographic, cultural and political unity. This is something easy for all to see.

No! During the long centuries of Roman lordship, the Peninsulars made great and decisive strides toward the formation of Spain. Peoples not excessively disparate in their sanguine, temperamental and cultural traditions ended up speaking the same language, being governed by the same laws, practicing the same rituals, living according to the same modules, possessing the same font of ideas... They frequently communicated with one another for political, religious, economic or cultural reasons and ended up members, for more than a century, of unitary institutions, comprising the whole Peninsula. From the creation of the «diocese of Hispania» until the crisis of imperial power in it, the destinies of the Peninsula were

presided over by the *Vices agens* of *Praefectus praetorio*, the *Comes Hispaniarum;* or the *Vicarius Hispaniarum* and a *Officium* or group of functionaries which Theodosius limited to 300. The *concilia* or general assemblies of the dioceses were attended by: the *iudices* or provincial governors, the *honorati*, members of the senatorial aristocracy, and the *curiales* of the Spanish municipalities. How can it be doubted that little by little these groups acquired a clear conscience of their superior solidarity and their integral unity? When contrasting their functional structure with that of the other nations under the lordship of Rome, could they do anything but verify their radical diversity in comparison with the vast complex of the *Orbis Romanus?*

It will be argued that the governing minorities were those which maintained communication and mixed with one another and those who acquired a consciousness of Peninsular solidarity which united them and also of their differentiation from the other ethnic, cultural and political communities submitted to Rome. Yet, who but they are creating Europe? Who have begun and directed in the long run all great historical processes?

Clearly in some of the most isolated corners of the Peninsula the old tongues would continue to be used among the peasants. This is shown by the present survival of Basque and the words with which Saint Paciano praised a lady because she could address the peasants in their language. But this praise, recorded by Soldevila, accredits the extent to which the upper classes and the men of the cities were already Romanized, since those who still possessed their ancestral languages were the exception. Indeed, the cultivated classes and the urban masses of Hispania lived, spoke, felt and thought in a similar fashion after the Romanization.

Naturally the Romanization never completely changed the functional structure of the Hispanos: it has been proved that the vital frameworks of historical communities change very slowly. Yet it is important not to confuse the process of the transformation of the style of life of the Peninsulars and that of their articulation and unification in a pre-national unity.

According to the testimony given by classical authors and by archeology, upon the arrival of the Romans, the temperamental inheritance of the Peninsular tribes was not excessively disparate, only the varying level of their spiritual life differentiated them. Can it be doubted that it was fruitful and even easy for them to discover a superior unity that united them?

Yet even in the case that the Hispanic peoples had been very different —something not true—, and even though their Romanization had not tended to join them —the contrary can be proved—, such supposed differences would not have been able to prevent the idea of the solidarity of their destinies and of their integral unity from arising, first among the minorities and later among the urban masses. This has been the way of the historical process which has led to the formation of modern nations; this is what is happening, in this day and age, in the process of the

formation of supranational historical communities, a process foreign to the rudimentary thinking and the simple and obscure life of the inert human base of the farmers of our days. Furthermore six centuries are a more than adequate period of time for that sentiment of Peninsular solidarity and Hispanic unity not to crystalize. In its formation, the concept of Hispania as a historical and vital whole, which non-Spanish writers were forging, affirming and detailing from outside the Peninsula, was an important factor; just as today we are contributing from America to the rise in the unitary consciousness of Europe.

The Hispano-Romans outside the Peninsula could feel and felt the superior unity which joined the Peninsular peoples, upon contrasting their nature with that of the other nations governed by Rome, and by seeing that outside Hispania, Hispania was considered to be a unity. Many Greek and Roman writers felt the situation to be thus when confronting diverse subjects of its history and its life —gathering the texts to back this affirmation would not be difficult—, particularly the authors of the numerous *laudes Hispaniae* compiled by Schulten and by Miss Fernández Chicharro; and especially those of Trogus Pompeyus, Pliny, Pacatus, Claudianus, studied by Menéndez Pidal. All of them saw, with increasing clarity, Spain as a closed group within the Roman orb and the Hispanos as united by singular common traits. How could this conception of the Peninsula from outside not have influenced the coming of a feeling of solidarity among the peninsulars?

Two Andalusians, Séneca and Lucan, while not conceiving the idea of Spain, allowed some of the conditions which later have characterized the Hispanos to shine through in their lives and works. Marcial was the first Spaniard; he found himself in Rome, thought and wrote as many Spaniards have later written and thought and felt Hispania as a unity in his heart; a heart overflowing with nostalgic love not only for his Celtiberian homeland but for the whole Peninsula. An Aragonese, Prudencio, and a Portuguese, Orosio, even though they still felt the pride of being citizens of Rome, were already feeling themselves inveterate Spaniards.

Castellán has just studied the Hispanic feelings and sentiments of Prudencio. He writes: «The *Peri Stephanon* is the chronicle of Spanish merits. Men and cities parade before our eyes painted by the pen of this son of his land. The Spanish pride shines through that gallery of illustrious martyrs, and at the same time serves to exalt the merit of the cities which were honored with his presence... The subject of the martyrs is the motive of a song to Spain and, at that moment, the homeland reaches sublime proportions.»

Menéndez Pidal recorded the Hispanism of Orosio many years ago. He writes: «The sympathies of the author go... toward a Spain bloodied for 200 years... He feels a special warmth for his native land in opposition to Rome and relates with satisfaction the victories of the Hispanos...» He

points out the terror inspired by the Peninsular war, when the Roman soldier felt defeated at the mere appearance of the Spaniard; he denounces the perfidy of Galba against the Lusitanians; the heroism and pain of the dwellers of Numantia tear from him a pained apostrophe, and he shows how the conquerors were to learn: incredible strength in combat, fidelity to agreements, magnanimous justice when fulfilling them and generous mercy with the men and the armies which fell into their hands. He writes: «We confirm that, in the Spain exalted by him, the state of a national consciousness was germinating.»

These pre-nationalist attitudes of Prudencio and of Orosio cannot surprise us, if we admit, along with W. V. Wartburg, that in the second-century the provincial particularities of the Roman Empire were already clear.

Rome formed Spain in two ways: first by uniting the Hispanos under the common denominator of a culture and a style of life and later by pushing them to the understanding of their superior unity: by means of unitary institutions and with the possibility of their contrast, outside the Peninsular atmosphere, with the other members of the Roman Orb, using their own judgment and with the help of the ideas regarding Spain of the non-Spaniards.

The political, juridical, religious and cultural unity of the Hispanic Peninsula was broken, naturally, by the invasions of the barbarians; but it would be difficult to demonstrate that the consciousness of the historical solidarity which united them disappeared at that time. As the ties which joined the diocese of the Western Empire with its political and cultural center weakened at first, and were broken later, the dissociation of the ancient communities, up until then grouped under the rule of Rome, had to become accentuated. Thus the internal structures of each one had to become stronger, beyond any occasional fractioning caused by the Germanic invasions.

What testimonies of the sixth and seventh centuries can be put forth as a proof that, upon the fall of the lordship of Rome, the proud Hispanic particularism, from the days before the Roman conquest, triumphed over the pre-national solidarity of the Peninsulars? Not one voice, not even one clear echo, of such a particularism can be heard.

Soldevila has noted that in the Levant, the Hispanic Era, of Asturian tradition, was still not used and that there were many differences in the sepulchral inscriptions of the different Peninsular regions... Clearly if we knew the life of Visigothic Spain in detail we could find many other regional particularisms. But such allegations say nothing against the birth of a prefiguration of nationality in Iberia. Greater dissimilarities in habits, fashions, practices, tastes, inclinations... can still be pointed out today among the different districts of the most centralized and unitary modern European nations.

Spain was broken and divided; each region lived alone, according to the most simple module of historic and human life, which is to live however one can. The peoples of the North, from Asturias to Vasconia, happily accepted a free existence, without recognizing the lordship of the Germanic invaders. For a century, the Visigoths could not exert authority in the Levant and in the South. Ancient Galicia bit the bridle under the Sueve yoke. But, I insist, not one voice nor one echo do we have that speaks of the Hispanos having lost the consciousness of their superior historical community. And it is not difficult, on the other hand, to see in the Peninsular writers of the period clear samples of a firm Hispanism. Hidacius proudly writes that Theodosius was *natione spanus* (a Spaniard by nation); and Juan de Bíclaro, the old terminology of «las Españas» having been forgotten, always speaks of Hispania.

When the Goths were thrown from Gaul by the Franks, their limiting to the frontiers of the Peninsula ended up provoking a firm and lasting policy of restoration of Hispanic unity. The battle of Vogladum, lost by the Goths, was, though it may seem paradoxical, a victory for the formation of Spain. It obliged the defeated to change the orientation of their historical projects and forced them to dedicate all their attention to their lordship over Hispania. This change was to be translated into a unitary effort, both ideological and political, within the Peninsula itself.

The unrestrained barbarism of the Goths together with the reconquering policy of Justinian, gave the South of Spain to the Byzantines. Whoever denies the effectiveness of six centuries of Roman lordship usually over-values the half century of imperial dominance over increasingly reduced zones of the Spanish Southwest. On the contrary, that tear in the Peninsular unity, more than consecrating the lasting fragmentation of Hispania, served as a violent reactivator in favor of its unification. With the attempt to violently recover the lands lost in the South, the arduous task of conquering all the regions of the Peninsula which still escaped their authority was initiated by the Visigothic nobility. And to prevent the difficulties which the common Catholic faith of the Byzantines and their subjects were to present them, the kings procured, by any means they could, the religious unity of the inhabitants of Hispania. Just remember the case of Hermenegildo.

Success in this double task was soon achieved on dates known to us: Leovigildo takes western Andalusia from the Byzantines, attacks Sabaria, reduces the Asturian nation of the Sappos, tames Cantabria, enters the Montes Aregenses and conquers the Sueve kingdom between 571 and 585; Recaredo accepts Catholicism at the Third Council of Toledo in 587; Sisebuto subdued the Asturians and the Ruccones and limits Byzantine dominance reduced to the Algarves before 621, and Suintila conquers the last Byzantine fortifications of Spain before 631. Moreover, what is especially important to our subject, the ideal of the Peninsular unity was reaffirmed in the minds and the hearts of the Goths and the Hispano-Romans.

An Argentinean historian, Romero, has correctly emphasized the ideas of Saint Isidore regarding: «The existence of Visigothic Spain as a newly-born nationalism but already unmistakably differentiated and autonomous.» He has pointed out the pride which the unification of Hispania caused in the holy Sevillan archbishop. And he believes that the thought of Isidore: «Traced a route for national development, which he intuited to be possible.» He feels that Isidore decided to work for this development and that, in his ideas, the traits of an original state began to be apparent in Spain. Fontaine reveals that in Isidore's *Laudes Hispaniae* there is «*une fierté nationale*», attached to Hispanic unity and to the general will to reinforce it against the Gauls and the Byzantines. Others have spoken of the national patriotism of Saint Isidore as an important event in the history of the Occident.

To the sentimental intuition of the vital unity of Hispania within the Roman Orb possessed by the governing minorities of the Peninsular peoples during the last years of Roman dominance, was added, therefore, the clear conception of Spain as a historical community with defined limits, the conception of a community differentiated from the neighboring communities of the West. It is significant that such an idea triumphed in the mind of a man like Saint Isidore who was saturated with ancient culture, worn out from the devotion to aged Rome, born in one of the most Romanized zones of the Peninsula and formed precisely when that region had been segregated from the Visigothic kingdom and was living a new form of dependence of the Empire.

That conception of the unity of destiny of Hispania was not an arbitrary, erudite or reasoned reaction of Saint Isidore. It appears in other Hispano-Gothic thinkers. It pushes the Peninsular clergy into a faggot, under the primacy of Toledo, against which we know of no protest or complaint; it will even take the clergy so far as to confront the Papacy, as an organic whole. It is affirmed by the legislative unification initiated by Leovigildo before 586 and completed by Recceswinth in 654. It will launch the princes into the supression of the Judaic minority, conceived as a malignant tumor which is dangerous for the national solidarity. And it moves the Goths to energetically pursue the reduction of the endemic rebellions of the ferocious Basques.

In the future sentiment and reason together shaped the image of Hispanic unity and tightened its ties during the seventh-century. These ties were so firm and those sentiments so deep, that a couple of battles and less than three years were enough for the Muslim invaders to conquer the same Hispania that the Romans had taken more than two centuries to submit. Can it be doubted that the secessionist insolidarity had been replaced by the reality of a solidary human community.

The seventh-century witnessed in Spain the ferocious struggle between the aging Romanized state, embodied in royalty, and the idea of a new

state structure, based on the political power of the territorial aristocracy and defended by it. The Gothic barbarism and the Hispanic passion brought the Islamite invaders to the Peninsula in a moment of civil discord. If the domination of Rome and the lordship of the Visigoths had been mere super-structures without historical transcendence, mere orthopedic apparatus which for nine centuries (!) had oppressed the Hispanic peoples without joining or uniting them, these would have shown some sign of their disparate inheritance when the cuirass imprisoning them was broken. There is no better proof in favor of the overcoming of their remote past than what happened upon the entrance of the Muslims in Spain.

Once the state framework had been broken, nothing rose up firmly behind it. Some collaborated or capitulated and others resisted with greater or lesser heroism; but those who collaborated, capitulated or resisted were Gothic or Hispano-Roman nobles and isolated cities of diverse regions of the Peninsula. Mérida resisted as did Teodomiro in Orihuela and the city of Huesca, for example. But who, free of nationalist prejudices, would dare to see the Lusitanians, the Ilergetes or the Contestani of nine centuries behind this resistance? Indeed, none of the ancient Peninsular peoples raised their heads. The people rose up as a vital unity and did not transmit to us even an echo of their past historical autarky. Nothing, not one voice nor one gesture can be heard or seen in them. All of Hispania humbly succumbs, as if a sudden paralysis had immobilized it. That collective paralysis would not have occurred if the primitive tribes had conserved even a shadow of their ancestral historical personality. If in the Catalonian Northwest, in the Aragonese basin of the Ebro, in mountainous Celtiberia, in Lusitania or in Galicia an autonomous life and conscience had lasted, some of these peoples might have resisted the invader without keeping in mind the defeat of the brother or neighbor, as they had done nine centuries before against Rome. Not even Vasconia, the rebel of old, was able to remain untamed and free. Only later did two peoples from the northern mountains, the Cantabrians and the Asturians, react and rebel. These, incidentally, were the last conquered by Rome and the last tamed by the Goths. Only much later did the Galician ethnic and cultural group and the strange mixture of tribes that inhabited the Basque Country of today follow the example of the two peoples of the central part of the Cantabrian coast. Yet, on the other hand, by the middle of the century we hear the clear voice of the Anonymous Mozarab, both Toledan and Cordovan, who discovers his rational and emotional unitary conception, in the sad and twice destroyed Hispania. And the language, vivid image of the vital structure of each nation, quickly reveals, in its unity (demonstrated by Menéndez Pidal), the advanced process of the unification of the ancient Hispanic stocks in the Spain which followed that ruled by the Goths.

Faced with such facts, can it be doubted that Hispania had become a historical community, after nine centuries —modern nations have taken less

time— of slow but continuous symbiosis, mixture and fusion of the Hispanic peoples found by the Romans on the Peninsula in the year 218 before Christ? The work of Rome had born fruit. Christianity had pursued it successfully and had won for Rome new posthumous battles in the task of giving birth to Spain. To this task the Visigothic also contributed by taking upon themselves the job of restoring the political, cultural, religious and juridical unity of the Peninsular peoples which, with their brothers in race, the Sueves, Vandals and Alans, they had broken when they crossed the Pyrenees in 409.

That historic Peninsular community was naturally not comparable in 711 to a modern nation. Yet it already made up an embryo bearing hopes and promises. It might have suffered a feudal decomposition —the process of feudalism was, in Spain, more advanced than in Gaul when the Muslim invasion took place—, but it would have maintained a superior national solidarity, firmer even than that of France. This because the Sueves and the Goths had mixed much more with the Hispano-Romans than with the Gallic-Romans, the Franks and the Burgundians; they had become separated from the vital and cultural nuclei from which they came, while the Germanic invaders of Gaul had not broken the umbilical cord with their ethnic and historical roots. And because to the South of the Pyrenees the sharp differences did not exist that, in the North, separated the Germanized regions from those which had not suffered the impact of the intensive Germanization.

2. The Crisis in Hispanic Unity

Bosch Gimpera affirms that the framework of tribal differences of primitive Hispania remained alive until late in the Middle Ages and even ties the political particularities which appear more than once in Muslim Spain with those the Romans found in the Peninsula in the third-century before Christ. I must disagree with a much-admired friend. I fear that his devotion to the study of pre-Roman Spain, to which he has dedicated his fecund and magnificent scientific activity, has led him to error, along with his most noble passion for a type of organization of our common Spanish homeland, which leads him to judge the successive, repeated, multisecular and decisive stages in the unification of the Peninsula, as mere passing lordly superstructures.

Very rare exceptions apart, during the seventh-century the ancient denominations of the primitive Hispanic peoples had been forgotten. Hidacius is the last to name the Varduli. Juan de Bíclaro still refers to Bastitania in the South and to Cantabria in the North. Saint Isidore mentions the Asturians (Astures). Later only the Vascones are spoken of. An entirely new geography appears to the Hispano-Gothic chroniclers. The classical historians and geographers had not dealt with the Ruccones nor

to the Sappos, nor had they spoken of Sabaria nor of Orospeda. If the names were forgotten, did the ancestral communities really survive?

After the Arabic invasion, the diversity of the primitive Hispanic peoples left no traces worth noting except in the mountainous zone of the North, from Galicia to the Pyrenees. Its Romanization had begun late and it had never achieved the same level as the rest of Hispania Christianity had also penetrated its mountainous and maritime soil tardily and with less force than in other Peninsular regions. At the fall of the Empire its inhabitants had lived two long centuries outside the both political and cultural community of Visigothic Spain. It is not surprising that different peoples situated for milleniums in that northern zone conserved, less hazily than the other Peninsular peoples, their ancient personality. Less hazily, I write, because it would not be correct to affirm that they firmly maintained their ancient personality. As I showed when studying the origin of the name of Castile, precisely in that period of bisecular life unsheltered in the midst of historical storms which followed the ruin of the Roman lordship in the Peninsula in the North of Spain, the Vascones invaded, both by force and culturally, Euzcadi, pushed the Varduli toward the land of the Autrigones and the Cantabrians and thus engendered a new ethnic complex in lands where the Castilian nation was going to be born. At the same time they moved and gave the Basque culture to those who inhabited from then on the Basque depression. In that same period, the western frontiers of the Asturians advanced in the North and retreated in the South against Galicia. And some Cantabrians (Cantabri) descended to the Rioja, separated from their brothers of the North by the land of the Varduli, occupying the Sierra de Cantabria, in lands of the Rioja.

With the sole exception of the eastern limits of *Gallaetia,* vaguely recorded still in the tenth-century, it is not possible to find any echo of the survival of the memory of the other provincial divisions of Roman Hispania, most of them based on the boundaries of the primitive tribes. Not even on the soil of the kingdom of Oviedo did the old frontiers conserve their historic value. Castile was born straddling the western border of the Tarraconensis, which separated the Autrigones from the Cantabrians, and the northern limit of the Cartaginensis, which separated the Cantabrians from the Vaccaei and the Murbogi. And Portugal was born on the southern border of Gallaetia, which separated the Lusitanians and the Galicians.

We know the zones occupied by the Syrians who came to Spain with Balch in the middle of the eighth-century. When remembering them, who could think of the homes of the ancient primitive Hispanic tribes? We also know of the rebellions put down by 'Abd al-Rahman I. It is impossible to relate even one of them with any type of reactivation of the old embers of ancient tribal particularisms. Furthermore we know the administrative geography of Al-Ándalus during the reigns of the Ommiad emirs. None of the *quras* or districts and none of the frontier territories

(Beja, Niebla, Seville, Tacorona, Écija, Morón, Sidonia, Algeciras, Málaga, Archidona, Elbira, Jaén, Cabra, Priego, Calatrava, Todmir, Fahs al-Bollut, Santaver...) reflect the survival of the old limits of the remote and forgotten juridical *conventus* of the Roman period. The parallel between the political maps of Spain during the Roman empire and during the lordship of the grandchildren of 'Abd al-Rahman I leaves no room for doubt.

In the numerous rebellions the emirs had to put down, we cannot find traces of the survival of the ancient Hispanic peoples either. Toledo rebelled; but who would dare to see in that revolt an echo of the uprising of the Carpetani. To the pride of the Toledan Muladíes (Christians converted to Islam) and Mozarabs, nostalgic for the period in which their city was the political center of Visigothic Spain, was due the early rebellion of the ancient metropolis. Its uprising, which became endemic in the ninth-century, carried the Toledans, at times, so far as to fight with the inhabitants of other towns which in Roman times had been Carpetanina, like Toledo: for example, those of Santaver.

It would be somewhat adventurous to tie the rebellions of the city of Mérida on the Guadiana or of the Banu Qasi' in the Valley of the Ebro with the survival of the ancient primitive peoples. Mérida was *ab initio* a Roman city, it lacked a Hispanic tradition and it arose in the zone between the land of the Vettones and Beturia. And the Banu Qasi' were grandchildren of the Goths, they carved out a lordship along the limit of Vasconia and Celtiberia and they extended over the lands of the Celtic Berones and of the Iberian Ilergetes and Sedetani.

Neither Ibn Marwan, called the Gallego and who revolted in Mérida, nor 'Umar ibn Hafsun, who rose up in the mountains of Ronda were the leaders of any historical community with pre-Roman roots. The first took advantage of the malaise of a city which was cut off from the Hispano-primitive racial complex and which had never forgotten its days of greatness as capital of a province. Ronda was a Celtic mountain enclave in the land of the Tartessos. Arabists have correctly recorded the nationalist tension of the Muladíes against the Orientals, as the cause of these revolts and of the many which reduced the effective sovereignty of the emir 'Abd Allah to the walls of Córdoba. Reread the history of these rebellions spoken of by Ibn Hayyan, reread too the history of the victories of 'Abd al-Rahman III over the successors of these rebels and it will be not difficult but impossible to establish any historical tie whatsoever with any of the tribes of primitive Hispania. Only the occasional impulses of these revolts and discords could be traced back to the primitive Spaniards: the most remote secessionist spirit of the Hispanos, which is translated into an invincible proclivity for anarchy, and the lasting force of *caudillismo* (leadership), bastard son of the vigorous and explosive nature of many Hispanic personalities and the attraction which this vital overflow wields over the normal Spaniard. That double ancestral impediment, by acting on the racial hatred between the Muladíes and the Orientals, provoked political move-

ments which tore apart Islamite Spain in the ninth-century. Furthermore they were normal geographical laws, and not ancient and forgotten tribal differences, which traced out the historical area of such rebellions.

Even less do the great tribal unities before Christ survive as nuclei for the Christian or Islamite historical communities of the eleventh-century. The ancient homeland of the Vascones was divided between Navarre, Aragón and the miniature Muslim kingdoms of the central part of the Ebro. The counts of Castile divided up the banner of the Celtiberia with the Moorish kings of Toledo, Saragossa, Albarracín, Alpuente and Valencia. The kings of León, Toledo and Badajoz ruled over different parcels of the ancient land of the Vettones. The land of the Sedetani was reigned over by the sovereigns of Valencia, Saragossa... The ancient land of the Bastetani was divided among the *taifas* of Málaga, Granada and Almería. On the soil of the Mastieni arose the kingdoms of Almería, Murcia and Denia. In the land of the Oretani coincided the frontiers of Denia, Toledo and Granada. It was always like that, without any exception worthy of mention.

The Christian kingdoms in the North and the muslim *taifas* in the South were born in zones that had belonged to a number of primitive peoples. It has already been said that the oldest Castile was born on the limits of the Autrigones and Cantabrians and the Murbogi and Vaccaei, and that the oldest Portugal straddled the Duero which separated the Lusitanians from the Galicians (Gallaeci). The oldest Aragón took in the eastern part of Vasconia and the land of the Iacetani. The county of Castile extended over the lands of the Berones, the Arevaci and the Vaccaei, and the contemporary kingdom of León dominated the southern part of the land of the Astures and parts of the historical soil of the Vaccaei and the Vettones. The Banu Hud of Saragossa dominated lands of the Vascones, Celtiberians, Sedetani, Ilergetes... The Toledo of the Banu Di-l-Nun extended over part of the land of the Vettones, the Oretani, the Carpetani and the Celtiberians. The Badajoz of the Banu Al-Aftas comprised pieces of the homeland of the Vettones, the Lusitanians and the Beturi. The Banu Ziri of Granada carved a kingdom out of remains of the Oretani and the Bastetani. The kingdom of Valencia comprised parts of lands of the Celtiberians, Sedetani, Dittani... The Banu Abbad of Seville began by extending their dominions through land of the Turdetani and the Conii and over the southern part of the Beturi, while they met with the Berbers established in the South of the land of the Turdetani.

No; in some zones the influence of the primitive tribal organization of Hispania was non-existent and in others it was minimal in the formation of the regional particularism of medieval and modern Spain. This was born from the fragmentation which the clash between Christianity and Islam provoked in the Peninsula.

The Hispanic unity, achieved after an extremely slow process of unification lasting for the 900 years which the Roman and Visigothic

domination lasted —I repeat that modern nations have taken less time to develop—, is broken within a few years as the unfortunate corollary of the Arabic invasion of Spain. The most bitter fruit of the presence of Islam in the Peninsula, the gravest consequence of the clash between Christianity and Islam on the ancient home of Hispania, was not one or another of the multiple facets of the Spanish style of life, in which we find the traces of the confrontation or the contact —more confrontation than contact as has been shown— of the two creeds and of the two cultures in the rough land of Spain. It was the total, absolute, tremendous and centuries-long crisis of the Peninsular unity. It was the retreat, without comparison in the West, of the march of a historical community towards its national unity. It was the formidable step backwards given by Spain in her history.

All of Spain, with the possible sole exception of Euzkadi, was conquered by the Muslim invaders. Galicia and Catalonia were conquered immediately; Muza reached Lugo, while Tariq occupied Tarragona, as I have shown. The ever-rebellious vascones were tamed; the Vasconia of the Ebro was subdued by the conqueror Muza and Pamplona capitulated shortly thereafter: in 718, according to Al-Faradi, one of the Arab chiefs, to whom Pamplona had surrendered, died. The ferocious Asturians were subdued: as hostage and as legate of the Asturians Pelayo was in Córdoba in 717; he is referred to by a Hispano-Muslim chronicler and king Alfonso the Great. Moreover Codera has not put forth any sure proof that the Pyrenean Valleys were able to escape the Islamic lordship. Perhaps only the Basque depression was not dominated: Alfonso III declares that at least Álava, Vizcaya, Orduña and Carranza were always possessed by their inhabitants.

Yet soon the resistance began. I have studied in detail the origins of the Reconquest. In 718 Pelayo outlawed himself and began the revolt. Courageous and, like no other people of Spain, in love with their freedom, the Asturians followed the noble non-conformist Goth who had taken refuge among them and, with him, defeated the Muslims in Covadonga in 722. The Cantabrians joined the Asturians after the first of the princely marriages which were to tie the Hispanic peoples together. The Asturian-Cantabrian sovereign, Alfonso, son-in-law of Pelayo, joined Galicia in the West and Euzcadi in the East to his mountain and maritime dominions and, as the Chronicle of Albelda says: «That is how the kingdom of the Asturians was born by the divine providence of God.»

The Vascones revolted before 733, for in that year 'Abd al-Malik ben Katan tried, in vain, to subdue them, according to the Anonymous Mozarab of 754 and Ahmad al-Razi. They were fought and perhaps defeated by 'Uqba a few years later. However they did not take long to rebel again. They were up in arms in 757 when 'Abd al Rahman I disembarked in Torrox: the governor Yusef al-Fihri knew of this landing days after

having learned of the defeat, by the Vascones, of a body of troops he had sent against them.

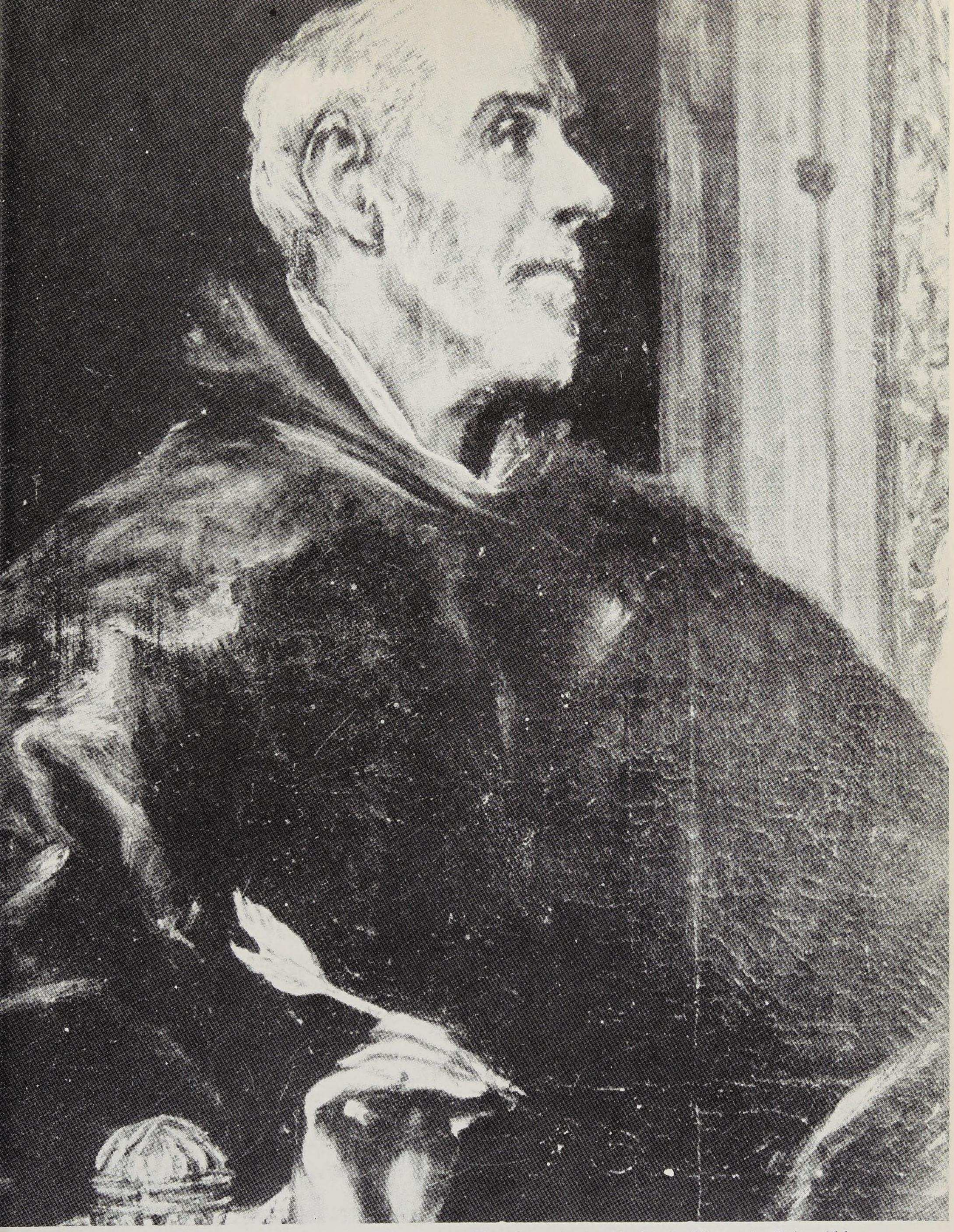
Though we only have a sketchy knowledge of the history of the Pyrenean Valleys during the eighth-century, we can be sure that during the second half of the century a number of rebellions occurred. Backed perhaps from the other side of the Pyrenees, those movements of the Spaniards of the mountains proved to be the origin of the counties of Aragon, Ribagorza and Pallars, which were to make up autonomous historical communities.

In 785, with the conquest of Gerona, the Carolingian campaigns on the land of the future Catalonia began.

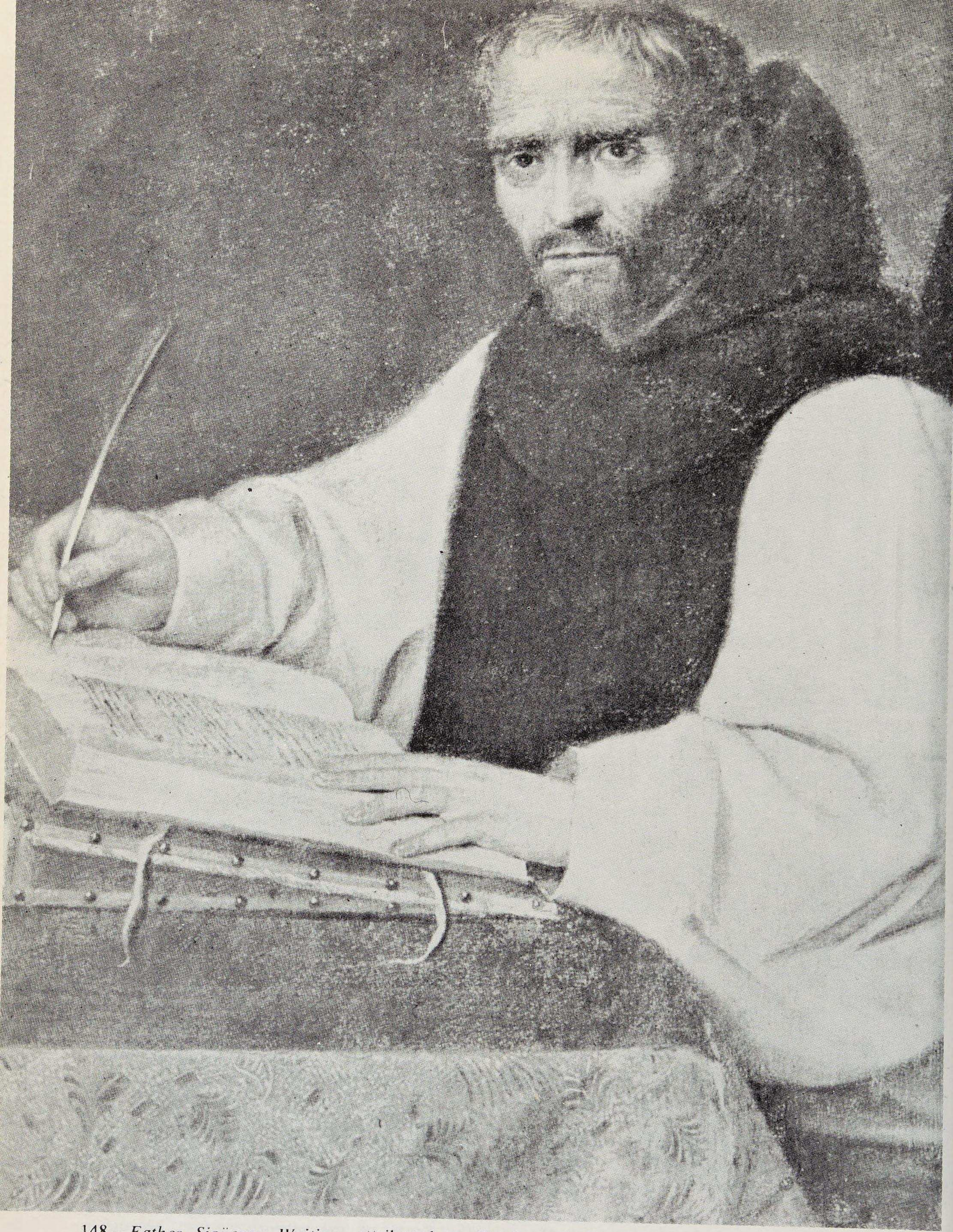
The backstepping in the formation of Spain had begun; the unstoppable process which led to the millenary fragmentation of Hispania had been initiated. For, from the point of Finisterre to that of Creus, a series of isolated points of resistance to the Muslim enemy had arisen They were going to be the bulbs, roots, nuclei of the different Christian Spanish states of our Middle Ages. It was the beginning of states which were to live apart for centuries and frequently in hostility.

It was the confrontation between Islam and Christianity in the Peninsula which determined the ruin of Hispanic unity. That struggle existed in function, more than of racial diversity, of the ancient Iberian secessionism and of the complicated horizontal and vertical configuration of Spain.

On the morrow of the victory of Covadonga and of the organization of a free human group, around one of their own, doubtless, after Guadalete, many Gothic refugees joined Pelayo, like him having taken the protection of the harsh mountains of the North. Under the flags of Alfonso I and taking advantage of the civil struggles among the invaders, the warriors of Asturias realized long marches through the Valleys of the Duero and the Ebro, they carried off with them great numbers of Christians and they reinforced and affirmed in this way the Asturian monarchy. Galicians. and Basques (from Vizcaya and Álava) carried away by the traditional secessionist spirit of the primitive Spaniards, struggled against the central nucleus of the kingdom, but they were tamed and soon firmly joined the Asturians and the Cantabrians and, with them, they constructed a lasting popular community which was to make up the initial nucleus of the Hispanic nation. Alfonso the Chaste, Cantabrian-Asturian by his father and Basque by his mother, initiated a decisive turn in the history of embryonic Spain. In Oviedo, the new capital of the new kingdom, Alfonso tried in vain to restore the Gothic political and ecclesiastical tradition; in vain because, after the hiatus of a century, it was impossible to revive the «Gothic Order». But if his institutional patchwork was clumsy, Alfonso and his court were able to at least launch and fertilize from then on the ideal that the small monarchy from Oviedo gathered the inheritance of the Hispano-Gothic tradition and aspired to its restoration: to the restoration of the unity of Spain.



147.—*Saint Ildefonso Writing,* by El Greco. Hospital de la Caridad (Illescas). Saint Ildefonso, singer of the virginity of Mary in the Spain of the seventh-century, became a pictorial theme in the Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. El Greco portrayed him, pen in hand, in search of ideas before an image of the Virgen; Murillo had him receiving from her a chasuble. Rightly Ortega y Gasset has written that the artist from Crete knew how to capture the figure of a thinker, in the canvas we see here; only the prodigy tempted the Sevillan. Two human temperaments or two epochs of Spanish sensitivity?



148.—*Father Sigüenza Writing*, attributed to Sánchez Coello. Monastery of El Escorial. Portrait of Father Sigüenza attributed to Sánchez Coello (d. 1588). We owe to him a great history of the Spanish Order of the Jeronimites, formed in the fourteenth-century and which gained the protection of the Trastamaras and of the Hapsburgs. The Jeronimites ruled two royal monasteries: Guadalupe, where magnificent embroidery, beautiful miniature books and the marvels of Zurbarán are kept; and El Escorial. Sigüenza traces in detail the history of the construction of El Escorial and, thus, that of Philip II.

The Vascones of Pamplona, instead of joining the peoples of the same language of the Basque region, tied up with the Muladíes of the Ebro ruled by the Banu Qasi', of Gothic origin and of Mohammedan religion. Years ago I began the new road which has led to the knowledge of the origins of the kingdom of Navarre. The affirmation in it of its first dynasty, and therefore the affirmation of a lasting Christian independent nucleus around Pamplona, was due to the help given to the Aristas by the powerful apostates with whom they were to be tightly related by means of numerous family marriages. That help created the setting for the history of the people of Pamplona. Their life was oriented towards the Ebro and separated from the Basques of Euzcadi and the Vascones of Aragón.

And the Carolingian expansion in Catalan lands, begun with the conquest of Gerona in 785 and crowned by the occupation of Barcelona in 801, mixed, in a new historic community blessed with a splendid future, with the Mozarab population of the country —Mozarab because the ancient inhabitants of Catalonia lived for a century under the Muslim lordship—, the Goths and the Hispano-Romans, refugees in Gaul fleeing the Islamite invaders, and the ancient dwellers of the Gothic Septimania who had emigrated south. Only a few of the chiefs were Frankish.

The racial variety of primitive Spain was left behind, in the hazy mists of the past, forgotten and overcome. Overcome? Yes! All those political communities of new stamp did not live alone and they felt most energetically their vital and historic Hispanism. In the same ninth-century the sons of Ordoño I of Oviedo (d. 866), Leodegundia and Alfonso III were married with the king and a princess of Navarre; Sancha, daughter of a magnate of the same region and Onneca, daughter of the king García Iñíguez (d. 882) of Pamplona were spouses of Galindo Aznar and of Aznar Galíndez, counts of Aragón; Dadildis, sister of Ramón, count of Pallars and of Ribagorza (884-916), married a Navarrese prince and was the mother of Sancho Garcés (905-925), founder of the second royal line of Pamplona; the family of the counts of Pallars at times united itself in marriage with the family of the counts of Aragón. And in the tenth-century the ties among the royal and county houses of León, Castile and the Pyrenean territories were even more frequent.

From then on, the kingdom of Oviedo, the authentic cradle of Spain, aspired to restore the Spanish unity.

The Aristas of Pamplona founded an autonomous historical unity without help from, nor dependence on, the Franks. At times they had to slow down and accept Carolingian sovereignty; but only sporadically and for very short periods. More than once they confronted the hosts from the other side of the Pyrenees and they defeated them. They were free from the first third of the ninth-century on: free and sunken in the swaying of Iberian politics. Allied with apostates, the Banu Qasi', mediated with them by Córdoba or resisting with them the Islamite attacks, the

Aristas were either enemies or friends of the kings of Oviedo, their neighbors to the West as lords of the Basque Country. But, beginning with the coup d'etat of 905, which carried to the throne a dynasty hostile to the Muladíes of the valley of the Ebro they fought side by side with the kings of León against the Muslims.

The nuclei of resistance of the central Pyrenees, Sobrarbe, Aragón, Ribagorza, Pallars, broke their ties with the Franks in the ninth-century and dove into the common battle against the Spanish Islamites: the count of Pallars helped Alfonso III of Asturias to enthrone in Pamplona a new dynasty.

The counties of the Spanish March, born by direct intervention of the Carolingian sovereigns, soon gave proof of an energetic hostility to their Frankish lords; a hostility which clearly reveals their integral Hispanism. They felt inclined to live as free men on their Hispanic soil, and they lived with their attention directed toward the political questions of the South of the Pyrenees. A rosary of Spanish counties, unattached to the political unity of the Franks, already extended, by the end of the ninth-century, from the eastern frontiers of the kingdom of Pamplona to the Mediterranean.

And the idea itself of Hispanic unity did not disappear. It remained alive not only among the free Christians of the North, but also among the Mozarabs of the South and among the Muslims of Spanish stock.

At the end of the eighth-century, Beato de Liébana, the great conqueror of the Adoptionist heresy and fortunate commentator of the Apocalypse of St. John —his work was profusely copied and illuminated in the kingdom of León for several centuries— in a liturgical hymn which he wrote while Mauregato was reigning (783-788), he called St. James the *shining head of Spain.* For the most important figure of Cantabro-Asturian thought of those times Hispania continued to be a historical and vital community.

In the middle of the ninth-century, Muza, head of the family of the Banu Qasi', chieftain of the Muladíes of the central Ebro, rebellious against the Cordovan emirs and who was able to carve out for himself an extense lordship with Saragossa as capital, was conscious of the historical unity of Hispania. Proud of his political strength and of his warring successes —he was able to live freely against Córdoba, he defeated the armies of Charles the Bald and he dared to threaten the Christian kingdom of Asturias— had himself called the third king of Spain. A Spain divided among the different Islamite and Christian princes and chiefs, was one for Muza. He gave himself the third position in it, after the sovereigns of Córdoba and Oviedo.

In his account of the battle of Covadonga, the Great King, Alfonso III, makes Pelayo say that his victory would be the salvation of Spain. If, as I believe, that narrative comes from a lost Asturian chronicle, written during the reign of Alfonso II the Chaste (791-842), the phrase placed

on the lips of Pelayo would be before that of Muza; and it would have to be dated between 883 and 886 if the chronicler king had not used the mysterious source mentioned before. In the court of Oviedo, from the king on down, all were convinced in the ninth-century of the unity of Hispania. Saved from Muslim lordship by the victory of Pelayo, all aspired to its integral liberation.

Words written in April of 883 by a cleric of Toledo testify to the fact that at the end of the ninth-century, the idea of the Peninsular unity continued to be vital among the Mozarabs. In the chronicle written in that year it is said that, according to an anciente prophecy and to many revelations and prophetic announcements, soon Alfonso III would reign in all Spain and the kingdom of the Goths would be restored.

«Spania» existed for all the Christian chroniclers of the period of Muslim Spain, precisely because they continued to consider the Peninsula unitarily and it was the emir of Córdoba who really reigned over it. It never even crossed their minds that multiple Spains might exist. That plural employed to designate the three Hispanias —Tarraconensis, Lusitania and Baetica— in the administrative jargon of the Romans, does not appear in the pens of the Mozarab writers of the South nor the Christian chroniclers of Asturias. «*A sarrazenis Spania occupata est*», writes el Albeldense; «*Peccatis concruentibus Ispania ruit*», is read in the Mozarab Prophetic Chronicle; «*Araues... per omnes prouincias Spanie prefectos posuerunt*», says Alfonso III.

A century later, in the first decades of the eleventh-century, the official chronicler of the kings of León no longer calls Muslim Spain, Spania —read Sampiro, bishop of Astorga; and, on the contrary, the kingdom of León begins to be called *Regnum Hispaniae,* in official documents. This was done already in 1020, in the council, that is, in the plenary meeting of the *Palatium,* prepared by the «Laws of León». Due to the extension achieved by the Christian states at the time and due to the growing crisis of caliphal power, Córdoba had ceased governing Spain. The increasing triumph of the neo-Gothic ideal in León, which aspired to the restoration of the Hispano-Gothic monarchy, began the ambitious official identification of the kingdom of León with the Kingdom of Spain.

Of Hispania, with its classical and modern meaning: the Peninsula, and of *Regnum Hispaniae,* as the ambitious name of the kingdom of León, continued to speak the officious chroniclers of León: the so-called Silense and Pelayo of Oviedo, for example. Only outside of it, in Catalan or Mozarab lands did the old meaning of the word Spania continue to be conserved, at the end of the same eleventh-century and even at the beginnings of the following one. In this sense, applying to Muslim Spain, the author of *Carmen Roderici* still speaks around the year 1090 as does the author of the *Historia Roderici* around 1110.

With the name of Al-Ándalus the Muslim invaders had designated ancient Hispania and Spain was called Al-Ándalus unitarily from Córdoba

while the emirs and the caliphs ruled there. Despite the breaking-up of the caliphate of Córdoba, the Hispano-Arab writers, witnesses of this fragmentation, never ceased to consider the Peninsula as a human and affective community; let us remember the beautiful words of Ibn Hazm who witnessed the sharpest crisis of his beloved Hispanic homeland: «Away from me the pearl of China. I am satisfied with the ruby of Spain».

And in the North, the pride of Alfonso VI, the union under his scepter of the kingdoms of León and Castile, the political superiority of his monarchy over all the other Islamite and Christian States and the reality of his victories, affirmed the millenary idea of the Hispanic unity in the minds of his collaborators, and in his own; and, at the same time, the neo-Gothic pretensions of León to the lordship of the whole Peninsula took root. With great erudition, Menéndez Pidal has recorded a long series of diplomas in which Alfonso is titled «Rex Hispaniae» or «Imperator Hispaniae», «Totius Ispaniae Rex» or «Totius Hispaniae Imperator», «Rex Hispaniarum» or «Imperator constitutus super omnes Ispaniae nationes». In them appears the arrogant expression of the hegemonic ambitions over that historical and vital community which Rome and the Gothic kings had governed centuries before. The title of King of the Españas, which Alfonso normally uses in documents copied to be sent outside of the Peninsula, could have responded to erudite preoccupations of some notaries: his taste for erudition led the cultured author of the *Historia Silense* to speak of the Españas years later. The last title of those recorded by Menéndez Pidal: «Emperor proclaimed over all the nations of Spain», reflects the compromise, in the mind of Alfonso, between the reality of the political fragmentation of the Peninsula into different kingdoms, and his imperial pretensions and also his conviction of the superior historical unity of Spain.

Indeed, the growing hold of the conception of Hispania as a unitary human and historical community and the efforts, successfully carried out, to make the neo-Gothic aspiration of restoring the ancient unity of the Spanish political community, were not able to overcome the authentic division of the Peninsula into many different kingdoms or nations. With monochord and monotonous persistence, the ambitious majestic nomenclature, taking in the entire Peninsula, was thrown out to every direction of the West. This was done with the idea of spreading, both within and without Spain, the new imperial idea of León, an idea tied with the already remote neo-Gothic ideal of the court at Oviedo. And by means of a tenacious diplomatic activity and a victorious warlike activity (Toledo, the capital of the Hispano-Gothic kingdom, was captured), Alfonso obtained some triumphs on the road to the effective political unity of Hispania. But his proud hegemonic pretensions together with the incoercible historical consequences of the imperial idea, in a Spain at the time open to the feudal influence from beyond the Pyrenees, more than slowing down and defeating the already traditional fragmentation of Hispania, contributed,

as we shall see shortly, to amplifying it and making it endure. Many centuries were to still be necessary to reach the definitive unity of the pieces of pre-Muslim Spain and many more to affirm the Spanish national conscience.

The ancient racial or tribal divisions had been overcome, they belonged to the distant past, in the shadows of the inexorable forgetfulness of an inoperative past. The multiple incipient resistance to Islam in different places of the Cantabrian-Pyrenean range, without any demonstrable connection with fruitful remains of Primitive Spain, had provoked the great crisis which Hispania experienced in the formation of «Spain». True, the idea of the historical, human, affective and ideal unity of the Peninsula had survived. But Spanish history, complex, polyfaceted, churning like the ocean, with the asperity of the mountain peaks, with the anguish of the jungle and the desert: a history of a boiling pot of autonomous vital, cultural and political nuclei which thrived in the both multiform and unitary bull's skin of Spain; that history had stripped to the bone the consciousness of the superior unity of the Peninsula rooted in the minds of the Peninsular people by nine centuries of Roman and Visigothic lordship. Moreover the ambitious imperial effort of Alfonso VI, and of his grandson, to articulate, around an *Imperator,* all the kingdoms or nations of Spain spoken of by his notaries, was ultimately to fail.

3. The Imperial Idea of León

The Gothic kingdom was defeated forever in the battle of Guadalete. Pelayo did not succeed Rodrigo. He was not elected by the Visigothic nobility. He led a popular movement: the general uprising of the Asturians. Once again these people were to confront the conquerors of Spain. A diploma of Alfonso II from the year 812 records the victory of the Asturians. The so-called Albeldense writes: «The kingdom of the Asturians was born from the divine providence of God». The first version of the Chronicle of Alfonso III portrays the Asturians electing Pelayo as their prince and later defeating in Lutos, with Alfonso II at the end of the century, the troops from Córdoba. Furthermore, the unknown author of the *Historia Silense* later repeated the words of the Great King.

But the aristocracy and the clergy who lead the Asturian rebellion dream of an impending restoration of the Hispano-Gothic kingdom. Won over by this illusion, Alfonso II the Chaste (791-852) attempts to restore the Gothic order in the palace and in the church. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, he does not achieve it because the ancient courtly and ecclesiastical organization of the royal see of Toledo had already been forgotten. His aborted attempt is a new proof of the evident historical schism which separates the kingdom of Oviedo from the monarchy of Rodrigo.

Moreover a neo-Gothic ideal soon takes root in the minds and the wills of the clerical and nobiliary minority which surrounds the kings of Asturias. The scribes invent royal Gothic genealogies for the leaders of the Asturians and the Cantabrians: for Pelayo, the victor at Covadonga, and for his son-in-law Alfonso I. They tie the history of the kingdom of Oviedo to the distant Visigothic past, when charged to do so by Alfonso the Great. A deluded cleric of Toledo convinces him of the imminent restoration of the Hispano-Gothic monarchy to the fullness of its sovereignty over all the Peninsula, because this is what the prophecies and revelations announce. The chronicler king agrees to have his chronicle retouched in order to historically establish the legitimate tie of the royalty in Oviedo to the royalty of the Visigoths. The idea of such a continuity survives the failure of the prophecy and encourages the reconquering impetus of the dynasty and of the whole kingdom. I have shown and demonstrated these affirmations and the master Menéndez Pidal hardly differs from them in certain details.

That neo-Gothic ideal, which I referred to at first, on which I have insisted many times and which is today recognized by all, led to the imperial idea of León. It has been tossed back and forth, studied and debated, inflated and looked down on. It is almost too much. The list of scholars who have dedicated time to it is very long. I am not sure if all that zeal, enthusiasm, analysis, critical glances and firing of ideological arrows... have contributed to really clear up or muddy the waters surrounding the problem. The most noble passion of the opposing scholars has forced them to defend mistaken theses. Somewhere between the enthusiastic «imperialists» of Menéndez Pidal, of Hüffer and of many more and the obstinate negatives of García Gallo, Gibert and others, we might find the truth.

It is clear that in the kingdom of León the district governors sometimes entitled themselves *imperatores*, because they received lands «ad imperandum», i. e., to be governed If they juxtaposed or contrasted this title —that of *imperatores*— with that of *comites*, it was simply because count was a mere courtly dignity and did not imply the government of lands. Therefore more than once some magnate who joined the position of count with that of the administration of a territory was correctly called *comes imperator;* and some of the district governors, some, but not all, of whom were counts, were called *counts* and *emperors*. Though some have forgotten the proofs I have advanced in favor of this reality —some as early as 1914— the idea became commonly accepted years ago.

Even more so, in some documents the title of *imperatores* is granted to the kings of León. After the scholarly research of Sánchez Candeira, possible thanks to the plentiful photographic archive I collected years ago in the Center of Historical Studies in Madrid, it is clear that no king of León entitled himself emperor. Barrau-Dihigo demonstrated the falsehood

of the only diplomas in which Alfonso III is named *Imperator Hispaniae;* this same scholar and Emilio Sáez have rejected as false the only other two documents in which Ordoño II entitles himself *Serenissimus Imperator;* Sánchez Candeira has accepted and refined the arguments which invalidate the four documents and I have proved that the one of Ramiro III which refers to the *ius imperiale* of the sovereigns of León is also false. Only exceptionally would one of them refer to himself as *Basileus* or *Rex Magnus* and none of them were directly addressed by their subjects calling them anything else.

Yet it is no less sure that starting with the first part of the tenth-century, in many royal documents, some sovereigns call their progenitors or ancestors *imperatores* and some scribes give the same title to either the reigning king or to others who had passed away. It is also clear that: in Catalonia an abbot, Oliva, in 1023 called Alfonso V *imperator;* that between 1028 and 1032 the child king Bermudo III was twice called *imperator,* in two royal diplomas of Sancho III of Navarre; that Sancho was twice called *imperator* in 1034, when he occupied the royal seat of León; that he called León «*Imperiale culmen*» and ordered minted in Nájera a coin on whose reverse side is written *imperator;* and that in 1036 the imperial title was once again recognized, in the chancellery of Ramiro I of Aragón, as corresponding to the same Bermudo III who had been deprived of it by Ramiro's father.

Without success García Gallo tries to explain these appellatives as being applied to a supreme military chief who has obtained some victory or who possessed the fullness of power. The title of emperors is given to the kings of León who had obtained no triumph of any importance and who were normally strongly attacked by the armies of Córdoba: Ramiro III and Bermudo II, for example; or to who were still children and could not possibly have dreamed of obtaining victories: Ramiro III, Alfonso V and Bermudo III; and to those who, like Alfonso, had been defeated by sovereigns of the same dynasty whose scribes attributed to him the imperial dignity. Moreover only the impassioned defense of his thesis could have possibly moved him to affirm that the kings of León did not possess the fullness of sovereign power except in the second half of the tenth-century. By right they had always had it and with more amplitude than any other European monarch of the period. They lost it, de facto, in certain districts of the kingdom around the same period in which García Gallo supposes the authority of the royal dynasty to have been affirmed. It was in those final decades of the century when the kings, repeatedly defeated by the Islamite hosts and repeatedly combatted by internal rebellions, or child kings who still did not exercise royal power, most frequently received the imperial title.

No, it is not possible to suppose, along with García Gallo, that the title of *imperator* was used with the same meaning when it was applied to the counts as when it referred to the kings. The texts do not justify such an

interpretation. It is opposed by the frequency with which some of the writings are dated with the years of the *regnum-imperium* of a monarch of León; by the concession of the title to the kings of León in some of the Navarrese genealogies; the recognition of the imperial dignity, outside the kingdom, in other sovereigns of the same dynasty; and by that usurpation of this dignity by Sancho the Elder, after having occupied León, *culmen* or seat of the empire In the opinion of Menéndez Pidal and Sánchez Candeiro, the noun *imperator* with its traditional dual meaning is clearly used for many decades; the counts ceased to be called *imperatores* when the kings began to frequently entitle themselves in this way. It is also clear that it was used to apply to child or politically weak kings and to kings who were not victorious military generals. All of this means the sprouting, the taking root and the lasting of what can be called the imperial idea of León.

Yet I must accompany García Gallo in his refusal to accept that the infrequent concession of the imperial title: to deceased sovereigns, by their relatives or by their subjects, and to reigning princes, by some scribes; the seldom-used dating of certain writings by the year of the *regnum-imperium* of the monarch; and the sporadic use of the title *rex magnus* by two princes on two different occasions, postulates the existence of an empire in the juridical and political sense of the word. I must agree with him, and with Merêa, Gibert and Sánchez Candeira. I believe, as he did in the end, according to the testimony of Emilio Sáez: «That the documental data does not permit the defense of the existence of a juridically structured, effective, "Empire of León", and that it might be more accurate to consider it an idea which did not reach a real and juridical formulation.» Nevertheless, I do consider it necessary to distinguish the periods in the coining, affirmation and fullness of that imperial idea. The increase in number and the diverse nature of the texts in which it appears, obliges us to do so.

The phrase that the so-called Albeldense used to finish, in 881, his story of the reign of Alfonso III has not been kept in mind by the scholars of the empire of León: *Ut post longum principalis imperium, de regno terrae ad regnum transeat zeli.* Perhaps to avoid the confusion between the *regnum terrae* and the *regnum zeli* —eternal and temporal homelands of the Christian— and the *regnum asturorum* of Alfonso, the chronicler wrote: «That after a long princely empire he passes from the kingdom of earth to that of heaven.» Here the Albeldense clearly used the word *imperium* with its generic meaning of government or rule. And he would not have used it in this way if the idea of an empire with its specific meaning of a juridical-political institution had already taken concrete form in the kingdom of Oviedo.

Sadly I must disagree with the great master Menéndez Pidal and not attribute probative value in favor of the existence of an empire of León to the intercourse maintained by Alfonso III in 906 with the clergy and town of Tours. They offered him the sale of an imperial crown, to repair

with its price the damages caused to the city by the Normans; and the king of Oviedo did not hasten to acquire the crown; he wanted to see it and only offered to buy it if it was to his pleasure. Moreover he never called himself emperor: the documents of Mondoñedo in which he displays this title were falsified at the end of the eleventh-century or at the beginnings of the twelfth; nor was he addressed as emperor by anyone during his life, either directly or indirectly. Thus it seems licit to me to deny that in his time the imperial idea of León was coined.

It has been supposed by some that the empire of León arose upon the recognition of the imperial supremacy of Alfonso III by the new sovereign of Navarre. The king of León had consented to recognize the new monarch of Pamplona, in exchange for the acceptance by him of his superior imperial rank. Yet I am sure that the coup d'etat of Sancho Garcés, of 905, was planned by Alfonso III and by the count of Pallars, in order to place an ally in Navarre against the last whelp of the Banu Qasi' who had both of them in check.

Menéndez Pidal believes that the title of *imperator* was attributed to Alfonso III by his children when they snatched his kingdom away from him and divided it up. However that attribution is not easily reconciled with the revolt and spoliation, with his confinement in Boides, with his humiliation and with the hatred which we know his eldest son showed him until after his death.

It was his favorite and most loved son Ordoño who thrice entitled himself *filius Adefonsi magni imperatoris.* When commenting on the expression *obtime imperator* with which the Navarrese Genealogies honor Sancho Garcés, Menéndez Pidal writes: «Here *imperator* is used with a qualifying adjective, as an appellative name, not as a title» Could we not think of an exalted shout of filial devotion for his progenitor, from whom he had received singular signs of affection and whom he had, nevertheless, helped to spoliate; a shout of filial, and repentent, devotion for he who was truly the *magno gobernante* throughout the long half century of his reign? If the words of Ordoño II alluded to the effective use of the imperial title by his father, why was this title not given him during his life by someone and why did not Ordoño II or any of his successors receive it either alive or dead? It is true that, according to the careful accumulation of testimonies realized by Sánchez Candeira, the imperial dignity was not recognized for the son of the *magno emperador* nor for Fruela II, Alfonso Froilaz, Sancho Ordóñez or Alfonso IV. The two diplomas of Mondoñedo in which Ordoño II is entitled *serenissimus imperator,* as has been said, are doubtless falsifications.

For the first time *rex magnus* or *rex imperator* are applied during a monarch's life to Ramiro II. He is so called by some scribes of León. The adulation of the clergy for the reigning princes was exaggerated, but it is difficult to imagine that a poor notary of León would invent the

imperial title for a simple contract of sale. There must have been something more. The first decade of the reign of Ramiro II could have been decisive for the coining of the imperial idea of León. The defeat and submission of his brother and his cousins, the fortunate campaigns against the Muslims, the magnificent victory in Simancas over the caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III, the triumph over the rebellious counts of Castile and of Monzón; so many successes could have well injured the imagination of the clerics and magnates of the court. In the South, the sovereign humiliated by Ramiro had usurped the caliphal dignity and Navarre thrived under the effective government of the Queen Tota. The natural admiration for the military and political successes of Ramiro, the fearful adulation provoked by the firm harshness of his rule, the desire to exalt the royal dignity of their magnificent and admirable prince, in imitation of the new and supreme title used by the sovereign of Córdoba, and the necessity of underlining the superiority of the kingdom of León against the kingdom of Navarre...; a whole group of shadowy impulses and of forces, as powerful as they were interconnected, were able to then coin the imperial idea of León in its imprecise and vague beginnings.

Imprecise and vague beginnings? Yes, because one cannot imagine the existence of a precise and well-defined imperial idea when observing the concession by Ramiro III in 968 to the monastery of Sobrado of the *vectigalia* which the inhabitants of a number of Galician *commissa* paid *imperio sedis regalis.* The phrase «to the authority of the royal see» is the equivalent, as I have proved with many diplomas of the same tenth-century, of the expressions with which other sovereigns donated to other churches the *regalia debita* or the *tributa fiscalia* that the dwellers of other *commissa, regie potestati persolvere consueverant* (that they normally satisfied to the royal power).

However Ramiro III himself was the first to, years later —in 968 he was a child—, dare to use, if perhaps not the title of *imperator,* the equivalent of *Flavius Basileus princeps magnus;* and I say perhaps because the clearly falsified diploma where these words appear could have come from an authentic original. What might have happened?

The origin in the lands of León of the earliest and of almost all of the documents in which the imperial dignity was recognized as belonging to some of the kings of León, has been pointed out by García Gallo. Why did the scribes from Galicia, Asturias and Castile not make similar declarations? This exclusiveness might lead us to think that the imperial idea of León arose around the courtly navel of the kingdom and was not warmly received in the peripheral regions. Yet such a limitation also contradicts the existence of an authentic juridical-political imperial structure. Otherwise the kings of León would have been termed *imperatores* with the same frequency in the diverse lands of their kingdom or empire.

This imperial idea, having been created by the combined action of the just admiration, clumsy adulation, the urge to emulate and the hegemonic

aspiration of the courtly and clerical minority which surrounded the king and which moved about in the regal see (remember the León nature of the texts in which it appears), was soon taken advantage of to affirm the shaky royal authorithy both inside and outside of the kingdom. As the decadence of the monarchy of León increased, as its kings were less capable and less fortunate, as greater and greater numbers of powerful counts left their obedient roles and as the credit of the monarchy with Córdoba and even with Pamplona shrunk, the exaltation of the majestic power of the constantly weaker kings of León must have been accentuated in the court and its surroundings as an urgent defense mechanism. The long years of the century, in a sustained *in crescendo* and in an inverse proportion to the authentic strength of the sovereigns of León, affirmed and rooted the practice of entitling the princes as *imperatores.* This is shown to be a conscious attempt of the clergy and the nobility of the royal following, and of León and its land, to save the political supremacy of the kings within the kingdom and their international authority on the Peninsula, by the growing number of contracts in which the imperial idea of León appears as the decades went by: as many testimonies of recognition of the imperial dignity of Alfonso V and Bermudo III (999-1037) exist as do those attributing this dignity to all the sovereigns of the tenth-century. Furthermore, it is backed by the first timid imperial entitlements of some princes: they appear on diplomas of the least powerful of the kings of León, Ramiro III, and on two of Alfonso V.

Three quarters of a century of sustained and growing affirmation of the imperial idea ended up having an effect on the Christian Peninsular states which were much more modern, much less extense, much less powerful, without the Gothic tradition of the kingdom of León to cope with and enlightened like León by the discovery-invention of the apostolic tomb at Compostela. While we have not received any testimony whatsoever of the recognition of any king of León as emperor in the tenth-century by the Navarrese, the counties of the Pyrenees and the Catalans, we do possess a number of texts from the first third of the eleventh-century, in which the still infant sovereigns of León are recognized as *imperator* from Catalonia, Navarre and Aragón. Furthermore, the conquest of the royal seat of León moved Sancho III of Pamplona to entitle himself emperor and to mint a coin with the title of *imperator.*

The imperial idea of León had slowly matured and had finally triumphed. It had not been able to articulate an empire in the strict political and juridical meaning of the word. However it had been able to maintain alive the historic hegemony of the kingdom which had taken up the inheritance of the Visigothic monarchy and which aspired to its restoration. In all the other Christian Spanish states the theoretical superiority of the king-emperor of León was accepted. It was not much. Córdoba itself also conceded it a place apart with respect to the other polytheist princes of Al-Ándalus. Ibn Hayyan, when referring to one of the campaigns of the

son of Almanzor, 'Abd al-Malik (1002-1009), called the king of León, then the child Alfonso V, the Gothic king.

Theoretical superiority? Yes; till then it was nothing more. It is important not to pad and not to diminish either the importance of the recognition of that hierarchical superiority of the king-emperor over the other Christian states It meant little, but it did imply a promise for the future: the opening of a route through which a closer tie with the Peninsular kings, which would facilitate the restoration of the Hispanic unity, could be reached; and the hope of a definitive taking hold of a magnetized political center which might be able to attract, by means of a centripetal force of increasing drive, the dispersed fragments of the historic unitary nucleus which Hispania had once been.

Upon the fall of Rome a far-reaching process of disintegration had begun, at differing speeds according to the country. That process led to the more or less rapid fragmentation of the superprovincial units which Rome had created, in function of geography and of race, of the lands and of the nations ruled by her. North of the Pyrenees and beyond the sea, that crisis was much more rapid and profound than in Spain. It was confronted and temporarily stopped by the Carolingians; but the centrifugal force, engendered as the normal reaction against the multisecular Roman unity, was stronger than the will of one man or of a few men and the feudal hurricane once again cracked and once again split up *ad infinitum* the new unitary political organization. Nevertheless a theoretical hierarchical organization around the king of the Franks and the Germanic emperor was preserved. With them, as the center of attraction, a positive and unifying process was initiated, when a change in the historical pressure made the direction of the wind change and a centripetal agglutinating whirlwind began. This could have been the fertile destiny of the imperial idea of León: the turning of the, up until then, purely honorific empire of León into that magnetic centralizer of the disperse fragments of the Peninsula. Could it have been so? Was it? To the misfortune of all the Hispanos, it could have been but it was not. To the misfortune of all because the agglutination of the fragments of the misty Spanish past, cast into space by the catastrophic clash between Spain and Islam, could not be realized around a center with an uninterrupted and permanently alive hegemonic tradition. Spain was born after eight centuries of isolation, in a similar hierarchical situation, of small and proud states with very disparate institutional organization and with glorious but disparate histories.

It could have been; but it was not. Furthermore the two attempts at empire favored by the imperial idea of León: the still imprecise, and not juridically confirmed, one of Alfonso VI and the legitimate one, through ritual formula, of Alfonso VII, more than favor it, made the creation of Hispanic unity more difficult.

With the first king of the new Navarrese dynasty, Ferdinand I, the imperial idea does not change. The notaries public call him *imperator*

every once in a while —neither frequently nor earlier on in his reign— and at times call doña Sancha, his wife, the legitimate queen of León, *imperatrice.* Still there was nothing more. He never entitled himself emperor, and he never displayed imperial ambitions. No proof exists that, after the death of his brother García in Atapuerca, his nephew the new king of Navarre recognized his own vassalage. And even if he fought, vanquished and subsected the Moorish kings of Saragossa, Toledo, Seville and Badajoz to the payments of tributes, it is not licit to see in these victories and tributes any projection of the imperial idea of León. Victorious wars were the normal fruit of the reconquering tradition of the kings of Asturias-León; and the tributes were the imitation of the caliphal practices of submitting the Christian kings to tribute, whom they obliged to accept the authority of Córdoba. The words of Silense regarding his *imperial orders* to Al-Mu'tadid of Seville, are a half century after his death and are written in the wake of the authentic imperial experience of Alfonso VI.

With Alfonso VI we are finally to witness to the decisive turn in the already secular imperial tradition of León. He officially entitles himself emperor and emphatically extends his imperial title to all of Spain. The master Menéndez Pidal has compiled the documents in which he calls himself *Imperator Hispaniae, Totius Hispaniae Imperator, Imperator constitutus super omnes Hispaniae nationes, Imperator magnificus triumphator...* His personal pride and that of his authentic power and of his authentic successes were to induce him to entitle himself emperor, innovating the traditional chancellery customs of the kingdom of León. And, as Menéndez Pidal accurately speculates, the desire to reject the pretensions of Gregory VII to the lordship of Spain, based on the supposed donation of Constantine, were able to induce Alfonso to extend his imperial title to all of Hispania. Nobody on the Peninsula or outside of it recognized him as *Totius Hispaniae Imperator* nor as «Emperor placed over all the nations of Spain»; the other Peninsular sovereigns limited the empire of Alfonso to the kingdoms over which he truly possessed sovereignty. Therefore it is doubtful that, in the name of his imperial dignity he would intervene, as Menéndez Pidal affirms, in the internal affairs of the other Christian and Islamite states of the Peninsula. He intervened because his real power was great and the other sovereigns were obliged to bite the bridle under his boasts. His superiority was effective. While Navarre had not yet reached the Ebro, Aragón had not yet conquered Huesca, and Barcelona was defeated by the armed retinue of an exiled Castilian *infanzón,* the states of Alfonso extended from the Mondego to the Ebro and from the Tagus to the Cantabrian Sea. This evident superiority forced all, both Christians and Moors, to obey his orders. It probably inclined Sancho Ramírez of Aragón to accept vassalage. There, in that vassalage, is the key to the submissive attitude of the Aragonese king toward the high *Imperator Totius Hispaniae.*

The imperial idea of León which the conqueror of Toledo, *Magnificus Triumphator*, took to its logical culmination was hindered by the feudal ideas and practices brought by the winds from beyond the Pyrenees. The feudal obsession introduced into Castile by the princes, the knights, the monks, the crusaders, the pilgrims and the colonists from Europe, inundated and saturated the court of the proud *Imperator Hispaniae*. It was to cross with the ambitious imperial pretensions of Alfonso. The extension of ties of vassalage, with the emperor, by the other Christian kings of Spain, opened the excellent way to securing their recognition of the Hispanic empire and of the political hegemony of Alfonso over them. The union of imperial and feudal ideas could have made León and Castile into an active nuclei around which Spanish unity could one day have been articulated. That historic union could have changed the course of Hispanic history. It could have, but it did not.

It did not because, for its fecundity, it would have been necessary that the authentic hegemonic superiority of the Empire of León would have been prolonged during a reasonable period of time; especially during the century that followed the ambitious feudal imperial articulation begun by Alfonso VI. It would have been necessary for the process of formation of the feudal Empire to have been carried out with great ability and with astute care so as to not injure the proud susceptibility of the other Spanish Christian princes, Spaniards no less haughty than the emperors of León. It would also have been indispensable for the disintegrating toxic accompanying feudal theory and practice not to have interfered with the unifying imperial process, blocking its advances and creating new autonomous political nuclei.

None of these three indispensable requirements were fulfilled, and therefore the imperial idea hindered rather than favored the unification of Spain. The Almoravid invasion incredibly weakened the political power of the previously all-powerful empire of León. The civil wars, which on the death of Alfonso VI devastated it for two decades, reduced it to impotence; and when Alfonso VII restored the royal authority and vital potency of his kingdom, the balance of power between León and Castile and the other Spanish Christian states had been altered to the disadvantage of the king-emperor. Navarre had not crossed the Ebro, Aragón had reached the mountains of Teruel, Barcelona had unified Catalonia and had begun its expansion beyond the Pyrenees, and Portugal had gained independence.

If the empire of León had lost, in this way, its great initial political superiority over the other Christian Spanish states, and thus had failed the first and primordial demand of the promissory imperial articulation of Hispania, it was to do much the same with the second. I do not know if Alfonso VI was really responsible for the Almoravid invasion. Even though his pride might not have irritated Al-Mu'tamid to the point of convincing him to call Yusuf ben Taxufin, this general would have probably

entered Andalusia anyway. It was the conquest of Toledo that changed the political panorama of Al-Ándalus and really got the Andalusian sultans to negotiate the intervention. Yet the invasion would have taken place even if they had not requested it; for the great imperialist thunderstorms formed in Africa have always exploded over the Peninsula. The different vital and cultural pressure of the lands situated on either side of the Straits, has inexorably pushed them towards Spain. Anyway it is difficult to deny that Alfonso VI lacked the necessary political talent and diplomatic ability to lead the raft of Empire to a safe port.

These qualities were also glaringly absent in his grandson Alfonso VII in some decisive moments of his life. When he went to Aragón, either to defend its frontiers against the Almoravids who had just defeated his step-father Alfonso in Fraga, according to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, or to conquer it as he had gone to Nájera upon the death of the Battler, according to Ximénez de Rada, it is clear that he was unable to win the good-will of the Aragonese, since the Monk King married his daughter and heiress to Ramón Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona. Furthermore the union of Aragón and Catalonia, provoked by the clumsiness of Alfonso VII, caused the growth, to the east of his kingdoms of León and Castile, of a powerful state which would, in time, counter-balance the political and historical potential of his own.

Alfonso I of Aragón, son-in-law of Alfonso VI of León and Castile, also used the title of *imperator* even after the dissolution of his marriage with the queen, doña Urraca. This entitlement naturally did not create any sort of theoretical or practical novelty. Only upon his death in 1134 did the imperial idea of León culminate in an authentic empire.

Alfonso VII had himself recognized emperor in the seat of Santa María de León in 1135. Menéndez Pidal believes that that solemn ceremony was no more than the repetition of those which had elevated other sovereigns of León to empire. Yet there is no text which authorizes such an assertion and it is contradicted by the justification made in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* as to why Alfonso was proclamed emperor; that explanation leaves no doubt as to the novelty of the coronation as *Imperator* of a king of León. No, for the first time an *Ordinatio Imperatoris* took place in Spain; for the first time a Spanish prince was raised to the imperial dignity, understood in its strict technical, juridical-political meaning; for the first time the Empire of León existed juridically; for the first time the imperial idea took shape within an institution of public law when the solemn rite of coronation was fulfilled. But vanity induced Alfonso VII not to circumscribe the limits of his Empire to those of the Peninsula. He extended them too far beyond the Pyrenees: his imperial sovereignty went from the Atlantic to the Rhone. Thus he refused to be, like his grandfather, *Totius Hispaniae Imperator* or *Imperator super omnes Hispaniae nationes constitutus*, in order to rule over lands which, lacking sufficiently strong

historical and vital ties, could never make up a viable political community. And by overreaching, in a most un-historical way, the limits of his empire, he made its survival as such impossible, he weakened the effective force of his imperial power and finally shut off the promissory positive projection of the ancient empire of León toward the political unification of Hispania.

The same feudal nature of the León empire in the days of Alfonso VI of León and Castile (d. 1109) and of Alfonso I of Aragón (d. 1134), before its solemn declaration by Alfonso VII, also harmed any possible historical projection toward Peninsular unity. The benefice-vassalage system was a two-sided weapon: it had been useful for the ordering of a society in desintegration, but had then contributed to fragmenting it. In the concrete instance of the Alfonsos —the Spain of three Alfonsos: the Conqueror of Toledo, his son-in-law, the Battler, and his grandson, the Emperor—, more than uniting, contributed to the splitting up of Spain. The saturation of the court of Alfonso VI by the feudal style from beyond the Pyrenees, determined holding concession of the hereditary vassalage of Galicia and Portugal to his Burgundian sons-in-law, and later that of Galicia to his grandson, the future Alfonso VII. The death of Raimundo of Burgundy and the elevation of Alfonso Raimúndez to the throne of León and Castile reincorporated Galicia into the state unity of the kingdom. But the concession of Portugal to Enrique, conforming to the feudal-imperial theory pleasing to the *Imperator Magnificus Triumphator*, gave birth, on the shores of the Atlantic, to a kingdom whose historical existence was not at all justified. Besides, that feudal-imperial theory, no less pleasing to Alfonso VII than to his maternal grandfather, blocked the road to the reincorporation of Portugal into the crown of León. The Emperor never attempted it; he merely twice imposed on his cousin, Alfonso Enríquez, a declaration of vassalage.

The interference of feudal practices, of ultra-Pyrenean stock, in the new conception of the Empire of León, also damaged the extension of the kingdom of Castile and León towards the Levant. Upon the death of Alfonso the Battler, and due to the separation of Aragón and Navarre, Alfonso VII occupied Nájera and the Rioja and, with the either voluntary or forced consent of Ramiro II, he occupied Saragossa and its region too. That double expansion along the Ebro would have affirmed the hegemony of the king-emperor if it had lasted. The empire of León would have been able to assure itself the nuclear position in the future Spain. Alfonso did not attempt to firmly keep in his hands that key position. Soon he ceded it in holding to his brother-in-law, Count Ramón Berenguer of Barcelona. He could have not occupied Saragossa, thus keeping the Aragonese from the temptation of uniting with the Catalans, in exchange for the vassalage of an autonomous Aragón. However after the federation of the two states, the feudal cession of the occupied zone implied its inexorable future loss.

And the idea of Empire, mixed with feudal theory, led Alfonso VII

149.—*Facade of the Monastery of El Escorial* (Madrid). The facade of El Escorial, which was constructed by Philip II to commemorate his victory over France in St. Quentin. Rising at the foot of the Guadarrama mountains, the backbone of Spain, for many years it was the political navel of an empire that stretched from the Spanish Phillipines and the Portuguese India, to the Adriatic coasts of Naples, the Valley of the Po and the Low Countries. Imagine it decorated by El Greco if the «Prudent King» had really felt as a Spaniard.

150.—*Patio of the Evangelists of El Escorial* (Madrid), as all of the building is constructed in a cold and rigidly geometric style, the antithesis of the eternally baroque nature of Spanish art. No matter what the beauty of the lines of that and other facades of the palace-monastery-pantheon might be, it would be erroneous to see in it the archetype of the Hispanic nature. This would have become frozen if the Escorial had become the permanent focal point of Spanish life.

to commit the worst of his errors. Under his high imperial power there could be kings: they had existed in the Western Empire and many of his own vassals were kings. Thus Alfonso soon elevated his two sons, Sancho and Ferdinand, to the regal dignity, which made the division of his kingdom upon his death inevitable. Thus he laid the groundwork for the ruin of the Empire of León and for a grave backward step in the march toward the union of Spain.

The king of Portugal left the Empire upon declaring himself vassal of the Holy See, something Alfonso VII could do nothing about; yet within the area of today's Spain the imperial organization seemed to run well while the emperor lived. The king of Navarre and the count of Barcelona, prince of Aragón, observed their vassal subordination and participated, for example, in the enterprise of Almería. But when Castile separated from León, even though León had not immediately fallen into anarchy, none of the sons of Alfonso VII would have had enough effective authority and authentic power to maintain the imperial tradition of León alive; a tradition which had culminated with the solemn coronation of the year 1135. Sancho of Castile would not have been able to maintain his imperial supremacy over Navarre and less still over the count-king of Aragón and Catalonia; nor would Ferdinand of León have been able to force the recognition of the ancient vassalage owed the sovereigns of León by the king of Portugal.

The materialization of the imperial idea of León —mere majestic entitlement oriented to the maintaining of the theoretical hegemonic superiority of the kingdom as the heir of the Visigothic monarchy— into the authentic and juridically defined Empire of León, coinciding with the saturation of the Peninsula by the feudal themes and practices, had placed an accursed colophon to the slow effort of the kings of León to restore the historic and political unity of Hispania. From then on, Portugal, León, Castile, Navarre and Aragón-Catalonia were to bear up as they could under the storms of history, without any strong nuclear center which could attract to itself the fragments of the ancient prefiguration of the Spanish nation which Hispania was in the year 711.

4. How Castile is Born

«What do you have, oh black and peasant oak...?», asked Machado poetically one day. An analogous question is suggested by the initial history of Castile. For that remote past of the Castilian nation causes admiration and lifts the spirit, it seduces with its mystery and shoots out urgent questions. Anyone who confronts, with an inquisitive spirit, that great historical enigma, faced with the reality of the prodigy implied by the strange birth and rapid ascent of Castile, at times will perhaps remember the words used by the pen of the enemy, Ibn Bassam, when honoring the

great medieval Hispanic hero, the Cid, and will be able to term the birth of Castile: «The miracle of miracles of the Lord.»

What did you have, oh mountainous and northerly Castile, to erect yourself as a lasting historical community and to become one of the great kingdoms of Europe? It it nos difficult to explain the birth of the other medieval Hispanic nations. Catalonia was engendered by the Carolingian empire at the matrix of the Tarraconensis Hispania. Navarre and Aragón historically prolonged the remote Vascones. Asturias and León formed the inheritance of the neo-Gothic monarchy. Galicia, by-passed by time, maintained alive the tradition of the ancient Roman province of that name. Portugal was a historical accident. Castile was neither Cantabria nor Vasconia. It had no remote past. Neither Rome, nor the Goths, nor the Frankish empire gave it the breath of life. It was born at a crossroads of climates, roads and races and also at a crossroads of history.

Castile is forged in the confines of the two Spains, Mediterranean and Oceanic; in one of the zones of contact between the climate, the vegetation and the crops of the rainy lands of the Atlantic West of Europe, and the climate, the vegetation and the crops of the sunny lands touching the interior sea, cradle of ancient civilization. Castile is born on the strip of transition between the yellow plains and the green and narrow canyons of the coastal mountains. It is born in the forest of grey hills and of cardinal precipices which stretch towards the North in valleys closed off by white cliffs and which open toward the South in the flat wilderness. It is born in valleys whose sheltered nitches are filled with meadows, with beech and poplar forests and whose sunny parts are covered with cultivated fields and oaks. It is born under a sky of combat, normally victorious over the clouds and mists of the Cantabrian coast; a coast which, a hundred miles to the other side of the mountains, receives the thundering waves of the green sea, vanquished by the sharp prows of the Scandinavians or Normans. It is born in the lands irrigated by the upper Ebro and by its first tributaries; by the Ebro which slowly moves toward the great blue sea, once crossed by the sails of the Greeks and Romans.

Castile is born from a conglomerate of ancient Spanish tribes. The Cantabrians, infected by the Iberians, and the Autrigones, infected by the Celts, had been joined by many other neighboring and not so similar peoples: the Varduli and the Caristii, Iberianized pre-Iberians, having come from the Zadorra and the hills of the Basque provinces of today; the Berones and the Murbogi, of Celtic origin and having migrated to the mountains of Cantabria and Autrigonia from the valleys of the Arlanzón and the Rioja; a good amount of Vaccaei and Celtiberians from the flatlands of the South which extend to the Duero River.

Castile is born at a crossroads of routes: of the millenary roads which ascend the Ebro and of those which pursue the mesetas and the extreme Northwest, from the Pyrenean mountain passes; of the roads followed by the Iberians and the Celts hundreds of years before Christ; of the roads

which, taking advantage of natural routes imposed by the horizontal and vertical configuration of Spain, were built, here as everywhere else, by the «infinite urge for construction» of Rome. Castile is born next to the great road which united the Hispanic Northwest with Gaul and with the Mediterranean Sea. And it is born just near the place where that great route split to touch today's Basque Country and to descend to the Rioja. Castile, the oldest one, was also crossed by roads which, coming from the Tagus Valley, were able to reach the Cantabrian Sea.

Finally, Castile is born at a historical crossroads: next to the Vascones who, as a result of late growth and explosive dynamism, had invaded and made the Varduli and the Caristii Basque and had penetrated into France during the fifth and the sixth-centuries, and who had founded a new kingdom in Pamplona around the year 800; and next to the Banu Qasi' of the central Ebro, lords of the land which had before been the point of contact between the Celtiberians and the Vascones and who had inherited from both their courage and bellicose drive. All the other zones of the Asturian kingdom were separated from the Saracen enemy either by the difficult path of the Duero in its last third, Galicia, or by the desert which extended from the Duero to the peaks of the mountain range of Asturias and Cantabria. Only Castile had next to her, two steps from her frontiers, a Muslim nation which, though one of Iberian stock, was a valiant and warrior nation. When the Normans ascended the Guadalquivir, to Seville, and Córdoba felt threatened, the Vasco-Celtiberian rebels from the Ebro were summoned. And only they, with their chieftain Muza, were able to defeat the Normans and to liberate Andalusia from their grasp; from the grasp of the fierce pirates who had taken land in England and France and who were to be victorious in the Mediterranean. What did you have, oh mountainous and northerly Castile, to erect yourself as a nation and to become one of the creative forces of European history?

Confronted by the mystery of the birth of Castile, minstrel fantasy of the twelfth-century created the legend of the judges, and the proud genealogy of the ancient historians made her come into this world armed with all arms —like Athena in the myth— and presented her governed by a sovereign count, from the very first moments of history. Modern authors have accepted the tradition of the minstrels and the chroniclers and, taking the easier road, after referring to the constitutional differences, they have concentrated on the study of the vigorous silhouette of the hero of the independence of Castile, already exalted in the ancient chansons de geste and adorned from the very beginning with legendary aureolas.

This has been done twice by the last of the scholars of the county of Castile, Fray Justo Pérez de Úrbel. Regarding the slow gestation of the nation governed by Fernán González, twice he has merely taken my ideas, without citing, naturally, where he got them. He merely compiled them and bound them amid the fairy tales which regional patriotism had invented many centuries ago regarding that mysterious period of primitive

Castile; fairy tales adorned by him with new and unjustified fantasies. Permit him to embroider his novel anti-historical tales; he will never rectify them.

Castile is a geographic denomination which is already over a thousand years old. But a moment in the history of humanity! If the antiquity of the name of Castile is compared with the many times millenary age of other names of peoples or nations, even with some regions and cities of Spain, Castile is a name which is still in its childhood. The oldest Castilians did not wear the remote, but brief, apparel of the Asturians or of the Cantabrians; nor did they wear the Roman toga. They did not adore the barbarous and mysterious divinities of the Iberians or of the Celts, nor the restless, amusing, concupiscent and vengeful gods of the Greco-Roman pantheon. The word Castile is neither, like Vandalusía, France or Lombardy, a memory of the cruel and brutal Germanic hoards —«death, devastation, fierce evils»— who invaded and plundered the Roman West at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Castile is a geographic name born during the Reconquest of the homeland from Saracen lordship; in a moment, key to Spanish history, in which European and Occidental Spain fought Oriental and Mediterranean Spain. Castile is born in a moment of ideological and religious struggle between two opposing conceptions of life, of man and of the future: Islam and Christianity. It must be said once and for all: Castile arises as the fruit of the multisecular war between the Moors and the Christians.

Indeed, it would be in vain for us to search for the name of Castile before the beginnings of the ninth-century. It is born, humble and miserable, as a name, not of an empire or of a nation, but of a reduced strip of poor and harsh land; as the name of a small region of the tiny kingdom of Asturias, situated to the South of the Cantabrian Mountain Range, to the West of the valleys of Mena, Losa and Valdegovia and to the North of the Bureba. Furthermore it is born without pomp or splendor. It does not commemorate the name of a great nation, nor is it protected by the haughty silhouette of a great hero, nor does the pen of an illustrious author baptize it. Lips of humble peasant soldiers began to pronounce the word Castile, in the cold little valleys watered by the tributaries of the upper Ebro and by the Ebro itself. From these lips it spread to other warriors from the great, sunny, fertile and rich valleys of the South who may have heard it during one of those late and fleeting springs which smile with a wink upon those northerly lands; it was heard by other warriors who appeared on the confines of the horizon and who carried with them devastation, burning and death: to the beech and oak forests, to the meadows and the tilled soil, to the villages and to the castles of *Castella,* as the Christians said, or of Al-Qila', as the Islamites literally translated it —I have just shown this—. A half a century later, in July of 852, a lettered monk, upon the founding of the monastery of San Martín de Ferrán, by the abbot Pablo, the priest Juan and the cleric Nuño, wrote down that the

Count Rodrigo ruled Castile. Castile had overflowed its old limits and was already the site of a county.

The name of Castile soon enters into historical literature and is soon translated. In 881 a cleric, resident in Asturias, wrote it in the miserable so-called Chronicle of Albelda. Deprived of the kingdom by the tyrant count from Galicia, Froilán —as the ancient chronicle reads— the young king Alfonso III, *Castellam se contulit,* took refuge in Castile. Shortly after 883, that same prince, *scientia clarus,* great captain and clumsy chronicler, also wrote it, in his barbarous history, seated, perhaps, in the salon of the palace of the Naranco, facing the great valley closed by the Aramo and presided over by Oviedo. In the days of his ancestor, the first Alfonso of Spain —as the Great King says—, along with many other lands of the North, *Bardulies qui nunc vocitatur Castella,* Bardulia today called Castile, was repopulated. And, at least from the reign of Abd al-Rahman II (822-852) when annals were written in the court of the Cordovan Ommiads, perhaps even earlier a courtly analyst translated the name of Castile to Arabic, when writing, in one of the chambers of the emir's palace next to the Guadalquivir, the story of the expeditions carried out by the Muslim troops against the polytheists or the Christians of Al-Qila' and of Álava, from the year 792 on.

Castile, land of castles; here is the meaning of the new name called upon to reach great destinies. Land of castles it was! It had become that way after a centuries-long process. Before the Roman conquest, multiple different peoples occupied the northern zone of Spain, between the Astures and the Vascones. The eastern limit of the Astures went along the hills which bordered the valley of the Sella in the West, until reaching the mountain range, in whose foothills began the land of León; it then continued along the same range until Cofiñal; it crossed the high and tiny valleys of León; and from Cistierna descended to the Duero along the waters of the Cea first, and then of the Esla. And the eastern skirts of the primitive Vascones —the Navarrese and the Aragonese of today— ascended from the sea, along the divide of the valleys of the Urumea and of Oyarzum, to the mountains of Urbasa, Andía and Aralar; they continued along the western limit of the Ega basin; and finally ran between *Vareia,* not far from Logroño, and the city of Calahorra.

Between these two frontiers the plains, separated by the Odra and the Pisuerga, were inhabited by the Vaccaei and the Murbogi; and the Berones occupied the Rioja, to the mountains of the Demanda and San Lorenzo. North of the Vaccaei and the Murbogi, along the mountainous and coastal zone, lived the Cantabrians. These extended from the eastern frontier of the Astures to the valley of the Asón in Santander, and in Burgos up to the western limit of the lands of Medina de Pomar, Villarcayo and the Bureba, which were already in Autrigonia. The Autrigones descended to the Tirón River and the hills of Oca, they stopped in the peaks which separated the valley of Miranda from the Rioja, they did not cross the

course of the Ebro in the part which runs between the Conchas de Haro and Puentelarra, they ascended along the plain of Omecillo until they reached the valley of Orduña and they descended to the sea along the Nervión, the river of today's Bilbao. The Caristii lived to the North and the East of this line up to the course of the Deva and the Zadorra, in lands belonging today to Vizcaya and Álava. Finally the Varduli lived between these rivers and the already-traced western frontier of the Vascones, having present-day Guipúzcoa as their center. A quarter of a century ago I studied these frontiers; today everyone admits to my conclusions. Of all these peoples the Cantabrians and the Astures were the most courageous and fierce. Rome had conquered Spain and had even dominated almost all of the basin of the Mediterranean Sea, and only they had remained untamed. The Cantabrians even dared to challenge the Romans by attacking the neighboring tribes submitted to them. Augustus came to Spain in the year 27 b. C. to organize the decisive war against that haughty and proud nation. The Astures and the Vaccaei seconded it against Octavian. The battle was fierce and long. And only after a heroic resistance did they succumb, in the year 25. Astures and Cantabrians rose up once again in the year 23 and were again submitted with great difficulty. But the Cantabrians, sold as slaves in Gaul, slew their masters, returned to their homeland in the year 19 and started up the struggle once again. Agripa, sent to submit them, suffered several defeats and only after a ferocious struggle was able to finally pacify Cantabria. Moreover, it rebelled again in the times of Nero, and Rome had to always keep a powerful garrison in the country to keep it under hand.

The lands of the North of Spain fell into anarchy after the crisis in Roman power on the Peninsula, upon the invasion of the Sueves, the Vandals and the Alans, when the fifth-century had barely begun, and upon the later entry of the Goths into the Tarraconensis. Given over to their own free will —an ideal situation for these Spanish peoples— was the type of life that those nations of the upper part of Spain, from Vasconia to Asturias, led for more than a century and half. We do not know the history of those northern peoples during those long years. We only can be sure that others became the field of battle for the Sueves of Galicia and the Goths of Catalonia; and that, in that obscure period, there were probably some movements from their original homes on the part of a good amount of those ancient tribes.

It is known that before the victorious campaigns of King Leovigildo, the Basque nation overflowed its ancient limits, passed the mountains of Andía and Aralar, pushed the Varduli down the Zadorra to the valley of the Ebro and forced them to mix with the people of Autrigonia and to establish themselves in the land of Miranda, in the Bureba and even in the upper Burgos valleys. The same dynamic restlessness of the Vascones soon moved them to cross the Pyrenees, to penetrate in Aquitaine and there to create Gascogne. Furthermore, it is probable that during that

long period of freedom and of anarchy among the northern peoples of Spain, the Astures too, who with the Vascones occupied the lead role on the historical stage, extended beyond their ancient frontiers of the Sella, entered Cantabria and occupied the so-called Asturias of Sancta Juliana. With this whole zone, from Asturias to Vasconia, from the Cantabrian Sea to the Rioja, perhaps the Visigoths created the duchy of Cantabria. I have recently studied these questions.

Thus a mixture of Cantabrians, Autrigones and Varduli, more or less Romanized with the passing of centuries, but still somewhat distinguishable, lived in the land later to be Castile when the Arabs invaded the Peninsula. This zone was also reached by the new lords of Hispania. As Leovigildo had in 574, Tariq also conquered in 712 the precipitous and rocky Cantabrian peak of Amaya, according to the Ajbar Machmu'a and probably also according to the tale of Rasis. The Saracen forces were still to penetrate further north for Alfonso III, in his miserable chronicle, did not include Cantabria nor Autrigonia among the lands which, like Álava, Vizcaya, Orduña, Alaón..., were always, if we are to believe him, possessed by their primitive inhabitants; and, on the other hand, the same king named Bardulia, already called Castile, among those regions repopulated by Alfonso I.

After entering Spain, in the days of Alarico (484-507), compact masses of Goths established themselves in the plains to the north and the south of the Duero, from Soria to Tierra de Campos and from the Carpetania to the limits of Cantabria; a fact accredited by the archeological findings compiled by Reinhart. The Muslim invasion of 711 pushed much of the Visigothic aristocracy of the non-collaborationist faction toward Asturias and Galicia and towards Gothic Gaul. The Goths of the Castilian plains in part emigrated to the Cantabrian mountains due to the Islamic conquest and in part were dragged there by Alfonso I before the middle of the eighth-century, when the emptying of the upper meseta, from the Duero to the mountains, occurred. I have spoken of this emptying frequently before. Taking advantage of the civil wars which divided the Muslim conquerors, Pelayo's son-in-law laid waste to the country up to Coimbra on the Mondego, up to Salamanca, Ávila and Segovia in the Valley of the Duero, and up to the Rioja on the Ebro. With the Christians from the devastated lands, the Cantabrian, Alfonso I, repopulated the lands of his mountain monarchy, which became a formidable fortress protected by the sea and with the Cantabrian-Asturian Mountain Range as a type of protective wall. South of the mountains he only occupied the valleys of the tributaries of the upper Ebro, crossed by the ancient Roman roads which permitted access to Cantabria, Autrigonia and Bardulia, all beyond the mountains. To defend this frontier zone, situated next to them, they constructed numerous fortresses: in the hills which penetrated furthest into the plains, to keep a look out for the arrival of the Muslim forces; on

the ridges which dominated the ancient Roman ways or the modern invasion routes, to cut off the enemy; at the entrances of the steep canyons to resist the attack of the Saracen troops, whenever it was possible; and on the highest peaks of the mountains, to take refuge in them with livestock and riches, if the Chaldeans, sometimes called the Islamites by the Christians, had already penetrated into the country. Constructed already in the days of Alfonso I (739-757) and of his son, the ferocious Fruela (757-768), a half century later those *castella* had given their name to the region in which they stood.

This group of Cantabrians, Autrigones and Varduli, with ethnic roots which went back to Upper Paleolithic times but who had first been Iberianized and later Celticized, were soon to be joined in the land of primitive Castile by the Vaccaei, the Murbogi and the Berones, of pure Celtic stock, and the Goths, who had arrived in the Duero Valley barely three centuries earlier. The Celts and the Goths then entered the lands of the future Castile as refugees. In Galicia, first the Celts and later the Sueves and finally the Goths had set themselves up as dominators. Around the royalty protected by the Asturian mountains, many nobles of Gothic origin and of lordly life soon gathered and triumphed. The Visigothic masses which emigrated to the future Castile were not able to take over the lordship of the land and mixed, horizontally and not vertically, with the people of the country; they did not belong to the aristocracy of Toledo and they also lacked the decisive support of the monarchy due to their isolation from the political center of the kingdom.

In that most remote Castile many different peoples had been mixed in equality. Dense masses of laborers and of warriors lived together in a small part of the land. The *Cantar* speaks of it:

Eran en poca tierra muchos omes juntados
De fambre et de guerra eran muy lacerados. (66)

And their hunger forces them to overcome the danger of advancing toward the milder zone, though still rugged and difficult, which extends toward the South; of advancing along the forest of grey hills and cardinal cliffs which, little by little, change into a sea of blood colored hills, whose last waves dissolve into the flatlands of the plain.

In some moments of euphoria, taking advantage of periods of weakness of the emirs of Córdoba or exploiting some victory over them, the Castilian inundation overflowed towards the South: in 816 Alfonso II dared to fight in the valley of Miranda, and in 865 Ordoño I dominated in Burgos and even in Oca. But, immediately, the warlike reaction of the troops of Al-Ándalus made the audacious Castilian colonist and soldiers

(66) Close together there were many men
Lacerated were they by war and famine.

retreat back to their old northern homes; and once again it was necessary to start anew. Only in the last third of the ninth-century were they able to control the course of the Arlanzón and the hills where the city of Auca had been erected.

From the end of the eighth-century they had struggled shoulder to shoulder with the Basque-influenced people of Vizcaya and Álava, then called Vascones, against the Muslim hosts. The brotherhood of arms and the racial kinship pulled them together. The colonization of the lands conquered towards the South was able to unite them. In these lands numerous masses of Basques, together with the ethnic mixture presided over by the Cantabrians and also with the Visigothic refugees, established themselves. This explosive combination was to have decisive historical consequences in the formation of the Castilian nation.

Entonces era Castilla un pequeño rincón,
Era de castellanos montes de Oca mojón
Y de la otra parte Fituero en fondón, (67)

says the Poem of Fernán González, and it exaggerates not. This Castile was but a county, a simple county of the kingdom of Asturias. This kingdom was divided into administrative districts of different size called *mandationes* or *commisa,* ruled by *judices.* These *judices* received the name of *potestates* or of *comites.* The dignity of a count was the highest political and noble rank and implied an honorific concession of the king. The Roman emperors, beginning with Constantine, had the custom of choosing the functionaries of the civil and military orders of the Empire from among their *amici* (friends) or *comites* (companions). Some of them occasionally found themselves at the head of the government of one of the few islands of Roman lordship which remained in Gaul or in Spain after the barbarian invasions. This is the way the Gothic monarchs copied the institution and they sent members of their retinue, i. e., their *comites,* to rule the *civitates* of their kingdom, at first on both sides of the Pyrenees and later almost exclusively Spanish. The Asturian kings continued the Gothic tradition. When one of the *mandationes* or *commisa* was governed by a *comes,* it was called *comitatus.* Castile appears in history ruled by a count, Rodrigo, and, therefore, with the name of county.

Thus, Castile is born as one simple administrative district, as a simple county, of the many districts comprised by the kingdom of Asturias. Districts and counties of different size, whose limits were established and reformed by the king in whatever way he pleased. On him depended the naming of a *judex —potestas* or *comes*— who ruled the district, and the

(67) Then Castile was but a small corner
For them the hills of Oca were border
And to the other side Fituero, no further.

keeping him there, moving him to another, raising him to some other palatial post or ceasing him in his functiones. Only the dignity of a count was permanent, not the government of the county. He who had been honored with the title of *comes* enjoyed it for life, but he could cease to fill the post of *judex* and become a *comes sine terra,* a count without government. The count exercised in his county all the powers which we might today call political, administrative, fiscal, judicial and military. He directed the repopulation of the country. He dictated ordinances in the ordering of the juridical and economic life of the local communities. He designated the lower functionaries, *maiorinos* and *sagiones,* who helped him in his office. He kept for himself a part of the direct and indirect taxes and a part of the pecuniary fines and delivered the rest to the royal treasury. *Pro suo judicato,* by his position as judge, he collected some of his tributes in kind or in coin from the litigant parts who came to his court. He presided over the tribunal of the county. And he led the host of the county whenever war made it necessary.

Those were the faculties of Count Rodrigo in Castile around the year 850. Just those and no more! Some have dreamed, and continue to do so, and have maintained, and continue to do so, that, already at the dawn of its history, Castile enjoyed independence and autonomy —why should it have possessed these? It certainly did achieve that independence and autonomy almost a century later, after a long history —nations can travel a great distance in a century— and after a slow political evolution. The lack of historical sources which have kept a record of that long period of formation of the Castilian nation is terrible. The skeletons of histories bequeathed us by the supposed monk of Albelda, Alfonso III, the scholarly reviser of the royal chronicle, its anonymous continuer and Bishop Sampiro, completed by the detailed news of the Rasis, of 'Arib ben Sa'ad and of Ibn Hayyan, who copied Ibn Alatir, Ibn 'Idari, Ibn Jaldun and Al-Maqqari, reveal to us, and only along general lines, the curve of the slow march of the Castile of the Count Rodrigo to the Castile of the Count Ferdinand.

In the year 865 four counts ruled the districts into which the land of Castile was divided at the time. Rodrigo governed the oldest Castile and Álava; Gómez, the upper Ebro, with its seat in Mijangos; Ordoño, the valley of the Oca, i. e., the Bureba; and Gonzalo, the zone of Burgos. The old Hispano-Muslim analyst of the ninth-century, Ibn 'Idari, from whom the tale of the compiler of the thirteenth-century comes, did not establish any difference in rank among them. It did not exist among those who followed in the rule of the different districts into which Alfonso III divided, according to his fancy, the land of Castile as its frontier line extended towards the South.

That advance was slow; much slower than the advance of the limits of Galicia or of León. At the western end of the kingdom, Oporto on the Duero was reached in the year 868 as was Coimbra on the Mondego in

878; in Castile around 884 the frontier still passed through Burgos. León advanced to the line of the Duero between 893 and 899; only in 912 did the Castilians reach it. The advance of the southern limits of Castile was difficult because the Muslims struck the Castilian frontiers and lands with great force for more than a century. In my study, *Alfonso III y el particularismo castellano,* I have recorded one by one the long series of Islamite attacks against them, from the campaigns of Abu 'Utman 'Ubayd Allah in 791 and of 'Abd al-Karim ben Mugayt in 794, to those of the last whelp of the Banu Qasi' who died in 907. In 796 the general of Hixam I reached the Cantabrian Sea, in 904 Lope ben Muhamad conquered Bayas, in lands of Álava. It was a long century of difficult struggle with no time for rest, first against the armies of Córdoba, and later against the renegades of the central Ebro, who were able to carve out for themselves a powerful lordship which at times went from Lérida to Toledo. The concurrence in the upper Ebro of the frontiers of Castile, the eastern fringe of the kingdom of Oviedo, of the Vascones of Pamplona, governed by the Arista from around the year 800, and of the Muladíes of Visigothic stock, allies and relatives of the sovereigns of Pamplona, drew to that zone the attention of the emirs of Al-Ándalus and the attacks of their armies. And when any of them fell into weakness, the rebellious Banu Qasi' continued to fight Castile.

There was not one decade of peace; the people of Castile and Álava lived more than a century in a permanent state of war, in a continuous state of dramatic restlessness, always awaiting, arm in hand, the arrival of the enemy army, and never sure whether the clear days of spring or summer would end without the horsemen stationed in *anubda* coming to announce to them the nearby presence of the Islamite hosts. After a winter of struggle with the poverty of the land and with the inclemencies of the cold and the snows, the Saracen inundation would desolate in a few hours the fruit of their effort, it would destroy many human lives and it would drag after it great multitudes of captives. And when hope, a product of a few years of peace and quiet, carried them to dare to advance towards the South, immediately the terrible whip of war would once again destroy their colonies and oblige them to take refuge in their mountains and forests.

What an enormous difference between the history enjoyed by the western and central regions of the kingdom of Oviedo and that suffered by the inhabitants of the eastern zone of Castile and Álava until the death of Alfonso III! In Galicia there had been different levels of dominators, from the predecessors of the Celts to the Goths. Before the middle of the eighth-century, around the year 740, Galicia had found itself free of the Islamite Berbers established there less than three decades before by virtue of the Muslim conquest. Their presence had not violently shaken the ancient social groups and therefore the slow evolutionary process of the days of the later Roman Empire had continued in Galicia. Rarely had

it been attacked by the Saracen armies. Not one penetrated Galicia after 841. Protected from Córdoba by the rebels of the Guadiana, it was the first to extend its frontiers towards the South. As has been said, in 878 the Mondego had been reached and Coimbra had been occupied. An isolated and secured zone, it soon witnessed the rapid flowering of great lordships and the rapid entry into dependence of the free population.

From the middle of the ninth-century on, the repopulation of the plain of León was begun with the occupation of Astorga and of León by Ordoño I. Until the year 883 it was occasionally combatted by the armies of Córdoba, but a decade later the Duero River was occupied and fortified. Between the river and the mountain range a great number of Asturian immigrants had established themselves with some Galicians and numerous groups of cultured but devitalized Mozarabs, rooted in the lordly traditions of the Roman Empire. Soon the political center of the kingdom slid toward León and the action of the court quickly contributed to the decline of the masses of free men, small landowners, who had arisen in the lands of León due to the repopulation.

The dwellers of León and of Galicia, especially when they were able to secure the new lines of defense of the Duero and the Mondego, witnessed the springs and summers go by in peace, without being bothered by the assaults of the Muslims. Little by little the sweet peacefulness of a tranquil life tempered their warlike activism and made them allow their old arms to rust; until the new caliphal times obliged the frontier peoples of Portugal and of León, but never of Galicia, to once again fight against the Islamites.

Meanwhile, until the crowning of Alfonso III and during his half century of reign, the permanent struggle continued to steel the never relaxed muscles and nerves of the inhabitants of Álava and Castile. Their strength and their vitality continued to grow and the fertile and tragic flame of dinamism and action was lit in them.

The harsh life of more than a century (791 to 907) and the distant court, source of power and of wealth, had not enticed the magnates of the two aristocracies, lay and clerical, to establish themselves in the oriental zone of the kingdom of Oviedo. That dangerous life and that isolation from the political center of the monarchy also limited, to minimal levels, the current of Mozarab immigration arriving in the lands of Castile and Álava during the reigns of Ordoño I and of Alfonso III. Castile and Álava did not suffer, therefore, the infection of Mozarabic decadence nor the preponderance of the two nobilities. Moreover, since no political force could turn the Gothic immigrants from the South from refugees into the lords of the land —the Cantabrians and the Vascones were too haughty and strong to allow themselves to be dominated by them—, Álava and Castile, always together, were countries inhabited by a human community of free men, the product of the mixture of Cantabrians, Vascones and

Goths, realized, as has already been said, not in a vertical or lordly way, as the blood and cultural mixtures of León and of Galicia had been produced, but in a horizontal direction, equalitarian in nature and the most fertile of all.

There is no necessity to have recourse to the hyperbole to point out the consequences of the formation of Castile by the union of the racial complex presided over by the Cantabrians with the Gothic refugees and with the colonizing Vascones, after the fall of the Visigothic monarchy and in the middle of the tragic and long hours of a century of fierce and terrible resistance against the ferocious attacks of the Muslims. It provoked the joining of three forces of nature, not yet saturated by the essence of a Roman-Christian civilization which was triumphant on the Peninsula. For if the Varduli, the Autrigones and the Cantabrians had only been Romanized and Christianized at a late date —as late as the fourth-century they continued to adore their ancient gods—, the Gothic manner continued to resist the pressures of Christian-Roman culture and the Vascones still remained, in part, unchristianized and unromanized.

The symbiosis of those three forces of nature, amid the thundering of the continuous war against the Islamites, coined a singular vital make-up in the Castilians. All prolonged external struggle engenders true pathological states in the collective soul of a nation called upon to endure it and can even create a singular functional structure when a historical community receives its barbarous impact and, due to its temperamental tradition, is inclined to accept it.

«The traditional chieftainship (*caudillismo*) of the Iberians became lasting; a chieftainship which the peasant *bagaudia* and the free life of the mountain people of the North of Spain had once again pushed to the forefront of the national stage upon the fall of Rome's empire. The old passion for liberty of the Cantabrians, the Goths and the Vascones was reaffirmed. The Germanic forms of life, in which man decided his fate by means of his free tie of service to another man and by means of his free intervention in popular assemblies, permitted the flowering of a lively feeling of equality among those who had the same possibilities of forming free ties of vassalage and the freely intervening in the political and economic life of the community. Since neither the Cantabrians, nor the Vascones, nor the Visigoths had ever experienced an intense ranking of hierarchies, in the future Castile the social organization was based, more than on the difference of birth, on the diversification of effectiveness vis-à-vis the lord and the community, and thus on the amounts of one's own drive. In the new historical unity the exaltation of the passionate, emotional and instinctive forces of the individual were thus accentuated by the always overflowing triple tradition of the Cantabrians, Vascones and Visigoths. Moreover, the always sharp cutting edges of the passions and drives of the three peoples thrust together, were sharpened by the anguish and savagery

of war». This is how I have twice defined the consequences of the first century of Castilian history.

War, which when done in a spirit of conquest deforms and tires, vitalizes when done by free nations for the defense of their freedom and of their existence and engenders a creative dynamism, a fermenting of rebellion and a clear conscience of the force of the nation which fights for it. Thus the hard century of harsh resistance and of severe battle of the peoples of Álava and Castile was to be decisive for the birth of the Castilian nation. One hundred years are a lot of years for a barbarous and tragic existence not to leave marks on the human group which endures it. Suffered by the mestizo nation born of the union of the Cantabrians, the Goths and the Vascones, it was to engender in it an electric force capable of exploding and provoking a great holocaust whenever the right historical commotion happened to occur.

Lacking, from the first steps of their history, of the wall of a mountain range, of the glacis of a desert, of the trench of a river —available to the peoples of León and Galicia at that time— the Castilians had to trust only in the resistance of their arms and in the bravery of their hearts. That soon gave them the clear consciousness of their strength, obligatory premise for all popular sentiment of self-exaltation of the destinies of a mass of men. Since the kings of Oviedo many times had to fight Muslim hosts in the very heart of their states, Castile normally found itself abandoned by the distant sovereigns of the kingdom of Oviedo. For the counts of Castile war created the necessity to act with a relative freedom of movement and this gave them a limited, de facto autonomy. Having hardly been born into history, Castile —one of the Castilian counties to be exact— was, besides, governed by a count of great military and political audacity: Count Rodrigo. Possibly a relative of Ordoño I, he was esteemed by the monarch for all his worth. The Asturian monarch charged him with the great expedition against Talamanca in the Valley of the Tagus and he abandoned to him the command of the resistance against the invaders —in the Morcuera, for example— during the last years of his life, when gout tormented him. Rodrigo quickly earned the gratitude of the new king Alfonso III, whom he was able to reestablish on the throne of Oviedo by means of a rapid and energetic intervention in the politics of Asturias. And by uniting the isolation from the sovereigns of Oviedo with the obligatory abandonment of Castile to its counts in many of the wars against the Muslims, and with the prestigious and firm nature of the personality of the Count Rodrigo; and joining the consciousness of their strength, which the Castilians soon acquired, with the reality of their dynamism and of their drive, soon a latent hostility, against what we might call today «the central power of the kingdom», sprang up in the eastern sector of the kingdom of Oviedo. And soon arose among the Castilians a lively loyalty to their regional generals, their own counts, who directed the repopulation and the defense of the country, who had fought the Muslim

enemies in the front of their ranks, and who shared their fortunes and misfortunes with them.

We do not know the causes and the facts. We only know that Ordoño II, after an expedition into Muslim territory in the year 921 or 922, and as revenge for the defeat of Valdejunquera, of July 920, called the counts who governed the districts of Castile: Nuño Fernández, Abolmondar Albo, his son Diego and Fernando Ansúrez, to a meeting in Tejar, near the Carrión river. The real intentions of the monarch, known only to his advisers, could not be detected. The Castilian magnates attended the call of their king. Ordoño arrested them at the meeting, and took them in chains to the court of León and there kept them in captivity. However his brother Fruela II or his son Alfonso IV set them free, and at least two of them, Nuño Fernández and Fernando Ansúrez, once again ruled counties in Castile in 926 and in 929.

This is what we know of their history. All the other news concerning this event is purely legendary. That their absence from the battle of Valdejunquera was the motive of their arrest, seems to be an invention without basis: between that battle and the *junta* of Teliar two years had passed in which Nuño Fernández appeared in texts as the count of Burgos. The supposed execution of the captives, as I pointed out many years ago to Menéndez Pidal, is contradicted by diplomas showing them governing in Castile in 926 and 929. This appears to be a gratuitous detail added to the Chronicle of Sampiro by the falsifying bishop of Oviedo, don Pelayo, in the first half of the twelfth-century. For the first time in the thirteenth-century Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo de Toledo refer to the choosing by the Castilians of the judges, Laín Calvo and Nuño Rasura, to replace their counts. Moreover, these tales are three centuries after the facts they refer to and have an evident taste for exaggeration. And that the Castilians chose these judges to break with León and not to submit to the *Fuero Juzgo,* applied in León, is a twofold contradiction. It is contradicted by the diplomas that bear witness to the invocation of *Liber Judicum* in Castile, even under the government of Fernán González. It is also invalidated by the absence, in the judicial system of the age, of appeal to a higher court, and by the constant practice of settling even the lawsuits of greatest importance in the local courts. Only after becoming a nation did the Castilians cease going to León and observing the Gothic law.

We must resign ourselves to never knowing the causes and the history of the rebellion of the Castilians at the end of the reign of Ordoño II. The very existence of that incipient or manifest rebellion, perhaps cut off by the astuteness of the king, is enough to permit us to deduce the fact that the human energy concentrated in Castile in a century of a special life —a lasting frontier war, the isolation and abandonment by the central government, internal liberty, the absence of great lords and of serfs, the weakness of clerical powers, the free field of action of the counts, the

loyalty to them of the inhabitants of the land and their consciousness of their own power— was about to start the mechanism of history as soon as clever hands knew how to join the contacts and give way to the accumulated electricity.

Those hands were not those white and beautiful ones of Count García, but the harsh and strong ones of his father, Fernán González.

Avie gran cumplimiento del seso de Salomon
Nunca fue Alexandre mas grande corazon, (68)

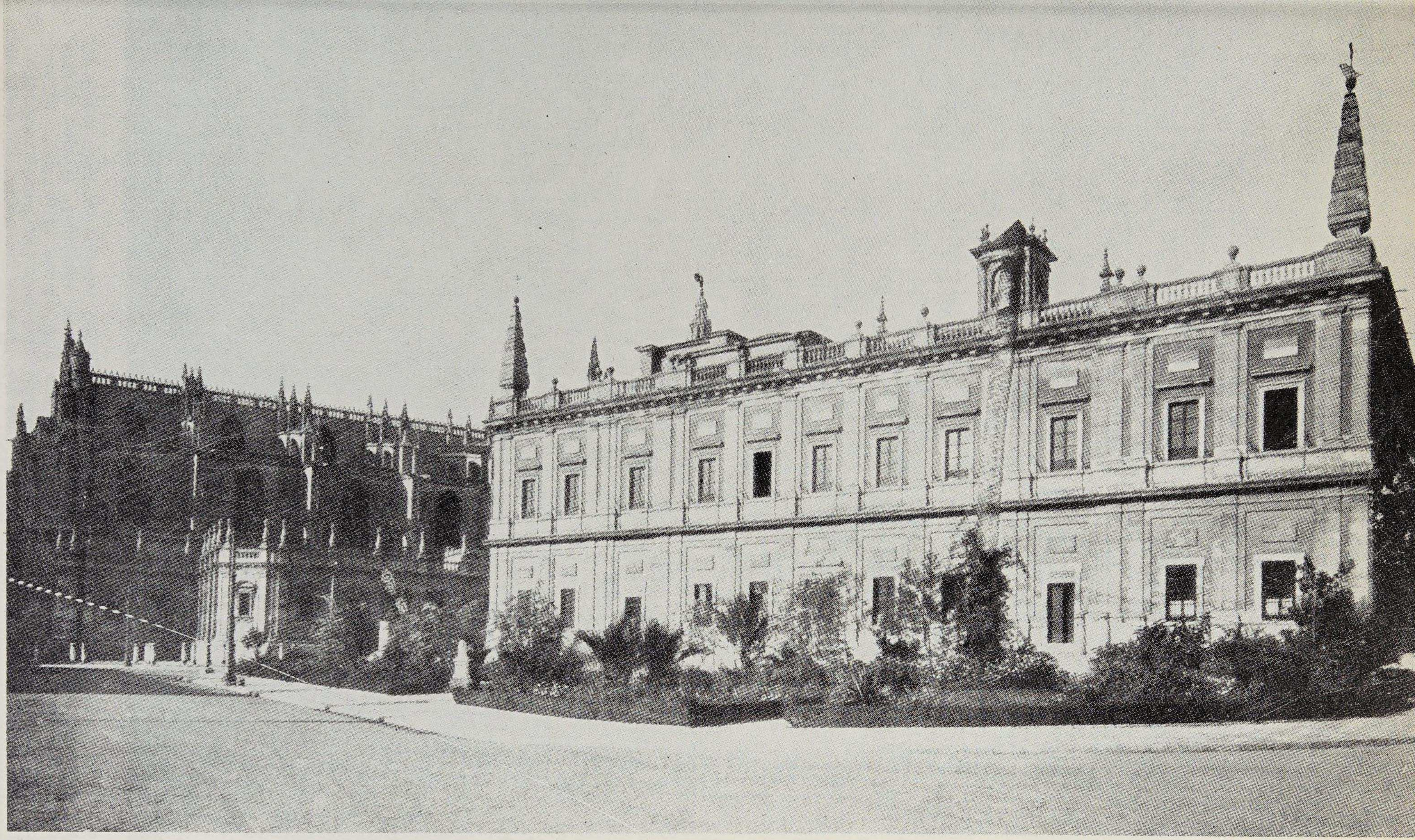
says the poet who sang of his feats. And he truly was a man who possessed clarity of understanding and the agility of will. His masterpiece was double: the unification of the land of Castile divided in multiple counties —Burgos, Lantarón, Álava, Lara, Cerezo and Castile— and its separation from the kingdom of León. The first had to be realized by winning over the good-will of King Ramiro, his brother-in-law, and the second by going against it. His mother, doña Mummadona, who had probably been married with García I and had been queen of León, married him to an infanta of Navarre, already twice widowed, but who was the sister of the wife of the energetic monarch of León. With the cleverness of an astute courtier he was able to get Ramiro to grant him, little by little, the investiture of all the Castilian counties .When he was *comes totius Castellae,* count of all Castile, he turned against the sovereign whom before he had served and adulated. Treason? Disloyalty? In history, success erases disloyalties and treasons and makes heroes out of those who were guilty of breaking sacred ties. This is especially so when, behind the traitor or disloyal servant, there is a nation which aspires to freedom, and the traitorous or disloyal hero embodies, not the ambition of one man or of a handful of men, but those of an entire nation which is searching for its way in the eternal spiral of historical progress.

This is what happened with Fernán González, the Count of Castile. His genius triumphed, because he was the exponent of the spirit of rebellion, of innovating sensitivity, of creative dynamism and of the drive to action which a century of singular history had created in Castile. He also triumphed because he allied with fortune and because he knew how to utilize the vital strength of the Castilians of a millenium ago, amidst a series of favorable circumstances: the foolishness of the kings of León in the second half of the tenth-century and the vertical fall of the power of León in those years, as a consequence of the civil war which desolated the lands of León upon the death of Ramiro II. The great Cordovan historian, Ibn Hazm, said as early as the first half of the eleventh-century: «The flower of civil war is never fertile.» Fernán González played with

(68) For him the mind of Salomon was no sharper
Nor the courage of Alexander greater.

151.—*Library of the Monastery of El Escorial* (Madrid). Here, the marvel of El Escorial: the library. In it Philip II accumulated many bibliographical treasures. To gather them he ordered voyages, made acquisitions and solicited donations and loans. Despite the great fire of 1671, it still contains a great wealth of Greek, Latin, Arabic and medieval codices. If the name of Philip had not filled the pages of European history for more than half a century, that library would have been sufficient to remember him by.

152.—*San Diego of Alcalá,* by Pedro de Mena. Mena presents San Diego of Alcalá with the expectant desire of religious experience. Only the cook of a Franciscan convent, yet endowed with superhuman virtues, he prodigiously intervened in the life of two unlucky Spanish princes: that of the heir of Henry IV, doña Juana, and that of the son of Philip II, don Carlos. Carlos, on his deathbed, began to improve the night they placed in his bed, next to him, the preserved body of the friar. His fame crossed the sea and an American city, near the present-day mecca of cinema, carries his name.



153.—*The Lonja of Seville,* today the Archive of the Indies. Yesterday the economic navel of America, it is today the storehouse of its history. «The powerful knight, Mr. Money», talked of by Quevedo, quickly passed through its gates on its way to the purses of the foreign creditors of its kings; on its way to Genoa. Today it reveals to us the previously disdained web of our lordship over a world we rescued from barbarism and which owes to us its incorporation into the sphere of western.

154.—*Philip II Praying the Rosary*, by Sánchez Coello. Prado Museum (Madrid). Philip II. «The knight of minuteness and scruple» Timid, suspicious, vacillating, spiteful, violent and of exalted and fearful faith, he possessed such a high concept of his duties as king and of his royal authority that he worked tirelessly and only felt himself responsible before the Highest. Sánchez Coello portrays him here praying the rosary. By doing so he has captured the essence of Philip's politics. To it he sacrificed Spain.

the fools known as Sancho the Crass, Ordoño the Evil, Elvira the Nun and Ramiro the Child. And in the rough waters of the river of intestinal war, he won freedom for his nation.

He won it, above all, because that nation was mature enough to be free. Its spirit of rebellion was no more than the manifestation in political life of its ascendent and creative energy. Its non-conformist dynamism and its drive to action quickly appeared in other quite different fields. Castile was an innovator in language: before any of her Spanish sisters, she created her own Romance, filled with revolutionary daring in phonetics, in morphology and even in syntaxis. She was an innovator in law: she broke, before the other Hispanic regions, with the ancient Hispano-Roman and Hispano-Visigothic juridical order; and created, by means of the decisions of judges, not of her legendary judges, but of her autonomous popular judges, a new law, which was going to spread abroad. She was an innovator in her spiritual life: she bears witness to the rise of the chanson de geste and the first neo-Latin medieval Peninsular literature which would be prolonged on the other side of the Atlantic. She was an innovator in her monastic life: she soon accepted the benedictine rule reformed by Smaragdo beyond the Pyrenees. She was an innovator in her socio-political life: she was the home of the development of the institution, unique in all of Europe, of the *behetrías* or free *señoríos* (lordships), the rural *concejos* and the class of the villein knights, peculiar to the Peninsula and which was going to make up the patrician class of the Spanish cities and was also going to take on and finish the gigantic task of conquering and colonizing America.

5. The Historical Rise of Castile

The independence of Castile increased its particularism and contributed to accentuating the differential traits which separated the Castilian people from the other peoples ruled by the kings of León. Primitive Castile had not experienced either an upper nobility nor powerful bishops and great monasteries. Only a few families, most probably of Gothic stock, had been able to attain the dignity of count via royal designation. Yet these had been extinguished with the passing of time —this happened to the dignity of the Count Rodrigo Porcelos upon the death of his son, Diego Rodríguez, probably in combat against the Banu Qasi'; or they had fallen into disgrace with the monarch —some who were imprisoned in Tejar by Ordoño II never returned to the historical stage; or they were displaced by the centralizing policy of Fernán González or had to emigrate— this was the case of the Velas, for example. Below the count, none; we might say, paraphrasing an expression of Rojas. In the county of Castile there was only room for the lowest ranking nobility, for the *infanzones,* later to be called *hidalgos,* who could not possibly rival the family of a count.

At a remote date Amaya and Oca had been the seat of two bishoprics with jurisdiction over the Cantabrians and other similar tribes. The bishopric of Amaya had already disappeared in the century of the councils of Toledo and bishoporic of Oca disappeared with the Arabic invasion. At the beginnings of the ninth-century an insignificant episcopal seat arose in a closed-in valley near the Omecillo River, in the confines of the land of Álava. But this new see of Valpuesta held little weight in the life of Castile.

After the birth of Castile some tiny monasteries, like that of San Martín de Ferrán, were founded in the oldest part of the land. Only at the beginning of the tenth-century did the later to be famous and rich monastery of Cardeña arise. However it was to take a long time to become rich and powerful. In 956, well into the history of Castile, it still lacked the amount of laborers necessary to make a drain or canal which would carry power to the mill of Manusherrata, and it was necessary to contract its construction with the free village of Villavascones, with the stipulation of letting the village dwellers use the water from the canal to irrigate their fields. During the tenth-century many other monasteries were founded and endowed in Castile: the monastery of Tabladillo, that of Arlanza, that of Silos, that of Oña... However these monasteries thrived only very slowly, in contrast with the great and numerous cloisters which, along with the old and new episcopal sees of the other regions of the kingdom, acted as formidable magnets sucking up the rustic wealth and the peasant freedom in Galicia, Asturias and León. The number of contracts of the tenth and eleventh-centuries concerning these Castilian monasteries is insignificant compared with the increasing tides of diplomas of the monasteries of Galicia and León of the same period.

Castile was an island of free men in the middle of a feudal Europe; I have already said this and written it many times. Primitive Castile was like that before Fernán González; and it continued to be so after achieving independence. The Cantabrians, Varduli, Vascones and Goths formed small and free rural communities. They were mostly owners of the land they occupied while others were possessors in *enfiteusis* of the land they worked.

From the ninth to the eleventh-century Castile was truly the only part of Western Europe where the majority of the population was made up of small and free landowners. Diplomas show us the existence of a considerable amount of small villages which possessed their districts as full proprietors and even worked them semi-collectively. Those villages disputed and contracted as equals with bishops, monasteries or magnates. They received jurisdictional privileges from the counts and appear in history with their common pasture land and with some churches. The hamlets of Santa María, Quintanilla, Castañares and Villa Aiuta judicially confronted the monastery of Cardeña in 932. The hamlets of Heterrena, San Vicente, Espinosa and Fresneda had, in 945, pasture lands in common with San Miguel de Pedroso and also their own enclosures where the livestock of

the monks could not enter. The inhabitants of Salinas sued San Millán de la Cogolla in 948 and those of Villavascones contracted, in 956, with San Pedro de Cardeña. The villages of San Zadornín, Berbeia and Barrio were free from 955 on. The men of Agusyn donated, in 972, the enclosure of Lomba to Count García Fernández so that he might exempt them from the *castellaria* (69). In 1003 Sotoluengo, Navas and Videvallejo possessed pasture lands in common with the village of San Millán de la Cogolla. Nave de Albura obtained the recognition of its exemption during the government of the Count don Sancho in 1012. And that mass of free villagers must have been so vast that in the fourteenh-century, 500 years after the birth of Castile, in the tax list ordered compiled by Pedro the Cruel (d. 1359) and which we know today as the *Becerro de las Behetrías*, the Castilian judgeships, without counting the Rioja or Bureba, still possessed, out of 1359 hamlets, 659 inhabited by *hombres de behetría*, with the rare right in medieval Europe of freely choosing and exchanging their lord. When after five centuries of lordly reaction, there were still, five centuries after Count Rodrigo, that amount of hamlets saved from the shipwreck of their peasant liberties, we can safely affirm that the Castilians of that period were mostly free and also landowners.

The villeins who were not free landowners and who worked the lands of the counts —outside of Castile these lands would have belonged to the kings— or lands of the churches or of the *infanzones*, enjoyed at least a complete personal freedom and could freely abandon the estates they inhabited. We hardly find any documentary testimonies of ploughmen, freed slaves or serfs during the first centuries of Castilian history.

Neither Fernán González nor his successors could have possibly been interested in changing the social framework of Castile. They had to confront three enemies: the kings of León, the caliphs of Córdoba and the sovereigns of Pamplona, and they needed the support of their nation. They favored the monasteries of the country; but without going overboard and without breaking the freedom of the rural classes of the county. They saw to it that efficient mounted forces were created to confront the already powerful cavalry of Córdoba; but they did not endow the noble or *infanzón* warriors with properties: a donation that, by rooting them in the land, would have made them into potential enemies. They granted them *prestimonia* —benefices— or soldiers, with the charge of giving service to the war effort on horseback. The generalization of such territorial loans are witnessed by the *fuero* of Castrojeriz of 974 and the diploma which reveals the mishaps of the *infanzones* of Espeja upon the death of Count Sancho Garcés. Furthermore, this diploma, apart from accrediting the juridical nature of the *prestimonia*, reveals the reduced size of the *infanzón* landholdings which are called *hereditatelias:* «small properties».

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(69) Tax paid when passing through the territory of a castle.

In order to balance the power of the blood nobles endowed with territorial benefices and with cash stipends, the counts raised to the status of *infanzón* some of the villeins who owned horses and went to war as mounted troops. This act, besides increasing the number of the cavalry forces of the county, created new *infanzones* who owed the counts special gratitude for their rise in social standing. And with that double intention, they granted exemptions to the villein knights who served them as horsemen in their military campaigns. From the days of Fernán González *prestimonia* and *stipedia* were probably granted to the *infanzones* just as privileges were given to the villein knights; I have demonstrated this elsewhere.

Also, from the times of Fernán González, autonomous rural communities, i. e., embryos of municipalities, began to appear. Decades before, the kings of Asturias-León had granted privileges of immunity to some of the ecclesiastical or lay properties. By virtue of such grants the entry in them of royal functionaries was prohibited; this prohibition implied the exercise of jurisdiction on the part of the lord. In 955 the inhabitants of San Zadornín, Berbeia and Barrio testified before the first independent Count of Castile that neither royal magistrates *(merinos)* nor executioners entered their villages; and the agreement of the count to that exemption meant the recognition of the administrative and judicial freedom of those communities. Count Sancho Garcés granted the same immunity, and consequently the same autonomy, to the village of Nave de Albura which had accredited its possession from the moment of its foundation on the banks of the Ebro. It seems not overly daring to suppose that other free communities of Castile achieved similar or even greater privileges and thus similar or greater communal exemptions. The beginnings of the municipal organization of Palenzuela and Sepúlveda date from the days of Count don Sancho, as declared by the *fueros* of those places. The organization of Burgos probably also dates from that period, since Ferdinand I refers to it in a diploma of 1039.

The juridical entity of the Castilian *concejo* was born from those concessions. In lands ruled by the kings of León, governed in their name by *comites* or *potestates*, the sovereigns must have bypassed the authority of these rulers in order to, by exempting from their rule the district of a free village, grant *concejo* autonomy to a rural community. In Castile there was no secular power between he who exercized the supreme *iussio* of the country and the free villages. The counts needed the hearty support of their nation and must have benevolently accepted the desires for autonomy of the small urban nuclei of the county. These desires only meant the interruption of the rule of the lower functionaries and their free government by their own denizens, under the direct rule of the count.

The rural municipality was thus born very early in Castile; soon it was to take root and become generalized throughout the realm. From Castile comes the first group of municipal charters regulating the life of

the free *concejo* of the diverse villages and the oldest testimonies of the grant of others which have been lost: before 1073 the *concejo* of Burgos was organized; in 1073 the ancient freedoms of Palenzuela were recognized; in 1076 those of Sepúlveda and Nájera; and at the end of the century the municipalities of Miranda and Logroño were structured... When, after the conquest of Toledo in 1085, a great part of the land between the Duero and the Tagus was repopulated, a schematic type of municipal organization was already a century old in Castile. An urban center of any demographic importance, the head of a more or less extensive rural district, filled with hamlets, made up, along with its land, an autonomous juridical island within the territorial administration of the country. The king still ruled the municipal community by means of a delegate of his authority, the *dominus villae* or *senior civitatis,* who has just been studied by my disciple Nilda Guglielmi. Little by little the intervention of this person and, thus, of the king was limited in the life of the community and its land. This authority was soon relegated to guarding the fortress, to leading the host and to the gathering of royal income. At the same time the autonomy of the *concejos* continued to grow. And some even freed themselves from the presence and the authority of the *dominus* or *senior.*

Upon repopulating the zone between the Duero and the Tagus, a long series of great *concejos,* or communities, was organized around cities or towns of singular strategic importance. Their districts or lands were very extensive: Segovia shared a border with Madrid; Ávila with Salamanca, Plasencia, Maqueda, Madrid; Escalona with Plasencia and Ávila... Their autonomy increased and was quickly consolidated. Their military and political power and their economic strength grew: they defended the frontiers against the Muslims and even were to make kings and ended up forming true popular republics directly tied to the power of the monarch. They formed among themselves pacts of brotherhood *(hermandad)* to regulate their juridical and political relations: we know that this was done with Escalona, around the year 1200, by Segovia, Ávila and Plasencia. They created new hamlets within their lands: we know of the hamlet of Espinar created by Segovia. They endowed them, and also the old hamlets, with an embryonic municipal organization. And they even dared to grant jurisdictional lordships, within their extense districts, to whomever they pleased: this was done by Ávila in 1283.

Costa, a devotee of pre-Roman Spain, Jiménez Soler, like Costa little interested in the great Hispanic problem of the repopulation, and Carretero, not very attuned to the subtleties of medieval history, have considered these communities —«cities and lands»— to be of Celtiberian origin. It is not correct to hold this theory. The propagation of that communal organization along the frontiers of Aragón, won during the twelfth-century, and even in Cuenca itself, was the natural result of the imitation of an institutional system which had permitted the return to life of great frontier

zones conquered, around the same period, from the Iberian mountains of Aragón to maritime Portugal.

But in Castile that tight network or great *concejos* resulted in the adding of new and powerful masses of free men and landowners to those who had arisen North of the Duero due to the first repopulation of the ninth and tenth-centuries. This is how a strange historical community constructed on an ample democratic base, a unique nation in Europe and in Spain, was formed. Indeed, also in Spain! León had the terrible dead weight of lordly Galicia and the lordship had also triumphed in Asturias and even in the flatlands of León situated North of the Duero. Frontier Portugal was closer to Castile, but the land between the Miño and the Duero, structured according to Galician tradition, still weighed a great deal in the political balance of the new kingdom. In Aragón the communal zones were not able to overcome the zones of lordly domination in which the laboring masses existed in a situation of servitude. And in feudal Catalonia the population not subjugated by the hard clutches of lay and ecclesiastical lords was smaller still. Only the Basque Country, Euzcadi, so close to Castile by ties of blood and history, was also democratically organized.

Besides, Castile had embodied from its very formation as a historical unity, the rupture with the strange aberration which the glad acceptance of the Hispano-Gothic inheritance had imposed on the kingdom of León. The neo-Gothic ideal of León made the future out of the past, yearned for the restoration of yesterday lost. Castile, product of the union —a horizontal one forged after the fall of the state framework of the Hispano-Gothic kingdom— of an explosive mixture of Cantabrians, Goths and Basques, either never or else poorly Romanized and only slightly seduced by the culture of the West which was being reborn beyond the Pyrenees, overcame the tendency of León toward a longed-for past and broke with the traditional Hispanic way of looking at extra-Peninsular ideals and goals. A temporal now was wholeheartedly accepted, from which an attractive tomorrow was imagined and the meridian of its own appetites and illusions was centered at home. Born looking toward the present and the future, it dreamed of extending its frontiers towards the South, not to recover the Gothic kingdom, but to affirm its communal personality which was necessary to forge with redoubled drive. No tie with a distant and nostalgic past which was to be converted into reality appears in the Castilian epic traditions. They are dedicated to exaggerated songs of popular heroes or to sad tales of deceived hopes. The deeds of the chieftains who served as archetypes to the community —Fernán González, the Cid— are exalted; or the treacheries which had temporarily hindered Castilian autonomy —the assassination of Count don García in León and that of King don Sancho in Zamora— were made examples of.

Furthermore, Castile was not tied by the holy enchantment with things from abroad. The proud hostility of the young Castilian nation toward

foreign ways is projected in the legend of the treacherous countess, to whom the defeats of their counts by the sword of Almanzor are attributed; and in the myth of Bernardo del Carpio, composed to reject the supposed victories which the French minstrels attributed to Charlemagne in Spain.

That psychic and constitutional structure took Castile from its position of an independent nation to that of the key one of Christian Spain. The historical process of that amazing rise is known. The male succession of Fernán González was extinguished when his great grandson García was assassinated in León by members of one of the Castilian families who had been forced to exile themselves in lands of León when he unified Castile. Castile was then incorporated into the kingdom of Navarre by Sancho III who was married with the elder sister of the young count, a victim of the vengeance of the Velas. Navarrese and Castilians rained strong blows upon the kingdom of León. Ferdinand, second son of Sancho the Elder, inherited Castile with the title of king; a Castile deprived of its oldest historical home —Old Castile, Ávila and Bureba— which remained within the kingdom of Navarre. After the battle of Tamara which took the life of Bermudo III of León, the victorious Ferdinand III of Navarre, married Bermudo's sister Sancha, took possession of the kingdom of León and restored the Asturias-León monarchy. When dividing it among his children at the moment of his death, Sancho, his first child, received Castile. It is not licit to suppose that in less than three decades Castile had become the principal part of the old kingdom. Ferdinand I might have given it to his eldest child because it was part of his own family inheritance or because his, as yet not demonstrated, preference of Alfonso, his second child. induced him to bequeath him the crown of León. But in no case would he have left Castile to Sancho, if it were not able to balance the political, military and vital importance of León.

Sancho recovers the oldest part of Castile, cut off from the county by his Navarrese grandfather, and he dies before Zamora when he had already achieved, by force, the unification of the estates of his fathers. Alfonso VI is able to realize it and León and Castile live together for almost a century; united but still distinct and not always coinciding. During that brief century, León continued to be the political center of the monarchy. Alfonso carried the Castilian frontiers to the Ebro, after occupying the Rioja; and to the Tagus, when he won Toledo. But the center of gravity of his kingdom was around the ancient royal seat and there it continued during the reign of his grandson and homonym, Alfonso VII, born and raised in Galician lands and who was crowned emperor in León in 1135.

Meanwhile the process of the rise of Castile continued quietly, or at least without great noise. Alfonso, a great creator of new and powerful families —the passage in which the *Historia Compostellana* talks of that reality has been copied— aggrandized some Castilian stocks who, after some decades, were going to shake Castile with the din of their ambition. But Castile continued to be, at least for a while, a nation of *infanzones*, knights,

citizens and free laborers. A people with a lively national sense and a lively political sensitivity. A lordly minority did not act and think for them; all took care of the public goods and zealously protected the communal interests. We have seen the knights and foot soldiers of Castrojeriz violently defend their rights. The lack of congeniality of the Castilians toward the proud *Totius Hispaniae Imperator* is known; the chansons de geste reveal a clear hostility toward the person of the monarch: «A good vassal we would be, if only there were a good lord.» An the Aragonese, Ramos Loscertales, when studying the period of civil discord provoked by the sucession of Alfonso VI, using tales of the *Crónica latina de los reyes castellanos* and the Toledano, has pointed out how Castile shows itself to be: «So overwhelmed by painful love due to the misfortune and the misery of the country itself that in it there is no place for the evil passion of hate to escape, a hate against the line of men who parade, pushed on by destiny, through a bitter and exalted background of love of their land to whose fall and abandonment they are contributing, fatally taken by their own passions.»

When, on the death of Alfonso VII in 1157, León and Castile are once again separated, despite the premature death of Sancho III and despite the bitter moments of civil war suffered during the minority of Alfonso VIII, Castile appears, culminating its historical rise, as the key nation in Christian Spain.

It is difficult to explain that rise of Castile to the historical stage of Spain unless we keep in mind its condition as a nation of free men, disengaged from the controlling power of the great lay magnates and of the great ecclesiastical lords. It was a nation of free men, all directors of their own lives, formed into a fluid social hierarchy, always open to the horizons of fortunate economic and social betterment within the fair play of history, lords of their destinies and capable of clearing the barrier of their native condition by means of audacity, of drive, of courage and of the tragic flirtation with death in the battle against the Moors and in the repopulation of the never secured frontiers.

Castile had been born as a result of a long century of hard frontier struggle (791-912); another century of similar battle (1085-1212) placed it at the head of the Christian kingdoms of Spain. The independence of Portugal reduced the frontier line of León with Islam to the few miles which separated Plasencia from Portuguese territory. The lines of contact between Castilians and Islamites were very extense, from Plasencia to Cuenca, and the frontier region truly comprised, from North to South, from the Duero to the land disputed with the Moors, between the Tagus and the Guadiana. While León was thus bottled up in a zone minimally tangential with Al-Ándalus, half of Castile continued to be a frontier district.

Lordly power continued to have little importance in Castile, due to the relatively weak position of the lay aristocracy and the upper clergy

in it. Until the thirteenth-century the powerful families in Castilian lands were few and their power rested on their condition of holders of administrative posts or to the royal rents which could be taken from them by the kings: a fact supported by the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla* and by the Toledano around the moment of the death of Sancho III (1159). Only two episcopal lordships existed in Castile; and only a few monasteries prospered north of the strip of *concejos* between the Duero and the Tagus. The majority of the Castilians thus enjoyed a higher standard of living than the other Christian nations of Spain, who lived under the weight of a more developed seigniorial regime. Since between the tributaries and the royal treasury there were no leeches of rich magnates and the majority of the dwellers of Castile, formed into great or small *concejos*, tributed directly to the king, the Castilian sovereigns possessed a treasury that was less exhausted than that of the other Hispano-Christian princes Furthermore, they were able to maintain powerful hosts of *hidalgo* vassals paid in cash; hosts which, reinforced by numerous and warlike *concejo* militias, accustomed to the war with the Moors, ended up becoming a great military power.

The unknown author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, upon describing the forces which in 1147 joined the campaign of Almería wrote: «After these march the thousand darts of Castile, famous citizens, powerful throughout long centuries. Their encampments shine like the stars of the heaven, they sported gold, carried silverware, poverty did not exist among them, only a great richness. There are no beggars, nor weak nor clumsy; they are all strong, secure in combat; in their encampment there are unsuspected meats and wines. Spontaneously wheat is given to whoever requests it. Their weapons are as plentiful as the lights of the stars and they have many horses protected with armor of iron and cloth.» These words —I have hardly retouched the version of Sánchez Belda— could not have been born of a filial devotion to Castile, for the chronicler subsequently reveals his lack of congeniality with the Castilians. He says: «Their tongue resounds like a trumpet and a drum, they are very haughty... they were rebels for centuries... causing cruel wars...» And about the nation as a whole he writes: «It hardly ever wanted to lower its head before any king... Only he (Alfonso VII) was able to dominate Castile as though it were a chick.»

The poet sings of the strength and warlike courage of all the lands whose troops joined in the campaign of Almería. Of many he writes: «Fierce nation, strong nation which does not fear the drink of death.» Yet only when speaking of the Castilians does he say:

Famosi cives per saecula longa potentes
....
Non est paupertas in eis, sed magna facultas.
Nullus mendicus, neque debilis neque male tardus

....
Carnes et vina sunt in castris inopina,
Copia frumenti (datur) omni sponte petenti.
....
Sunt numis elati, sunt divitis dilatati.
Castellae vires per saecula fuere rebelles.

Citizens —he never calls the other subjects of the emperor Alfonso VII in this way— rich, generous, haughty and rebellious; here is the picture painted, in the twelfth-century, of the Castilians by an emulator or an enemy. Thus was born, from a foreign and not at all favorable pen, what has been called «the rhetoric of the Castilian nature» by Pérez Embid.

Nevertheless, from the enemy came the praise. Within a short period of time, three important historical-literary works were written in the kingdom of Castile-León. Some canons of Compostela, born on the other side of the Pyrenees, wrote the biography of Gelmírez, the first archbishop of Santiago; a minstrel on the frontier of Castile, residing in Medinaceli, sang the feats of the Cid; and a cleric, perhaps a prelate from León, and a traveller to Toledo —if he had been from Toledo, as his most recent editor is inclined to believe, he would not have shown hostility toward Castile nor would he have been surprised that the people of Extremadura along the Tagus were able to stand, without any problem, the heat of their summers—, narrated the history of Alfonso VII, the Emperor. These three works reflect the social and vital atmosphere in which they were written; one more proof of the inexorable union between literature and life. In León, the royal seat, the history of a monarch is written. At the time the influence of the frontier on the old seat of the kingdom was tremendous and the frontier people are very present in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris;* yet the thoughts and the devotion of its author are centered on the life and the glory of the prince. The *Historia Compostellana* is a clerical and lordly narrative, it is the dithyrambic history of a prelate of subtle astuteness who filled the history of Galicia during one of its most critical hours. And the *Cantar de Mío Cid* illustrates the magnificent feats of an *infanzón* from Burgos who, by realizing the miracle of his life —adventure, glory in war, triumph and social betterment by means of his sword— realized the ideal of the popular masses of Castile. The king of León, who had himself crowned emperor, the most famous of the many episcopal and abbot lords of Galicia and a simple Castilian captain, hero of incredible feats... were the protagonists. León, Galicia and Castile were reflected, around the same period, by their three most representative human figures.

At either end of the monarchy, we find the Cid and Gelmírez symbolizing their two nations. Am I guilty of disrespect for the memory of «he who was born under a good omen», as the author of the poem calls the national hero, by placing the first archbishop of Santiago next to

him? The paragon between the bitch-fox and the lion is always unjust, especially when the fox in our case in point was genial. The Cid and Gelmírez! The man of arms and the man of the church! The contradiction of the means and the nearness to the goals: the conquest! Gelmírez did not achieve the epic glory nor the colossal dimensions of Rodrigo; yet his action in history was also efficient and rich in consequences. From the Cid we still have the memory of the men, for centuries and for centuries, and the lightening of their greatness; the work of Gelmírez is still alive today in the institutions and the stones of Compostela. Their roads were very different, straight for the hero and winding for the prelate, but both went far. Both fought with different arms: the sword and the word. Moreover, if Gelmírez handled no sword like the Cid's, with the sharpened dagger of his words —terrestrial intrigues and promises and threats of the afterlife— he also gained great victories. Those of the Cid were bloody and spectacular; but the normally bloodless ones of the bishop bore lasting fruits. Rodrigo was superhuman courage incarnate; Gelmírez, superhuman astuteness. Bravery without limit and subtlety without confines characterized both of them. The warrior was the high servant; the prelate, the servile courtier and the clever politician. One day the *infanzón* of Vivar, *angered* by the king, had to abandon his home and his family and seek refuge outside the frontiers of the land of Castile, while the nation saluted him, fearful but sympathetic and relatives and friends faithfully accompanied him in his banishment. The other, the bishop of St. James, besieged, with the queen, in the tower of his church by the burghers of Compostela who sought their freedom, had to flee in disguise from the flames engulfing the church of the Apostle, flames brought on through his own fault. Warm sympathy went to the banished hero by the prince and crude enmity to the lord who refused to grant a juridical statute to the inhabitants of Santiago. The nation of Castile was identified with its hero, who possessed its virtues and embodied its ideals; and the nation of Galicia was struggling against one of its lords, graced with its talents, but who tyrannized it from above. Castile was the land of free men, a caste of warriors. And Galicia was the land of lords, subjugators of the popular masses. The Cid and Gelmírez! Both were covetous of riches and of power. Those attained by Rodrigo were ephemeral, the exaggerated fruit of war; and as fruits of cleverness and peace, the riches and power gained by Gelmírez have lasted many centuries. The wind comes and produces whitecaps on the ocean, but it leaves and the waves calm down immediately. The fire spreads the leaping flame through the dry fields, but that flame quickly turns into smoke. Yes, glory defeats death and survives. The glory participated in by the heroes of the tragedy and the chorus, the people. Thus the figure of Gelmírez, pampered by the popes, kings and magnates, but fought by the burghers of Santiago, has been disfigured; and that of the Cid, accompanied by the love of the laborers and the warriors of Castile against the prince, has remained intact. That

is why the popular poets sang of the Cid and only grateful and obliged collaborators sang of Gelmírez.

Castile, land of freedom and action and, because of it, fond of literary tales which exalted its ideals and contributed to their affirmation. Thus, while in Galicia the biography of a great lord was being written, in Castilian lands the *Cantar de Mío Cid* was being elaborated. For the *Cantar* was not written due to a pure and personal taste for artistic creation, by that unstoppable inclination which carries some men to the creation of works of literature or of art; nor was it written to illustrate the historic memory of the *infanzón* of Vivar: the *Historia Roderici* had already been written for that. It was written to delight the nation of *infanzones*, knights, citizens and laborers which was Castile at that time; a nation which already enjoyed epic poems with which, in the eternal game of the interplay between thought and action, the minstrels magnified the life of the national human archetypes and contributed to their molding. Like the popular chansons de geste, the first literary creations were written in the novel and daring Romance of Castile.

Castile was the land of free men where all were the directors of their own destinies and were stimulated by love and care of the interests of the community; they were soon to climb, through the portholes of audacity, of drive, of courage and of disdain for death, to the fortress of economic and social improvement; they were to enjoy a standard of living superior to the other Hispanic nations; the majority being structured in great or small *concejos*, without strong seigneurial forces to step between the people and the king; with a strengthened economy and a healthier exchequer than the other Christian Spanish kingdoms; with a reduced minority of magnates who had come from among their lands, not rooted in the land and only elevated by their official positions or governments in the name of the monarch; and with a powerful military strength, due to the union of many salaried *infanzones* or *hidalgos* with the prince and the valuable and warlike *concejo* militias. Castile was a nation in which the people were not the mere inert base of history; a nation which compensated its terrible coarseness with its manliness and with its lively sense of honor —earlier I compiled many testimonies of these affirmations—; which created its law much like Salomon, by means of sentences of its kings and its magistrates; and which favored, with its devotion, the archetypes of its stock and lived to hear their feats sung. If ,when addressing ourselves to Castile and confronting its historic rise to the foremost position within the kingdom from which it had been separated as an autonomous county, we were to repeat the question of Machado —What do you have, oh black and peasant oak...?— could we not give a well-founded reply?

Since it was the way it was, it was able to contain for a half century the Almohad danger with no other help than that of some hosts from Aragón whose soldiers had to be paid by Alfonso VIII, as accredited by the «*Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla*». Moreover, with that help

and with that of some Navarrese knights and that of a handful of French crusaders of Spanish stock, Castile was able to be victorious in the Navas de Tolosa.

When Castile once again united with León during the reign of Ferdinand III, in 1230, it was then very superior to its brother kingdom, in which the people free of the lordly yoke were increasingly fewer and on which weighed Galicia, totally dominated by bishops, abbots and nobles. Thus Castile could quickly attract to its psychic orbit the region of León, the closest geographically and historically —barren, reconquest, repopulation and frontier war— to its style of life.

When, after the union of León and Castile, together Basques, Castilians, Leonese and Galicians conquered even Cartagena and Cádiz, the demographic, military, political, economic and cultural superiority of the kingdom of Castile and León against the other Peninsular kingdoms was great. That superiority moved the non-Spaniards to identify the kingdom of Castile with Spain. Some Castilians realized a similar identification. Yet, did Castile really make Spain? Did it even conceive the idea of the Peninsular unity? It is not easy to answer these questions. Yet something is sure: Castile did not force any of the Peninsular nations to renounce their historic personality in order to create Spain. And, confronting the affirmation of Ortega y Gasset: «Castile made and unmade Spain», I take the liberty to say, as I did yesterday in the Constituent Cortes: «Spain unmade Castile.»

Castile has been accused and is still accused from Catalonia and the Basque Country and even from Galicia, of having crushed their distant liberties by means of its political centralism and its imperialist spirit within the Peninsula. Castile centralist! Ridiculous thesis! We know the capitals of Catalonia, Aragón, Navarre and Portugal and that in those kingdoms life revolved around the umbilical city where the government resided. The capital of Castile travelled without rest from the Cantabrian Sea to Andalusia; it was no less transhumant than our flocks of merino sheep. Where was the center and capital of Castile before Philip II established in Madrid the court of his complex monarchy which extended over three continents?

Castile did not impose a political center on Spain —it was Philip II who, obliged to fight on foreign fronts, fixed the seat of his government in Madrid—, nor did the Castilians practice an imperialist policy in the Peninsula. Nobody today will argue with the fact that the language of Castile triumphed over the other Peninsular tongues, not by official imposition at all but due to the specific weight of the things written in it. The distance which separated the men of letters of the great Castile, extending from the beaches of Cantabria to the Rock of Gibraltar, from the writers of the other Spanish nations during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, when Spain was beginning to be formed.

And only kindled with passion by a hateful jealously, daughter of the Hispanic passion and the Hispanic pride which tortures all the Peninsular people, can the Basques, Catalans and Galicians speak of their subjugation by Castile. The Basques reached the twentieth-century enjoying all the privileges of the Castilians and without suffering any of the burdens. The Galicians had no liberties to lose, because they had always lived under the lordship of bishops, abbots and nobles: Galicia was never represented in the Castilian cortes because these were only attended by the free urban *concejos* and there were none beyond the Cebrero. Furthermore, they have continued until only yesterday to be dominated by their new lords, the caciques; by caciques from Galicia, not by Castilian caciques, we must remember. And if Catalonia lost its *fueros* it was not the work of Castile but of the first Bourbon in Spain. The Castilians were subjected by royalty before any other Hispanic nation, with no help being given them, during the difficult period of the Comunero revolt, by those who were later to receive the same treatment.

And if everyone abandoned us in that critical hour, Castile was to receive the immense burden of the imperial policy of Spain; of a policy which the Spaniards had inherited from the Crown of Aragón and especially from Catalonia. The Austrian Habsburgs ended up ruling over Spain because Ferdinand the Catholic was able to make ties with the enemies of the traditional enemy of his patrimonial kingdoms, France. On the other hand Castilians and French had been allied for more than two centuries and had fought together many times. Nevertheless, it was Castile who was to sacrifice itself in enterprises which were foreign to it. Spain has been the work of all the nations within it; but the abandonment in which all of them left Castile sunk her into an abyss. That is why I said in 1931 and I say today that Spain unmade Castile.

6. Portugal: A Historical Accident

Portugal has no long historical genealogy. Those great Portuguese historians and scholars previous to the explosive appearance of the nationalism of our times, Herculano, Oliveira, Teophilo Braga, Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, etc., recognized how fortuitous and accidental the birth of their beloved Lusitanian fatherland was. This nationalistic disease has today blotched out Portugal's primitive history. In order to confirm the political autonomy of a human community it is not necessary to have a long and remote racial-cultural pedigree at one's back. An act of will suffices to give life to a great nation, if providence or accident favors its birth. The clean history of this extremely free projection of a group of men toward the uncertain and errant future would be sufficient, or should be sufficient, to illustrate the birth of a nation.

However, as scholars lose faith in the value of the volitive liberty of a people to arrange their destinies, they more sharply feel the need to lay the origins of nations in far-away and hazy historical singularities. This urgency is perhaps accentuated by the irresoluteness and decrepitude of the national political structures of our day which are at present in danger of becoming larger human communities. The laws of chivalry were never more rigurous than when they were emptied of their vital content during the autumn of the Middle Ages; never was the theory of noble honor more rigid and complex than when the old horn of chivalrous nobility began to sound the rout.

The aforementioned Portuguese scholars still believed in the fertile projections of liberty and thus were not able to predict the present nationality crisis; they did not feel the need to create *ex nihilo* a lengthy historical genealogy for the Portugal of their times. Moreover, since some scholars of today are prisoners of the new spiritual and political circumstances of our days, they have let themselves be won over by the nationalistic disease.

However, nationalism and science make ill-matched bed-fellows. In spite of the efforts of today's Portuguese archeologists and scholars, it is impossible to tie the birth of Portugal with any racial or cultural singularity of primitive Hispania, Roman Spain or the Early Middle Ages. The old theory that placed the birth of the dolmenic culture of the West in northern Portugal has lost validity, while today its extra-Peninsular origin and subsequent expansion throughout Portugal and many other Hispanic lands is proven. Indeed, some of the artistic manifestations and products of the human industry of the Bronze Age which were previously held as originating in the South of Portugal, are today considered just as Andalusian as Portuguese.

Throughout the long millenia of pre-history, the territories situated to the North of the Duero, which today separates Spain from Portugal, were only distinguished ethnically and culturally by subtle variations. In Galicia and Portugal the same sculptures pertaining to the times of the stylizations of stone art, and the same type of dolmens of the Neo-Bronze Age appear. In both places the same encampment-culture, having circular houses, is developed during the Iron Age.

Greater differences separated the peoples from the North and South of the Duero throughout the pre-historic ages. The great River divided distinct cultural and racial circles at the time of the Romans' arrival in Spain. Compared to the Celticized racial complex living in the Northwest of the Peninsula, the Lusitanians showed many vital features which closely tied them to the peoples of the center of Hispania. This is true to such a point that it is not easy for scholars to determine their origin and the family trunk whence they came. Schulten and Bosch Gimpera believe them to be new arrivals in Portugal. Their native land extended fully along the Spanish-Portuguese border of today. Everyone notices Iberian influences in

the Lusitanian cultures of South of the Duero and its generally known distinction from that of the camp-makers, Galicians of Braga and of Lugo.

Northern Gallaetia, today Spanish, and Southern Gallaetia, today Portuguese, together formed a political unity under Roman rule; it was a province since the imperial reorganization of Diocletian. They were united by a very tight road network while no special peculiarity distinguished them. They were both saturated by Priscillianism at the end of the fourth-century, occupied by the Sueves at the beginning of the fifth-century and later conquered by Leovigildo during the second half of the sixth-century. In this Northwestern zone of Spain it is only worth the trouble to point out the Portuguese lands along the coast, because of their more intense ecclesiastical organization, judging from the information given us by the Sueve «provincial», whose authenticity has been shown by Pierre David.

We do not know the history of the Portugal of today during the last years of the Visigothic monarchy well, nor the process of its conquest by the Islamic invaders. Rodrigo coined money in Egitania and was taken to be buried in Viseo by his *fideles* after Guadalete. However, Santarem and Coimbra capitulated before the Muslims, as was usually done by the supporters of Witiza and other collaborators. Such a contrast shows the ancestors of today's Portuguese to be divided, as were all the others of Hispania, into two factions whose disagreement had made the «loss of Spain» possible.

During the eighth-century the Portuguese lands of the Duero suffered the same process of depopulation as other Spanish lands situated to the North of the great river. Herculano's theory concerning this depopulation was unsuccessfully contradicted by Alberto Sampaio many years ago and by Pierre David not long ago. The former based his theory on the false writings of Lugo, by Odoario and other illegitimate and ill-dated documents. The essential argument of the latter concerning the remoteness of the heavenly patrons which were venerated in the Portuguese churches of the Duero Valley lacks value because the Galician repopulators of the ninth-century could not have taken new saints there.

Joseph Piel has just demonstrated the actuality of the emigration to Galicia by the Christians of Northern Portugal during the days of Alfonso I. He has encountered numerous place names in Galician lands which allude to its colonization by people from Coimbra. Moreover, since Coimbra had given herself up peacefully to the conquerors, the flight of her inhabitants to beyond the Miño could only have taken place when the Catholic King forced the inhabitants of Duero lands to emigrate to his kingdom.

Against his will, Pierre David presents a powerful argument in favor of the reality of the depopulating process of Northern Portugal. With great critical sharpness, he has shown that the Sueve «provincial» sets down the ecclesiastical organization of the Northwest diocese in the sixth-century. Now, only one of the many parishes and districts of the Braga and Oporto sees

155.—*The Knight with His Hand on His Chest*, by El Greco. Prado Museum (Madrid). «Though only of God fears he within / for the hateful passion, not affects him / of worldly and withering pleasure / in a pious, noble and gesture solemn / on his chest he places his open hand / as in a discipline...» The knight of the severe and pale visage, with a white curled ruff, a black jacket and a Toledan sword, in whom El Greco (1541-1614) embodied the essence of the Castilian *hidalgo* of his days.

156.—*Jesus Blessing,* by El Greco (Toledo). This Jesus of El Greco seems to be saying: «I am the resurrection and the life» when blessing his faithful Spaniards. For they believed, along with St. John of the Cross, that only He was worthy of the thought of man, to whom the whole world was inferior. They consecrated their life to he who was life itself. And while awaiting that death that would lead to the heaven which had been promised to them, they subjected life here below to the one above.

157.—*Philip III*, by Velázquez. Prado Museum (Madrid). Philip III (1598-1621), the pious king of a quixotic Spain which was beginning to lose hold of the reality yet still kept the mien and expression of old. Psychic fatigue and economic and fiscal crisis at times forced prudence on it. Its international position was declining but it still wielded hegemony. The expulsion of the *Moriscos* decreed by him is rooted in the traditional medieval intolerance, received by Spain from beyond the Pyrenees. Velázquez (1599-1660).

158.—*Francisco Suárez.* Anonymous. A strange look, that of Francisco Suárez, the sharpest Hispanic philosopher of the Siglo de Oro. Both Spanish and non-Spanish scholasticism of Modern Times culminate in him. He, the Spaniard, knew how to exalt the dignity of man. According to Ferrater Mora, in the sixteenth-century, Francisco Suárez elaborated some of the themes that were to become fundamental in the new times. His work forces us to deny the incapacity of the Spaniards for philosophic thought.

of before the Muslim invasion reappears after the repopulation of the country, initiated in 868.

Thanks to the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qutiya we know that during the second third of the ninth-century there were already wastelands in the Portugal of today between Muslim Spain and the kingdom of Asturias. Ibn Marwan and Sadun al-Sarunbaki, at times in alliance with Alfonso III of Oviedo, at times at odds, took shelter in this wasteland.

The only two authentic documents used as proof of the duration of a rural population in Braga lands since Odoario's days are valueless. I believe the person of this Lugo bishop of the middle years of the eighth-century to be a historical fact. The best proof of his existence is the African origin attributed him in the illegitimate Lugo writings, which we have all judged to be legendary. It would never have occurred to any twelfth-century falsifier to imagine such ancestry by inventing *ex nihilo* the first Lugo prelate of the Reconquest for clumsy judicial or administrative ends. According to the great scholar of Byzantium, Diehl (Piel has just recalled his assertion), the Christian population of Africa was not forced by the Damascus Caliph to emigrate until 717. If some Christians took refuge in Italia, Gaul and Germania, many others could well have crossed the Straits. Toresario, who in 847 admitted subservience to the Lugo-Braga bishops, did not live in Portugal but rather in Galician lands. The laborers who claimed to have come from Oviedo to Portuguese lands with Vimara Pérez, the real repopulator of Oporto in 868, spoke the truth, although they came to accept that their ancestors had been farmers for Odoario out of fear of the episcopal authority of Lugo. How may it be said that a refugee like Odoario, who had been given the administration of the Braga church by no one, and who would have done much by maintaining himself in Lugo, could have colonized the Braga diocese?

Furthermore, Alfonso III confirmed in an 883 document that the far reaches of the Galician province had been deserted since days of old and for a long time had been wasteland; until during his reign the lands between Coimbra and the Miño had been repopulated on his orders and with the help of God.

We possess many narrative and titulary documents of the intensity reached by the repopulation of Northern Portugal from the middle of the ninth-century.

Two years after the ascent to the throne of the Great King (in 868), Count Vimara Pérez occupied Oporto. It was a bold strike, similar to the one of decades later when Zamora, and Simancas were occupied. Wastelands still remained behind, but by assuring such key positions (the old Roman *Viae,* then the roads of invasion for the Islamic armies who penetrated the North through them), the pacific colonization of the Christian kingdom was made possible. Much the same was done when Alfonso VI conquered Toledo in 1085; indeed, all the Peninsular kings who were able to advance their frontiers into Moorish lands did so.

Coimbra territory was attacked and laid waste from Oporto. These campaigns permitted Count Hermenegildo Gutiérrez to take Coimbra in 878. In the meantime Odoario, the Count of Orense, established himself in Chaves at an unfixed date, while other royal delegates occupied Lamego and Viseo before 881. This is stated in the Albeldense Chronicle and confirmed in the titles. Coimbra was attacked and besieged in the same year of 878 according to the witness of Sampiro and the Bayan al-Maghrib. But the assult was held off and he maintained himself in Mondego, the Southwestern frontier of the kingdom of Oviedo.

All this Northern zone of Portugal was quickly colonized by Galicians and Coimbra was even populated by them, although this fact wounds the noble patriotism of some contemporary Portuguese scholars. This is accredited in the Albeldense Chronicle, written three years after the conquest of the fortress. The fecundity of the Galician peoples (they have populated half of Spain and half of America) explains the rapidity with which the Portuguese lands returned to life. This rapidity was surprising to Gama Barros in his day. If some small groups of the old inhabitants of the Braga juridical covenant remained in their native lands, tied to the paternal soil, these old Galicians of the Duero were flooded by the Northern onrush coming from the Galicia of beyond the Miño. This possible duration in the native land does not contradict the intensity of the depopulation, since there are also oases in real deserts. The immigrant Mozarabs from the South, who were able to come to Portugal and who did, in fact, do so, were also overrun by the onrush.

By being colonized by Galicians, their life style coincided with that of Galicia as did their social articulations. This was later accredited by the linguistic and literary community of the Galician-Portuguese zone. Just as in León and Castile, not a few masses of men sprang up since all frontier colonizations have favored the liberation of the rural classes. However, since numerous magnates were able to send their servants and farmers South from Galicia thereby acquiring great territorial dominions in Portugal, there finally appeared a society in Portuguese lands which was much more given to hierarchy than in León and even more so than in democratic Castile.

Indeed, as in Galicia, a much more powerful nobility flourished in Portugal than in León and Castile. This nobility possessed more extended *señoríos* (lordships) and a much larger number of servants, freed slaves and favored personnel. As in Galicia, a good number of juridical traditions and Roman institutions remained effective in Portugal. To verify these statements it will suffice me to refer to the monographs in which I have studied *incomunicationes,* patronized persons, freed slaves, rents, fiscal survivorships, etc., in the kingdoms of Asturias and León.

A great Portuguese master of today, Merêa, has been able to prove that the *Terra Portucalis,* a name later extended to the entire kingdom, came from the reconquest of Oporto by Vimara Pérez in 868 and from the

following repopulation which had that city as its center. This colonization grouped together into a historical community, astride the Duero, the old divide of Lusitanians and Galicians, the lands situated between the Ave and the Vouga Rivers. This territory bordered on those of Braga, Lamego, Viseo and Coimbra, making up modern Northern Portugal. All formed part of the kingdom of León. Neither a peculiar political organization, nor even less a centrifugal and separatist tendency separated them from the other regions of the kingdom.

I suspect that due to the necessity of defending the Southern border of Coimbra and Viseo, when 'Abd al-Rahman III restored sovereign authority in Córdoba and began to attack the Christians, Ordoño II placed his most capable son at the head of this zone. Ramiro, if not king of Portugal (it has not been demonstrated that he ruled the lands North of the Duero nor that he used the title of King), did indeed govern the frontier lands for some years. This has been shown by Emilio Sáez. His rise to the throne of León from his court in Viseo prevented at the time that an autonomous political nucleus could spring up in the region he ruled. From that time on, the Northern lands of today's Portugal, from Coimbra to the Miño, were governed by delegates of royal power, as were all the other zones of the kingdom. In all of them the extension of the *mandationes* or *commissa* commended to the governments of *comites, potestates* or *infanzones* varied according to the king's will. In this way the fluctuations of the landmarkers of *Terra portucalensis,* or of the county of Oporto which surprised Merêa, are to be explained. As in the entire kingdom, there arose a clear tendency to the inheritability of the rule of districts or *comitatus* during stages of weakness of royal authority. Likewise, as throughout the entire kingdom, the magnates of these districts took the side of one or the other of the princes who would dispute the throne during the tenth-century. The majority of them aided Ramiro II, who had ruled the Portuguese frontier and who had married in the Western part of León, and were against Alfonso IV, always a resident of the political navel of the monarchy and with ties to Pamplona through marriage. They also aided Ordoño III, whose wife was from the Atlantic zone of the kingdom, against Sancho the Fat, grandson of Queen Tota of Navarre, and Bermudo III who, although illegitimate, was raised in the Galicia-Portuguese zone, and against Ramiro III, educated in León. However, none of the three monarchs were of their making, nor did they show any secessionism by the support of the district magnates. At times they were divided among themselves when they took the side of a prince. Ordoño IV was supported by the nobility of Guimarães, while Sancho the Fat by that of Limia and Coimbra. At times they rose against the monarch of the enemy faction; this occurred in the days of Sancho the Fat when Gonzalo Menéndez came to poison him. However, not even the most zealous Portuguese patriotism of today can see in these risings the germ of the modern national Portuguese spirit. If behind every rebellion of

nobles of the ninth, tenth and eleventh-centuries against a king of León we can predict the birth of a separatist movement and the flourishing of the fertile embryo of a nationality, we can discover dozens of national communities in larva form from the Galician-Portuguese Atlantic to the Castilian lands of the Ebro; to such an extreme were these rebellions frequent throughout the history of the kingdom of León and throughout all the lands of the Asturian-León monarchy. We would have to recognize the germs of nationalities in the rebel Counts of Monzón and Carrión, in the Lord of Luna, in Rodrigo Velázquez and in all the magnates who rose against the Child King, Ramiro II or against the Gouty King, Bermudo II. Quite a few of them even came to send embassies to the caliph of Cordova.

The great campaigns of Almanzor made the border retrogress to the Duero. With the country laid waste, it was necessary to restore and repopulate the great urban centers which were once again destroyed. Nevertheless, no light hearted separatist desire arose in Portugal even when it was in rough straits. A Portuguese magnate, Menendo González, governed the kingdom of León during Alfonso VI's minority and married his charge to his daughter.

It took half a century to win back the old Mondego frontier. The new conqueror of Coimbra, Ferdinand I, son of Sancho the Elder of Navarre, king of Castile and León at the same time and restorer of royal authority in the kingdom, reestablished the primitive government order of *mandationes* and *commissa* of the monarchy through non-transferable delegates submitted to *iussio regis* or sovereign power. The Portuguese territories were once again divided according to the monarch's wishes and ruled by whomsoever pleased him. Things continued in this manner until the end of the century when, as if by magic, the historic gestation of the Portugal of today was initiated.

The rebellion of some Portuguese magnates against García, Ferdinand's son, seems to me to be so clearly disassociated from the result of a powerful Portuguese separatist movement that I doubt that two centuries of border warfare would not have created a human community having peculiar features in that Southern zone of Galicia; a human community differentiated by something, and even by «some things» from Southern, or transimiñian Galicia, from a Galicia removed by a divine war, stopped in time, flourishing in lay and ecclesiastical lordships and given up to a continually more active and fertile cult to Saint James the Apostle. However, this assured differentiation would never have come to Portuguese secession if the magic wand of fate had not intervened. The other regional differences which history was creating in the lands of the kingdom of León did not provoke separatist movements.

The Europeanizing policy of Alfonso VI was a double edged sword. With one edge he split through the tough crust separating us from West-

ern culture and life, while with the other he wounded live organs of Hispanic political society. The non-Spanish clergy that flooded the kingdom, renovated the spiritual heart-beat of the country in the Western fashion, but the magnates from beyond the Pyrenees, backed up by this clergy, saturated the country with feudal ideas and practices which contributed to the dismantlement of the old political structure of the monarchy. One of the bitter fruits of this saturation was Portuguese independence.

It is not just to cast the blame for the secession of Portugal onto the supposed weakness of Alfonso VI. The aversion with which Menéndez Pidal requited the conqueror of Toledo, carried along by his devotion to the hero of his costly studies, the Cid, has disfigured his historical shape. It was his lot to live through very difficult times after the Battle of Zalaca, and he had to confront the «miracle of the miracles of the Lord», Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar. I am not attempting to vindicate him, for he does not deserve it, but rather the sin of having given birth to the Lusitanian monarchy.

In the last years of the eleventh-century, Alfonso VI gave the governments of Galicia and Portugal to his two Burgundian sons-in-law, Raimundo and Enrique. Until then these two great regions of the kingdom of León had never been unitarily governed nor had they been *jure hereditario*. I refuse to believe that within the political constitution of the monarchy, the strange juridical figure, implying the perpetual concession of the government of two so vast territorial extensions to two magnates, would have sprung up. Such concessions would have been almost revolutionary measures, difficult to understand and explain. Even more incompatible with the organic tradition of the kingdom would have been the concession with property rights of the lordship making up Portuguese lands to don Enrique.

The imperial idea had taken deep root in Alfonso's mind and in the political mechanics of the kingdom, and with it feudal practices had also taken root. The key to the enigma is to be sought in the confluence of that idea and those practices. Alfonso VI did not concede the lordship of the two provinces to his sons-in-law. Merêa has demonstrated that the cession of Portugal was indeed with a hereditary title. However, all his juridical erudition and critical acuteness has not been able to prove that the lordly government over the entire country was granted with property rights, or, what comes to be the same, the perpetual exercise of *iussio regis*.

The titulary testimonies are precise. A private deed of 1099 is dated thus: «*Adefonsi Imperatori regnante in civitas Toleti,* suo nomine *gener verum suus comes Anrichus sedente cum filiam ipsius Imperatori nomine Tarasis* et tenente de illo terra Portugal pro sua hereditas.» I know of no text, nor has one been cited by Merêa, and I believe it will be difficult for anyone to cite one in the future, where it is clear that, throughout

Castilian-León history, or throughout her lands, of which Portugal was a part, that someone *held in another's name* some good or some right with complete ownership. How may complete ownership be juridically reconciled with *nomine alieno* holdings? There is no greater contradiction. It is even necessary to discuss whether the *tenente* was a true possessor. Since in the *Historia Compostellana* it is stated that the widow of the Count don Enrique, refused to give the king the service owed him by the kingdom *held for him;* and, since, in the act of confirming the vassallage of Alfonso Enríquez to Alfonso VII, signed in Valdevez, 1137, the *honor* which the nobleman accepted from the king is again mentioned; it seems sure to me that Alfonso VI's daughter and son-in-law only received the perpetual *holding* of Portugal. No lay or clerical magnate exercising ownership over the lordship of a county made a king of León or Castile confirm the gifts they gave out of their own whims. Several cases of the gifts of don Enrique being confirmed by Alfonso VI are known.

Several Peninsular scholars, and recently, the Belgian professor Verlinden, have qualified the concession of Portugal to Count don Enrique as a feudal holding. It is true that the Castilian-León vassal holdings were, at the time, provisional and, at most, for life and that they never took in such vast territories. Both novelties, i. e., the extension to all of the Portugal of those times and its *jure hereditario* concession, can be effortlessly explained. The superimposing of the imperial idea in the subject matter of the monarchy onto the traditional conception of royal power, made the appearance of great autonomous territorial nuclei under the high sovereignity of the Emperor-King compatible. We know of the existence of at least three great vassal holdings during the final years of the reign of Alfonso VI: Raimundo governed Galicia, Enrique ruled Portugal and Prince don Sancho held the kingdom of Toledo for his father. This is confirmed in the *Historia Compostellana.* The saturation of the *regnum* with feudal practices and ideas (I dealt with this theme forty years ago) could have converted the holding of some of these exceptional political confines into hereditary holdings. To this saturation various other novelties must be added; for example, the formula for the binding of vassal relations, characteristic of those countries having a strict feudal structure, which appeared in León and Castile at that time. This is alluded to in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris.* It can not be surprising that Alfonso VI would concede the *jure hereditario* holding of Galicia and Portugal to his son-in-law just as the fiefs of beyond the Pyrenees had been granted for some time.

Afterwards, Portugal was born out of the ambition and manipulative ability of Enrique of Burgundy and his wife, doña Teresa. They were able to succeed amidst the thunderings of civil war which stirred up the kingdom during the reign of doña Urraca, and thanks to the political talent, energy and military gifts of the son of Enrique and Teresa. Alfonso Enríquez first exploited the enmity of the Portuguese and Galicians in order to exalt the localist feelings of his peoples and, to assert his autonomy,

immediately took advantage of the grave difficulties encountered by Alfonso VII for more than a decade while he was reconquering Castile from the hands of his step-father, Alfonso de Aragón, and restoring royal power over an aristocracy accustomed to anarchy. Knowledgeable of the new feudalizing conception of the monarchy that was triumphing in Alfonso VII's court, he was able to give way in time by accepting the vassal sovereignity of his cousin in Tuy in 1137 and later in Zamora in 1143. He later achieved Papal support by becoming a vassal of the Papacy. He asserted his position with important victories over the Muslims and was able to outlive the Emperor and witness the division and impotence of the powerful kingdom from which he had been able to untie himself.

Such a long litany of favorable circumstances! León and Castile had never known, nor did they later know, a more darkened and difficult period than the anarchical reign of doña Urraca. Her marriage to the Battler might have been decisive in the making of Spain. Against what has been asserted, it would have then been easier to unite the Hispanic kingdoms, still quite close to their common elements, than after four centuries of independant life, when they were opposed and hostile; after four centuries of dissimilar activities, spread over the four cardinal points of the earth and of the European policy toward the West. However, this princely union was not only barren, but also came to be pernicious for the immediate restoration of Hispanic unity. The levity and versatility of doña Urraca, and the misogyny and hardness of don Alfonso made an understanding between them impossible. The disdainful pride for Hispanic things of the Frankish clergy, masters of the national church (a few years earlier the Abbot of Cluny had spurred the Burgundian sons-in-law of Alfonso VI to sign a treaty for the redistribution of their father-in-law's estates) and the unchecked appetite for power of the high nobility of the kingdom, combined with the unrest of some bourgeois masses very recently come from beyond the Pyrenees, made the monarchy into a true tower of Babel. Without a soul to guide it, the kingdom fell into anarchy when the Battler returned to his lands after having taken over Castile. Doña Teresa, not having any more pure blood than her sister, brought to her side the son of the count of Traba who began to rule Portugal in her name. This Galician intervention in Portuguese life provoked the violent hostile reaction of the inhabitants of «terra portugalense». After doña Urraca died, her son had to reconquer her kingdom by sword point (some nobleman made bold to physically confront him) and had to confront his foster father, the Battler, a much better military man than husband and who had extended the borders of his kingdom from the mountains of Huesca to those of Teruel. And while «the muleteer struck Sancho, Sancho struck the serving-girl, the serving-girl him», as Cervantes later wrote, the Almoravids furiously attacked the kingdom's frontiers with success.

Few historical moments have been more propitious for the secession of a human community ruled by an audacious and capable leader. Portugal

separated from the Hispanic trunk during these cruel hours of national strife. If, as Ibn Hazm wrote, the flower of civil war is always unfertile, at times it becomes poisonous. It was so when the dispute between the followers of Rodrigo and those of Witiza provoked the «loss of Spain»; that is, the Arabic invasion. It as also so, although to a lesser extent, during the first third of the eleventh-century by favoring the separation of Portugal. If their independence did indeed procure many glorious deeds for Hispanic peoples (the successes and defeats of every people of Hispania are common to all) the division of the Peninsula has heaped many miseries onto the Peninsular folk. In this way I extend to all the inhabitants of Spain's geography the expression used by Americo Castro regarding the Portuguese.

Spengler came to write that without the arrival in Spain of Count don Enrique, Brasil would not exist today. He thus fires the projections of Portugal's accidental independence beyond the Atlantic. I cannot subscribe to his overly cutting statement. The prediction of the course of history that has not existed, is a very venturesome task. The Portuguese secession was not the exclusive work of one man's endeavors, as no historical process of lasting consequences has been. However, Spengler was right in denying the remoteness and maturity of the vital and cultural stock of the human community that has come to be modern Portugal. History has separated the Portuguese from the Castilians; however the ethnic and spiritual ties that have united us have always been stronger than those that have separated us. Even though Marañón has denied it, at the beginning of the Modern Age, Castile in a psychic and vital sense, was closer to Portugal than she was to the Crown of Aragón. She was even closer because of the similarity of their institutions, economies, and destinies As I shall later remark, this nearness never stopped obstructing union.

Some contemporary Portuguese historians, Damião Peres among them, today recognize, as did their nineteenth-century antecessors, the reality of the community of history and future of the peoples of Hispania. It is true that today the psychic and temperamental differences separating Castilians from Portuguese are neither greater nor lesser than those separating the people of Aragón from Andalusians. Some day our separation will be surpassed even though it seems impossible today. This will happen in a friendly and brotherly way, through mutual conviction and reciprocal interest. There are many flexible political formulas to reach the future understanding of Hispanic peoples.

7. Catalonia in Spain

None of the peoples or cultures that arrived in Hispanic lands in the remote days of pre-history failed to appear in, stay at, settle in, influence, flood or saturate the primitive lands of today's Catalonia. Not one of

them missed their date with the fertile Catalonian lands, situated at one of the passes, the easiest, to enter or leave Spain. The jawbone of a Neanderthal Man has been found in Bañolas (Gerona Province) while a skull of the same stone-age species has been found in Gibraltar. Aurignacian hunters from the French-Cantabrian civilization came to Catalonia and the «Gravettian» of beyond the Pyrenees, who were spread out throughout the entire Peninsula, also came. The so-called cave culture, or Hispano-Mauritanian culture, came as far North as Pallars and Sardinia and crossed the Pyrenees. If Caucasian shepherds came to Spain during the Neolithic they spread through the Basque Country and the Pyrenees just as much as through Catalonia. From the lower plateau, through the central Iberian land mass the bell beaker *(vaso campaniforme)* culture penetrated Catalonian lands, while by sea, through the Southern Pyrenean side, the dolmen culture, also propagated in Andalusia, the Atlantic and Cantabrian coasts and even in Spain's interior, penetrated. The people of Almería, from Argar, or Protoiberians, who advanced through the Levant following the Ebro North, also arrived in Catalonia, occupied it and later penetrated into France, a theory which I hold to be probable. The peoples of the «urn fields» entered Spain through Catalonia's passes; these were Illyrians or Pre-Celts who probably travelled South along the Ebro and climbed up to the plateau. Later the Celts came through the same passes, carrying the iron culture of Halstatt; the same Celts who through the Western Pyrenees passes flooded all of Spain. The historical Iberians later reconquered Catalonia, penetrated France, and again enterd Spain with the Gauls at their heels. Zonaras asserted that in the Pyrenees there were diverse peoples speaking different languages. Hercateo correctly called the people inhabiting Catalonia *missegetes* or mixed The crania found in the prehistoric burial grounds of the region testify to the reality of this assertion. In these peoples all the ethnic groups and civilizations which had arrived in the Peninsula at one time had come together. Catalonia's roots do not, therefore, go back to any special racial or spiritual singularity of the mysterious prehistoric ages, unless one wishes to see a singularity in this end result, mixing and uniting cultures and races of all Hispania.

Bosch Gimpera has stated: «Great southern, eastern, central, western and Cantabrian-Pyrenean nuclei were already sketched out in the primitive era *with a crossing of their diverse elements in Catalonia.*» Therefore, Catalonia had been like a synthesis or prefiguration of Spain before the beginning of any of the historical stages which the Catalonians call deforming superestructures of the Hispanic peoples, i. e., before History was making Spain.

Greeks and Romans also eventually arrived in Catalonia as they did in all the southern and eastern coasts. The cultural penetration of the Hellenic colonizers did not change the racial and temperamental substrata of the southern Iberians nor of the northern *missegetes.* However, Greece gave shape to the artistic creations of both groups. But in any case, only

noble love for the land could have made Rovira Virgili exclaim: «A lightning flash from the Helade struck at the soul of Catalonia.» Neither the bourgeois from faraway and northern Ampurias nor the farmers from the beaches of Alicante and Murcia were able to achieve such wonders.

It was Rome that decisively influenced the ancestors of today's Catalonians; just as much or even more than they did the other inhabitants of Hispania. The tribes that dwelled in Catalonian lands fought against Rome with the same bravery as the other *Hispani* did later. However, after being conquered in the first days of the Roman conquest, it was in Catalonia where the intensive Romanization of the Peninsula was initiated; it was the Catalonians of then who aided most the political and spiritual success of Rome in Spain and their complete exploitation of the Hispanic Fatherland; and Tarraco, the great political and cultural *umbilicus* city at the time, was the most active center of Romanization and unification for the Hispanic people.

Indeed, Tarragona was truly the port and pass for Rome in Spain. Descendants of the tribes inhabiting contemporary Catalonia formed auxiliary corps to help the Roman generals conquer and submit the Basques, Celtiberians, Lusitanians and other peoples of Hispania. For more than three hundred years the *concilia* of provincial assemblies, representatives of all the cities and tribes of most of the Hispanic Peninsula met in Tarraco. For more than three centuries peoples from Lugo and Granada, Cartagena and Cantabria, Euzkadi and La Mancha, Braga and the Aragonese Pyrenees, Navarre and Asturias, the Castilian plains and those of Valencia, the Celtiberian Moncayo and Sierra Nevada, the Ebro and the Tagus, Astorga and Gerona met together at these assemblies. During the long centuries of Roman rule Spanish unity was articulated from Tarraco and through her intervention Long before Andalusia or Castile served as catalyzing centers of the initial Peninsular diversity, the Catalonia of two thousand years ago fulfilled the same mission.

This mission has illustrated and magnified the Tarracona region. Did it also set it apart from the rest of the Hispanic districts? The umbilical center, from which the unifying action of a political community comes, has rarely been won out by a differentiating particularism. No historical echo has really reached us saying that the rule of Rome would affirm the historical peculiarity of the part of Hispania making up the Tarracona *conventus judicus*. The only feature that could have shaped the life style of the ancestral folk of today's Catalonians was the intense accentuation of their economic life. Tarraco, the political and vital center of the Romanization and unification of the Peninsula was also the nodal base for Rome's exploitation of the Peninsula. This new, and before the conquest unsuspected, nuclear function of the Tarragona region developed a commercial activity and devotion for economic life among the coastal dwellers of Catalonia that was neither common nor frequent in other

Peninsular lands, with the only exception of the zone having Cadiz as capital. Saint Paciano, Bishop of Barcelona at the end of the fourth-century, gives witness to this activity and devotion when, speaking of his compatriots, he mentioned what they heaped together by accumulating, trafficking, buying, selling and stealing in pursuit of profit. But, since this inclination is not contemptible as a creative factor in temperamental structure, it is doubtful that it would come to take root so deeply in the country and would last long enough so as to coin a peculiar life style. It is not shown that this affinity for profit won over any other than the urban masses of the ports. The Barbarian invasions first, and the Islamic conquests later paralyzed and finally ended the sea and land traffic from which Catalonia had derived her increasing mercantile dynamism. This dynamism had never been enough to provoke a differential factor capable of making the historical germ of a nationality mature.

At the fall of Rome, still-vigorous Catalonia again served as the gate to Hispania, as she had done for millenia. The Goths entered the Peninsula through Catalonia. With Tarragona ruined, Barcelona became the first seat of the Visigothic court and, from her, the fate of Spain, unified from Tarragona was more than decided. Ataulfo, who aspired to rejuvenate the Roman Empire by injecting young Gothic blood into her hardened arteries, was assassinated there. Amalaric, the last scion of the dynasty that had ruled the Gothic kingdom of Toulouse, astride the Pyrenees, was killed there. However, no echo may be heard of the formation of a marginal nation, distinct from Spain during the Visigothic rule.

It is known that since the defeat at Guadalete (711) and Tariq's campaigns in Catalonia (714) numerous Goths and Hispano-Romans, at different dates during the eighth-century, crossed the eastern Pyrenean passes to take refuge in France. The testimony of several Muslim authors allowed me to attribute the taking of Tarragona, and Barcelona to Tariq; Abadal has not refuted my allegations. This flight and taking refuge in France is attested to in the *Precepta pro Hispanis* of Charlemagne and Ludovico Pio, some historiographic texts of the Franks and the erudite composition of Alfonso III's Chronicle. Between 785, date of the conquest of Gerona, and 801, the occupation of Barcelona, old Catalonia was incorporated into the Frankish Empire. We do not know who formed part of the invading hordes nor who the masses were that came to dwell in the country. It may be suspected that both groups were mostly made of those peoples from the neighbouring lands of Carcassonne, Roussillon, Beziers and Narbonne, always related racially to the peoples from South of the Pyrenees, and the Goths and Hispano-Romans who had taken refuge in these districts. This may be deduced from the aforementioned *Precepta* and the deeds published by Abadal. Therefore, it is permissible to suppose that the population of the future Catalonia did not undergo great ethnic changes as a result of the submission of the country to

Frankish rule. The coincidence of the counties into which the lands occupied by Charlemagne's armies were divided with the old native divisions, the lands of the old tribes inhabiting the region, seems to confirm the duration of the primitive racial structures of that corner of the Tarraconensis region. This duration allows us to conclude that the supposition that the Franks changed the dwellers of Catalonian lands ethnically and spiritually contains much exaggeration. It also allows us to see how the human «substractum» of before the Muslim invasion survived, understanding by substratum the old and extremely mixed tribal complex living in the region, psychically and racially related to the other inhabitants of Hispania.

It is thus venturesome to imagine that Catalonia, from the time of her incorporation into the Frankish Empire, would change in such a way that, as if by miracle, a vigorous and powerful national spirit would arise. Soldevila himself recognizes the anti-Frankish feelings of the inhabitants of the counties of the Hispanic March. Interpreted as being passive, this anti-Frankishness should be qualified as being solidly Hispanic. With the country fractioned into a rosary of counties (only Barcelona, Ausona and Gerona were usually ruled by one single count) it would have been difficult for an embrionic national conscience to emerge over the pugnacious divisions that separated the counts of each district from one another. Only their racial and spiritual Hispanism could group them together into a human community by confronting them with the Frankish lands to the North.

These counties were to live for over two centuries flooded by the successive waves of the politics from beyond the Pyrenees. Yet their attention and vitality tilted towards Peninsular questions, just as other Spanish Christian communities in resistance to Córdoba, lived at the time. Nothing else could have happened as they were obliged to be so by the attacks of the Muslim hordes, attacks by the emir's army and the troops of the powerful rebels of neighbouring Islamic lands. Wilfred the Hairy was beaten and killed by the last whelp of the Banu Qasi', that renegade family of Gothic origin that ruled the Ebro valley for a century. Moreover, during the tenth-century, at the time of maximum potential of Caliphal power, the Catalonian counts, already autonomous, (as were the others of beyond the Pyrenees and only related to the Carolingian monarch through feudal ties) lived and suffered in Spain just as the other Christian kings and counts of the country. They were submitted to the same clawing from the Córdoba armies as the other rulers and, like them, received the impact of Al-Ándalus culture through the fertilizing channel of Mozarabic influence The inhabitants of the Catalonian cities, when they were conquered for the Frankish Empire, were basically Mozarabs as were even some of the refugees in France. Charlemagne's *Preceptum pro hispanis* shows this. Without this Mozarabic impact it would have been impossible for the Catalonian monasteries to begin transmitting Hispano-Arabic

science to Europe and for the Archdeacon of Barcelona to begin the series of Peninsular translations from Arabic to Latin.

Within and without Catalonia (the name itself had not yet come into being), it would have been difficult for the most prophetic person to encounter the embryo of a nationality radically different from other Christian nuclei fighting against the Islamites to the south of the Pyrenees in that rosary of independent and, at the same time, hostile counties united as vassals to the King of the Franks and vitally submerged in the Hispanic tide. At the time of the fall of the Caliphate at the beginnings of the eleventh-century, when rebel Castile already had three quarters of a century of unitary history and had, some decades earlier, stopped being a little corner to reach the Duero from the Bay of Biscay, it was difficult to suspect the future organic articulation of Catalonia as a political and historical community, singled out for the highest destinies. Catalonia was thus fragmented into equally autonomous counties that were enemies more than once. But fate crossed the path of the counts of Barcelona who were able to unify the region and historically make her great until she became a Mediterranean power, master of a real empire. Of course, she was able to do this because an impetuous and strong people had been born, in that border land, out of the long-lasting and dramatic fight against the Muslims of the Ebro valley, just as Castile had done many miles to the west. It was not without motive that Castilians and Catalonians were the only ones bold enough to enter Córdoba with the Berbers of Sulayman and the Slavs of Muhammad. But the fortitude and impetus of the Catalonians would not have been enough to produce the miracle of chance without prodigious aid.

We might say «You, fortunate Barcelona, get married» with more justice than the well-known phrase, «Tu, felix Austria, nube». No princely dynasty ever obtained so many matrimonial successes than the House of the Counts of Barcelona. Every «maid of Europe» throughout the long medieval centuries, married some Count of Barcelona or, after the union of Aragón and Catalonia, some Aragón monarch having the title of «Comes Barchinonensis». These maids brought such rich dowries to their Catalonian husbands that, strengthened by them, they were able to assure the unity of the country under the supremacy of Barcelona, realize their imperial policy of expansion beyond the Pyrenees and constitute the Catalonian-Aragón empire in the Mediterranean. The history of Catalonia from the eleventh-century was the projection of the Hispanic impetus of the Catalonian people towards the horizons opening before them after the happy, or unhappy, but always magnificent marriages of their counts or kings.

Ermisindis of Carcassonne, Almodis of La Marche, Dulce of Provence, Petronila of Aragón, María of Monpellier, Constanza of Swabia, María of Sicily, Isabel of Castile! What dynasty was better married? Which received richer dowries? Spanish history was richer thanks to these marriages.

The beginning of the trans-Pyrenean expansion dates from the marriages of Ramón Berenguer I the Old. Until him only Sancho III of Navarre had projected his strength and his action beyond the Pyrenees. The marriage of Ramón Berenguer III, The Great, to Dulce of Provence, amplified and assured this expansion, coincident with the expansion of Alfonso I of Aragón towards Gascogne and Toulouse, and asserted the hegemonic position of the counts of Barcelona in Catalonia. The marriage of Ramón Berenguer IV to Petronila of Aragón ended up consolidating this hegemony. Moreover, by giving an extensive and strong hinterland to his coastal counties he assured the historical future of the Catalonian people, changing them into the most powerful lords of Occitania.

These marriages allowed Catalonia to create a Mediterranean-Pyrenean empire, from Tortosa to Nice. Naturally, this empire was of a feudal type but strong enough so that it became a decisive factor in the political equilibrium of France and Spain. This state, atop the Pyrenees, was tugged at by the problems on both sides of the Pyrenees. Its essential and basic strength was to the south of the great mountain range and its best perspectives for expansion lay in the Peninsula. However, everything was hard, rough and difficult in Spain, while Occitania was seductive with the charms of its culture and attractive with the shine of its wealth. It is not possible to ascertain whether this Pyrenean-Mediterranean empire was historically viable. Up to that time a human community in the lands of both sides of the Pyrenees within the domains of Alfonso II and Peter II had never lasted, nor has one lasted since. The Celts and the Franks had finally pushed Iberians, Goths and Islamites towards Spain. For this reason it is doubtful that the state astride the Pyrenees could have survived in the long run; the state that the fortunate marriages of the counts of Barcelona had more or less artificially created from the Ebro to the Durance. It is probable that it would have fallen soon even without the political-religious complications provoked by the Albigensian heresy in the lands of Catalonian Occitania. When these complications sped up the perhaps inevitable historical process of the separation of the two halves of the empire of the count-kings, the triumph of Northern France and orthodoxy definitively centered Catalonia in Spain and forever united their destinies to those of other Spanish peoples. Just as the defeat at Vogladum (507) seven centuries earlier, that at Muret (1213) was a victory in the path of the making of Spain. Although the people of Aragón and Catalonia did not suspect it, it was a victory for the historic might of the Aragón Crown. By closing the escape valve for the vital pressure of the two peoples of Aragón and Catalonia, they had to seek new currents into which they could pour their dynamism. The French Midi, feudally divided and beset by rivals and multiple problems, did not offer the Aragonese and Catalonia human potential the same setting of perspectives offered to them by Muslim Spain and the Mediterranean.

The first two Aragonese Kings of the new Catalonian dynasty strongly felt Hispanic problems, they collaborated with Castile in the Reconquest, and in holding off the great Almohad undertaking. The acute sense of Hispanism of Alfonso II, the most hostile to Castile, motivated him to make the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostle James, Patron Saint of Spain. James I perhaps because he spent his childhood outside the Peninsula, realized a purely Spanish policy: He completed the Catalonian-Aragón Reconquest in collaboration with Castile and fervidly conceived of Spain as a historical unity. Catalonian historians still bemoan today, as a national disgrace, the Conqueror's renouncement of Murcia in favor of a higher Hispanic solidarity. Their furious basis is similar to the no less irritated and anachronic basis of Aragonese historians concerning the incorporation of the lands of Lérida, which are not geographically nor historically Catalonian, into Catalonia. All their other authentic mistakes and stupidities are compensated for by their conception of Spain as a unitary community and their love of her. This love incited them to generously aid Alfonso X of Castile in submitting the rebel Moors of Murcia. He writes: «We did it first for God, then for the salvation of Spain». Because he felt the transcendent solidarity of this community he exclaimed at Lyon when leaving the Council where he had offered to go on the Crusade, as he made his horse caracole: «Today Spain has been honored».

Another fortunate marriage (again «You, fortunate Barcelona, marry») took the Catalonians to Italy and initiated the conquest of the Spanish Mediterranean empire. This was the marriage of Peter III the Great to Constanza, heiress of the Staufen family of Sicily. This was a great feat of a man and a people, but which was able to be realized thanks to the rising and cooperation of the Sicilians, i. e., because the count-king was the husband of Manfred's daughter.

What a magnificent adventure was that of Peter and the Catalonians! Adventure? Indeed it was. The man and the people continued the Hispanic tradition. The eastern Iberians had fought on all the shores of the Mediterranean centuries before Christ. Later, Livy set down the adventuresome spirit of all Peninsular peoples. The Cordovans, in arms against al-Hakam I and expelled by him from Spain, later conquered lands beyond Sicily, Alexandria and Crete. Moreover, the Catalonian undertaking tied in the past with the future; it united the old tradition of primitive Spain with the series of marvelous adventures of Portuguese and Castilians (I use this term here to designate all the subjects of the kings of Castile) who were to make up the essential fabric of modern Hispanic history. What a magnificent adventure was that of Peter and the Catalonians! It asserts the magnificent temperamental unity of all Hispanic peoples from Creus Cape to San Vincente Cape and from Cape Finisterre to Cape Palos!

The Catalonian, Peter the Great, already clearly showed his quixotic spirit years before Cervantes would mold the figure of the ingenious *hidalgo* don Quijote de la Mancha from the mud of Castile. Since Charles

of Anjou well knew the mettle of the Hispanic knight, he challenged the count-king in order to separate him from the theatre of war and fixed Bordeaux as his place of *riepto.* Peter left Sicily, defying all dangers and attended the palisade on the appointed day. Only a Spanish prince would have realized such an adventure worthy of being described by Cervantes' pen; Alfonso V of Aragón also accepted the challenge of Renato of Anjou and waited for him in vain on the appointed day at the appointed place This is but another sign of the temperamental unity of the Peninsular folk.

The traditional amount of the very old interference of religion in the lives of the sons of Hispania moved Peter the Great's sons, Alfonso III and James II, to give way before the threat of Papal excommunication and to compromise themselves at Tarascón and Anagni to fight the brother who had taken up the paternal inheritance and ruled in Sicily. This military submission to the Pope likewise influenced the domestic and foreign policy of all Hispanic kingdoms. Alfonso Enríquez of Portugal and Peter II of Aragón declared themselves vassals to the Holy See and, around the same time that the aforementioned count-kings humbled themselves before the high pontiff, the Castilians Alfonso X and Sancho IV, meekly withstood Papal enmity and María de Molina bought the Bull of Pontifical Legitimacy for her son, Ferdinand IV of Castile, for many thousands of gold doubloons! In spite of the rage of the Popes against Hispanic kings, none of them ventured to offer as much resistance against the Papacy as the German Henrys or Fredericks or the French Philips. Also, Castile and Catalonia behaved the same before the pontiff.

In the farthest removed and most novel feat of that series of heroic gestures which made up the historic corollary of Peter III's marriage to Constanza of Swabia, i. e., the eastern expedition of the Catalonian Campaign, also assisted by many from Aragón, one may be surprised at the many features that later would characterize the feats of the Castilian (from Extremadura, Castile and Andalusia) conquerors in America. The comparison is impossible and it would be irreverent for these latter since the heroes of the American undertaking never served as mercenaries; those who undertook each task, won empires and created a new world were but a fistfull. Nevertheless, except for the differences, how many similarities brought the Catalonian raiders near to the Castilian conquistadores! And, how many related both adventures!

Both undertakings were realized without the direction and guiding of the state through a pure spirit of adventure and a pure love of fighting and conquest. The Catalonians in the East and the Castilians in America showed the same intrepidity, bravado, audacity, and heroism and the same faith of man in man. The former surpassed the latter in cruelty but both were hard on Byzantines and Indians. The same envy and the same hopes for glory and gain brought more and more throngs of Catalonian and

159.—*Fray Jerónimo Pérez,* by Zurbarán. Academy of San Fernando (Madrid). Because the man of flesh and blood was the center and nerve of Hispanic arts and letters, the Spanish school of painting disdained allegories and landscapes. Even when it represented mystics or ascetics it brought the man to the canvas, giving him a vigor that almost broke the frame. He was represented without theatrical horizons at his back, with an inocuous, undefined background, in mute dialogue with the Divinity.

160.—*The Vision of Fray Pedro de Salamanca*, by Zurbarán. Monastery of Guadalupe (Cáceres). A miracle in the deluded Spain of the seventeenth-century where miracles crossed over from the lives of mystics to those of the popular masses. The divine grace received by mortals visited by the spirit of God was accompanied by a frequent experience of the masses with goblins, apparitions and demons. Reread the warnings of Barrionuevo and Pellicer. and the Jesuitic letters.

161.—*Equestrian Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares,* by Velázquez. Prado Museum (Madrid). This is how Velázquez painted the Count-Duke of Olivares, a well-intentioned but dull rival of the astute Richelieu. Faithful to the straightlined tradition of Spanish politics of the «Christian-Prince», he confronted the sinuous and unscrupulous nationalism of his enemy at a disadvantage. Although untimely, he conceived of the idea of making Spain, changing it into an authentic state unity, an idea that was not even foreseen by the first Austrias who could have realized the project. He did not surpass his French enemy in ambition for wealth and control.

162.—*Innocence X, by Velázquez.* Doria Gallery (Rome). This *Innocence X* by Velázquez (1649) not only crowns the art of the painter, it also crowns Spanish portrait art which reproduced bodies with extreme exactitude and uncovered souls with extreme naturalness, without falling into psychological interpretations. This art is related to the temperamental inclination of the Hispanic peoples to capture individuality as a vitalistic esteem for man as an exceptional being.

Castilian adventurers first to the Orient and later to America. The Catalonians stained the glory of their feats with barbarous clashes and brutal assassinations and the immurement of some of their captains, surpassing the violence of the civil wars maintained by the conquistadors in America. Still, both sides were brought together by that dividing up into factions and that breaking out into internal battles after the enemy had hardly been beaten frenzied by frenetic appetites for power. Catalonians and Castilians had their eyes wide open to the cultures of the conquered peoples. The former sketched out a beautiful eulogy to the Parthenon: «The most precious jewel existing in the world; so precious that all the princes on earth would like to make a similar one». The latter elegantly described the great monuments of the American Empires. While the raiding troops heard Mass in Greece, in the temple at Athens, the conquistadors heard it in the Sun Temple at Cuzco. Catalonians and Castilians took their language, law and life style to the duchies of Athens and Neopatria and the immense extensions of America; both enjoyed lordly living.

An adventuresome spirit, ambition for riches, heroism, cruelty, dictatorships, thirst for control, raging civil strife, human curiosity, pride, devotion, lordliness...; thus were Castile and Catalonia united in brotherhood by a community of temperament, a similar vital structure and an identical, irrenouncible Hispanism. They were separated by many differences; normal corollaries of the diverse projection of their history, since long before Christ, toward quite distinct cultural and vital horizons because of their dissimilar geographic situation in Spain and in Europe. Beginning in the ninth-century Catalonia was acquainted with a feudal structure of the Carolingian type, resting on a peasant society based on feudal dues with the rural classes bearing a situation of servile dependence. This was in contrast to the Castilian vassal-benefice articulation, asleep in Visigothic pre-feudalism and overrun by a rural mass of free property owners and free peasants. With the Reconquest at a standstill for centuries (Barcelona was conquered in 801 and Tortosa in 1148) compared to the mobility of the Castilian border (Burgos was founded in 882, the Duero front was won in 912, Toledo was conquered in 1085, and by the middle of the twelfth-century Castile had arrived to the Sierra Morena), there sprang up in Catalonia, as opposed to the lordly life style of a nation accustomed to winning riches by the sword, the need to winning them by peaceful means. For this reason James I reproached the Castilians for their haughtiness and Dante reproached the Catalonians for their «*avara pobertà*». These vital needs (perhaps the old Roman epoch was never forgotten) and their application to a world where economic activity was quickly being reborn and a bourgeoisie was coming to life, favored the development of urban life and the bourgeois espirit in Catalonia. This happened while the multi-secular prolongation of Castile's old form of existing retarded and declined the flourishing of city life and a bourgeois sensitivity in Castile.

Nevertheless, in Catalonia and in Castile, underneath a dissimilar

superstructure the same *homo hispanus* was breathing, with the same qualities and analogous defects. From the eighth to the tenth-century all the blood in Spain had mixed in Castile, just as it had in Catalonia in early pre-history. In this *homo hispanus* the impetus of life triumphed over reason. He followed a chieftain because of human devotion and not for common convictions, anchored in manliness and a lover of the complete liberty in the exercise of his free will. He was quick to explode in storms of rage and violence, always with a rough edge. He confided in his strength and disdained the strength of others. He was insolent and proud to the point of sacrificing his well-being to a religious or political ideal and more inclined to action, war or commerce, than to quiet meditation and slow work. A different type of crust covered both similar peoples: feudalism and bourgeoisie against democracy and chivalrous patricians. These similar peoples, when the chains binding them to the monotony of their daily living, discovered their integral similarity.

This similarity showed itself even in the multiple projections of their common passion. Catalonians and Castilians both confronted the divinity with the same arrogant asperity when their emotional violence met with their vassal-type conception of the relationship of man to God. The arbalester given to gambling, who has been sung about, and who, devoted to Saint Mary but also in rage against her because he always lost and who shot an arrow towards heaven, was a Catalonian. The same violent and rapacious anti-semitism, religious hostility and economic enmity at the same time, was shown equally by the subjects of the King of Castile and those of the count-king of Barcelona and Aragón. In 1391, a few days after the beginning of the assaults and killings of the Jewish Quarters in Andalusian lands, the Catalonians assaulted and killed Jews at pleasure.

I have previously studied the Hispanism of whom I have called the Gothic Quixote, the Mallorquin, Ramón Llull, and I have pointed out how temperamental features of pure Spanishness stand out in him: an explosive and overpowering ego, an activism triumphant over quiet adoration, a chimeral hope for changing the world at his own will, an impetuous pride that became irritated when clashing with disdain, a soul accepting death, vehement impatience, militant Christianity. The Enlightened Doctor, one of the most sublime archetypes of what is Catalonian, was also therefore, a magnificent archetype of what is Spanish.

A diverse superstructure and a similar vital texture. Catalonia was more of Spain's gate to Europe than its window. The ideas, forms of life, and the organic articulations of beyond the Pyrenees and beyond the sea were soon to arrive in Catalonia and were soon received and adopted by it. However, such receptions and adoptions only altered slowly its remote Hispanic temperamental inheritance, the same as that also received by the diverse historical grouping of the Peninsula. Catalonia removed herself slowly from the common matrix, but the common unbreakable brotherhood which tied her to the other peoples of Hispania survived.

Since 1137 she was united to Aragón. Aragón, by being Basque and Celtiberian, closed off by mountains without any access to the sea, with a lively tradition of reconquest, without any other possible room for expansion than Muslim Spain, psychically and vitally more united to its neighbours to the west than to those to the east and with a manner of speaking very similar to that of Castile, was more united to Castile than to Catalonia by the community of history and destiny. However, it joined with Catalonia because, when Alfonso the Battler died, a man with enough strength to confront the crisis and rule the Aragón kingdom was lacking. A second reason was because the furious clashes which had confronted the king of Aragón with all that the Galician Alfonso Raimúndez signified in León and Castile were still quite recent, and the fissure that had separated those of León from the Castilians, and those of Aragón from the Navarrese for more than a quarter century was deep. A third reason was because, faced with the very unmatched political power of Alfonso the Emperor and Count Ramón Berenguer of Barcelona, Aragón judged that while her union to León and Castile might mean its absorption by a powerful state, by giving herself over to a group of small counties she could preserve her personality and even become the leading element of the double monarchy.

Aragón half-way deceived itself in her calculations. She did indeed preserve her historical personality, but she neither directed nor set the course of the double political community ruled from then on by the Count-Kings. Catalonian historians exaggerate the importance of the role played by Catalonia in the political equilibrium of the kingdoms which made up the Crown of Aragón. They have exalted the respectful conducts of hegemonic Catalonia with mediatized Aragón. Aragón was much too extensive and strong, too intrepid and jealous of its own customs and liberties for the Catalonians to have dared to truly intervene in its political life. The history of the relations between the diverse members of the Confederation remains to be objectively done. Their similar vital strength made the hegemony of Aragón over Catalonia, and that of Catalonia over Aragón impossible. For this reason Valencia was not incorporated into either of the two states but rather made up a third autonomous state with its own historical personality. Its language was Catalonian because the majority of its repopulators were Catalonians; the lords, from Aragón, the bourgeoisie, from Catalonia. However, by being a land of conquest and colonization, as Aragón had been earlier, Valencia did not structure itself socially and politically after the feudal make-up of Catalonia, but rather according to different models, more in line with the institutional tradition of Aragón, and as applied to a Morisco rural population which also existed in Aragón but not in Catalonia.

Aragón and Catalonia lived united and distant. The Catalonians were the ones who theorized and realized the great adventures that illustrate their own history and that of Spain. The people of Aragón, enclosed in

their native land, did not back them up; even more, they made them difficult by rising against the kings who undertook such adventures at times when it was quite dangerous for them. Their history, similar to that of Castile, had planted in the people of Aragón the same fervent devotion to divine war and had diminished their sensitivity for understanding the significance of those battles not outlined by the halo of the fight against the infidels. For this reason, and because of their distance from the Mediterranean beaches, they did not understand the historical value of their princes' fights to win far-away Sicily, nor did they feel pleasure in confronting the Pope. They not only coldly contemplated Peter III's adventures, they also took advantage of his straits and those of his son, Alfonso III, to take away the *Privilegio General* and the *Privilegio de Unión,* true political institutions which regulated the rights of the two oligarchies of Aragón: the nobility and the cities. I say the two oligarchies because the Aragón peasants continued under lordly servitude until the Modern Age. While Peter IV attempted to violently take away the kingdom of Majorca so as to incorporate it into his crown, the people of Aragón and Valencia together (a proof of their institutional relation) rose against the king. It was a rising of the «Union» made up of the nobiliary and bourgeois oligarchy of the two kingdoms. Peter IV kissed Catalonian soil when he was able to free himself of the rebels of Aragón and Valencia.

This legendary and historical kiss, and the request from the «Union» that Peter IV remove from his side some Catalonian knights, give witness to which of the three sides of the Confederation was directed the sympathy of the Count-Kings. Catalonia enthusiastically supported the imperialist and centralist policy of the grandchildren of Ramón Berenguer IV. Catalonians seconding the centralizing imperialism of their princes? Indeed, even though today it is surprising. For example, Peter IV surpassed all the Hispanic Kings in the realization of this policy. Unscrupulously, and with astuteness and cruelty to spare, he ejected his brother-in-law, the king of Majorca, from his kingdom, and kept his nephew locked in a cage for many years. He went through every type of sophistry and hand-blows so as to carry off María of Sicily by force, who could have made off with the rule of the island and the duchies of Athens and Neopatria, to marry her with his grandson and so insure the incorporation into Catalonia of those far-off bits of the empire conquered by Catalonian sailors and soldiers. The Catalonians of those days, by seconding the imperialist and centralist policy of the monarch, and those of today, by applauding this fact show how historical processes are looked at and judged according to wether they are done in benefit or against the human group they pertain to. Respect for the free determination of the island dwellers of the Balearics and Sicily did not cross the minds of Catalonians of yesteryear, nor has it crossed the minds of those of today. At the time these island dwellers were clearly opposed to renouncing their independence and uniting themselves to Catalonia.

Catalonia, strong on the sea and dedicated to an intense commercial life on it, was coining a personality with quite firm features. However, this was done within Spain and fully aware of its unchangeable condition as an active member of the historical community that Spain had constituted since time memorial. Years ago Bosch Gimpera, and Maravall today, have pointed out the frequency with which these counts-kings, who so deeply loved their Catalonia, and the soldiers, sailors and chroniclers considered Spain as a human and vital unity of which they and their country formed part. If James I spoke of the salvation and honor of Spain, Peter III thought he was going to fight for the honor of Spain at Bordeaux. When James II was informed of Ferdinand IV's rise to the throne when still a minor, he said that for this reason the entire responsibility for Spain would fall to him. Muntaner, soldier-chronicler of the Catalonian expedition to the East, also said that all the kings of Spain were of one flesh and blood.

The election of Ferdinand of Antequera as king of Aragón by the votes of three from Aragón, two from Valencia and one Catalonian, the posture of the dynasty changed before the diverse states making up the Crown of Aragón. Aragón now became closer to Castile following the natural inclination of its historical destiny. The sovereigns of the Trastamara family stopped their good treatment of Catalonia so that for awhile it lost its preeminent position in the politics of the Confederation. This loss was sensibly accentuated during the reign of the third Trastamara. Strong social tension flogged the country; in Barcelona the proletariat, the *busca,* agitated against the urban oligarchy, the *biga;* throughout all the principality the Catalonian peasants tried to obtain their freedom from the lords. These problems have been studied by Vicens Vives in three excellent books. But whatever the vigilance for these tensions, they would not have been enough to provoke the rebellion of the Catalonians against John II, if the sentimental reaction of Catalonia had not cropped up along the way, especially that of the navel city of the country, up till then favored by the kings of the old dynasty. Against what Calmette believed in his day, the rising was not provoked by the centralizing attempt of the Crown nor was it the determining factor of the crisis, as it still believed by some zealous Catalonian historians. Responsibility may not be snatched away from the count-king, nor may the importance of the aforementioned social problems be denied, but without the conscious or subconscious rage of Catalonia for the decline of its secular preeminence, either the fight would not have begun, or it would not have been as long and furious In the long run, this fight contributed to the removal of the principality from the common historical thread. Due to its projections into the psychic and material life of Catalonia, it weighted the wings of its adventuresome audacity and produced a deep hole in her economy. Both declines separated it from the common Hispanic tasks on the verge of Modernity, especially the

American adventure. In the long run, by being isolated in a Mediterranean corner and by having a different life style from other Peninsular peoples, its full integration into Hispanic unity became difficult.

The union of the two kingdoms of Aragón and Castile and the discovery of America immediately placed Catalonia in a marginal position. This was the Catalonia which up to then had experienced extraordinary luck (You, fortunate Barcelona, marry!) and was accustomed to being if not the hegemonic people, at least the rulers of those ruled by the count-kings. This marginal situation was the incoercible result of two great historical events, and not of any Hispanic enmity towards Catalonia. By uniting the two crowns, Castile had inevitably to become the political center of the country, because it was the geographic center already and much surpassed the Aragonese Confederation in population, wealth and historical potential. This was true especially afer the economic ruin and vital decline of the Principality as a consequence of her battles against John II. Catalonia's absence from the American adventure was not the fault of Castile. In spite of the Catholic Queen's will (which was mistaken in the clause that reserved the exploration rights of the New World to her own subjects), the Catalonians could have intervened in the conquest of America if they had wanted. They were lacking a spirit of adventure at the same time as they had an excess of the bourgeois spirit. For this same reason they did not participate in the colonization. In the first decades of the sixteenth-century they were able to trade with America; otherwise a mercantile company would not have been founded in Barcelona in 1525 by citizens of Barcelona to export serges and hosiery to the «Indies del Mar Hoceano», to Hispaniola, San Juan, Cuba and Yucatan; a company whose charter has been published by Raimundo Noguera. They could have gone to the Indies beginning in 1526 according to a Royal Decree of Charles V just published by Torre Revello. Even without authorization a multitude of non-Peninsular adventurers arrived on the American beaches. The concentration of the American traffic in Seville, inevitable according to Channu, harmed Catalonia just as much as other regions of Spain. It was more expensive to haul goods to the Seville center from Flanders or Genoa, and from Burgos or Toledo, than from Barcelona. If there had been some industrial life similar to that of Flanders or of Genoa in the Principality, the Catalonians would not only have been able to compete with those countries in Seville, they also would have commerced in Catalonian lands, as did even Spain's enemies from beyond the Pyrenees and beyond the sea.

But this marginal situation of Catalonia, in which the Castilian people have no fault, made the smoothing of differences which separated her from other Peninsular kingdoms difficult. Some of these kingdoms were born out of the natural historical projection of the various initial groups of resistance to Islam in the North of Spain; while others were a fortunate prolongation of the political communities to which the dissimilar history of these pri-

mitive nuclei gave birth during the Reconquest. The mistakes of those who ruled Spain during the Modern Age, and all the mistakes of the Catalonians, unjust to deny, have kept the medieval particularisms of Catalonia standing. This particularism is no older, nor more distinct, firm, or accused than the particularism of medieval birth of Galicia, León, Castile, Navarre, Aragón, Valencia, Murcia, Andalusia... This was the Catalonia which, after removing itself from France, motivated by its complete Hispanism, lived four centuries united to Aragón and almost another five united to the other Spanish peoples.

More than any other region in Spain, Catalonia contributed to make the Peninsula under the image of Rome, even when it was impossible to predict the birth of Castile in the mysterious and uncertain future of Hispania. Great leaders and writers of medieval Catalonia, which was autonomous within the Catalonia-Aragón Confederation, felt the historical and vital unity of Spain with no less conviction, and often more firmly and clearly than Castilian princes and writers. Catalonia has given a Mediterranean empire, great human figures, and magnificent ideas and examples to the Spanish national community of which it forms part. Spain is just as much its work as of the many other Peninsular, historical groups who are its sisters by blood and spirit, and are equals in law.

8. The Basque Country, or Non-Romanized Spain

For almost a millenia two opposed, hostile, and synchronic yet finally complementary processes may be singled out in the history of Spain. One has its goal in the Basque Country, the other its starting point. Their description will sound paradoxical. The first started two centuries before Christ and has not yet finished. The second began a thousand years ago and is still not ended. I do not know whether they will ever be completed. I am speaking of both the Romanization of the Peninsula still unfinished twenty-two centuries since its initiation because of a bit of western Pyrenean Spain which remains to be Romanized: a part of the Basque Country; and the Basque-Castilianization of Hispania, incomplete one thousand years after its beginning. A paradox? No, reality. These two extremely slow multisecular and synchronic, opposed and complementary processes are an undeniable reality of the Peninsula's history; a reality that has decisively influenced the behavior of what is Spanish. Both realities have the Basque Country as a pivot. Romanization has not yet won it over completely and thus is it distinguished from the rest of Spain. This non-Romanized Spain was the source of the attempt to «Basquicize» the Peninsula through Castile, the historical prolongation, no less true because of its not being known, of non-Romanized or not yet Westernized Basque Country at the moment when the Castilian peoples were born from the

Basque-Cantabrian matrix. No one should be scandalized at these assertions.

I am not the first to suggest the idea of a «Basquicizing» Castilian action. Menéndez Pidal, in his study on the *Orígenes del español,* already defended the theory that Castile had inserted a Basque wedge in Hispania. Naturally, he was alluding to the Castilian language. I believe it possible to amplify his theory of linguistics to social and vital aspects; the subject deserves a book. It seems certain to me that those who call themselves Basques today (they are really Basquicized) are, to their dismay, but Spaniards who are not yet Romanized completely. They are keeping the struggle, begun by Indíbil and Mandonius against Rome, alive and lively; another seeming paradox. Castile still continues its medieval adventure initiated by Fernán González against what is Western, i. e., in revenge against Rome.

I do not agree with the optimism of the Austrian pre-historian, Menghin, who has written that the Basque enigma no longer exists. He believes that Caucasian immigrants, who had advanced across the peninsulas and islands of the Mediterranean, reached Spain during the Bronze Age. They might have arrived at the Southeastern part of Hispania, mixed with the inhabitants among whom were African elements and thus made up the proto-Iberian and Basque masses. It is very probable that Menghin's theory is correct, but he needs more solid proofs than the ones he gives for scholars to give their unanimous assent. In any case it is one more thesis of those establishing a close relationship between Iberians and Basques. We can indeed be certain of such a relationship. Were the Basques a tribe of African Iberians, as formerly believed when the Basque language was considered identical to theirs? Were they a tribe of Iberians come from the Caucasus, since today many scholars relate their tongue with Caucasian languages? Do Basques, Iberians, and Aquitani derive from a common Hurro-Phrygian, or Caucasian trunk as postulated by Menghin? Were the Basques Pyreneans Iberianized by the African proto-Iberians? It is not possible to unreservedly suscribe to any of these hypotheses. However, the following two facts force us to consider the close relationship between the Basques and a great part of the primitive population of Spain: First, the extension, not only of the name *ili* or *iri*=city, but also a varied series of Basque place names in large zones of Spain: In Andalusia, the Ebro Valley (for example, *Arriaca,* today's Guadalajara, and the Ávila mountain of Gorría); that is, throughout the expansion grounds of the Iberians of Almería from Río Tinto to Río Garona Without the Celticization, Romanization and Arabization of the Peninsula's toponomy it is certain that the place names of Basque roots would still be numerous. Second, the finding of Basque words and even sentences in Iberian inscriptions: on lead plates and glasses (I refer back to the recent synthesis on these discoveries by Beltrán), and the names of Basque persons in Roman inscriptions recording the inhabitants in Iberian lands, for example, the

Ascoli bronze. Vasconia is indeed not an isolated islet, lost in the ocean of troubled waters in the Peninsula. It is simply the last corner of the Peninsula where the language of a good part of the primitive Spanish people is spoken, naturally quite transformed throughout the centuries.

Nothing distinguished the Basque Country archeologically from the rest of Spain. I use the term «Basque Country» provisionally with all the inexact amplitude with which it is today used by the Basques. It experienced the Franco-Cantabrian culture during the Late Paleolithic and the Aziliensian and Asturian cultures during the Epipaleolithic. The Hispano-Mauritanian, or cave culture, reached there during the Neolithic. The megalithic culture from the East and from Africa, was propagated along the Atlantic and Southern coasts heading towards the Western Pyrenees; the bell beaker culture, recreated in Andalusia with Hispanic contact with the Asian immigrants and extended throughout all Spain from the lower central plain; and the middle Almería culture which travelled North along the East coast and the Ebro River; all converged there. The archeological finds of the Basque Country and Navarre (cf. Barandiarán) compared with those discovered, and those which are still being discovered, leave no room for doubt concerning this reality. Naturally peoples and cultures from Cantabria arrived earlier and more intensely to the Basque Country, and the peoples and cultures from the Center and the Ebro Valley arrived earlier to Navarre. Some of these former (the Franco-Cantabrian, Aziliensian and Asturian cultures) did not go on to Navarre, while some of the latter (the Cave Culture) did not go on to the Basque Country. This differentiation separated at a very early date the authentic Basques, those from Western Aragón and Navarre, from the coastal peoples: Varduli, Caristii and Autrigones. This differentiation was the same as those creating the primitive racial and cultural nuclei of the other primitive tribes of Hispania. The undeniable ethnic and cultural mixture of the inhabitants of the dual homeland of the historical Basque Country is not contradictory. Iberian type dolichocephalic crania have been found in Basque lands according to Campión, and the dark, slender, and small people in the Ebro Valley and the tall, muscular peoples of the Roncal Valley can still be distinguished.

I considered the Varduli, Caristii and the Autrigones, the Basques of today, to be members of the great Cantabrian family when I studied the geographic realm of the kingdom of Asturias during the Roman epoch. They differ from the Vascones in geography, archeology, and history. A text of Caesar's establishes Cantabria and Aquitania as neighbours. Strabo extended the former to include the Basque Country and the Pyrenees and pointed out the similarity in the customs of all the Cantabrian peoples inhabiting the zone delimited by the Basque Country and the Pyrenees. The Romans correctly distinguished the Basques from the Varduli and the Caristii. They included these former with other peoples from the Ebro, in the *Conventus juridicus caesaraugustanus* whose capital was Saragossa,

and the latter with the Cantabrians in the *Conventus cluniensis* whose capital, Clunia, was along the Duero. Gómez Moreno, when studying the Iberians and their language, pointed out exact archeological, onomastic, and toponymic differences among the historic dwellings of the Basque, Varduli, Caristii, Autrigones, and Cantabrians. Menéndez Pidal also distinguished them in his study of some problems of the Hispanic toponymic substratum. Caro Baroja, in his study *Los pueblos del norte de España,* has convincingly argued that Cantabrians, Varduli, Autrigones, and Caristii spoke the same language and that their cultural and vital unity is certain. Not long ago, when writing on the history of the Basque language with relation to Latin, he even recognized that none of the peoples included by Ptolomy in Varduli or Caristii territory clearly has a Basque Aquitani type name. Moreover, the texts collected by Schulten long ago assure the duration of the historical differences between the Basque of yesterday and those of today until the year 808. Therefore, it is not only possible but also necessary to place the durable border separating two dissimilar historical communities, the Euzcadi (Basque Country) of today and the millenary Navarre in the Urbasa, Andía, and Aralar Mountains. The people from Navarre were either pure Iberians, brothers of pure Iberians, or deeply Iberianized, while those from the Basque depression, if they were not Cantabrian, were very closely related to them.

Both groups were later pre-Celticized and then Celticized intensely. First the pre-Celts (the Illyrians, or however they should be called) entered Spain through the Western Basque-Navarre Pyrenees, and later the historical Celts. And if the pre-Celts advanced deep within the Peninsula (they are presently thought to have sought shelter in the Cantabrian-Asturian and Carpetani-Vettonic Mountain Ranges) the Celts extended throughout the entire landscape of Hispania. Taracena and Vázquez de Parga first and Maluquer later have been discovering important remains of pre-Celtic and Celtic hamlets in Navarre. Even before these discoveries Bosch Gimpera tended to recognize the Celticization of the Varduli and Caristii. The supposed Basque islet, therefore, was inundated by waves of the new invaders of the Peninsula Tovar tends to believe that the very tribal name, *Barscunes,* is Celtic. It would mean «the proud ones», or «those from the mountain tops». They might have stayed on their mountain tops, proud and stubborn, and thus have saved their historical personality, naturally with a strain of the Celtic (the Basque language shows this) but without completely becoming Celticized.

After the Iberian contribution came the Celtic; the Basque people received the same blood and cultural transfusions and suffered, or enjoyed the same symbioses or antibioses as other Hispanic peoples. The Basques continued the great navigation of history within the Spanish craft. Thus did they continue during the stage immediately following this multisecular historical crossing when the Romans set foot in Spain.

May Mendizábal forgive me if the Basque-Roman pact against the

Celts seems to me a strange invention of his imagination. This supposed pact lacks all historical support and justifies absolutely nothing. Sempronius Gracchus signed similar agreements with the Basques and the Celtiberians when Rome entered into contact with them for the first time, before initiating their subjection. Later the Romans conquered the Basque Country without a great fight (the Basque Country facing South, of course) and began its Romanization at once. The Basque language again shows the signs of this new flood of invasion. However, the vital impetus and stubbornness of the Basques again were able to preserve the marvels of their Neolithic language in the hardness of their mountains, in the *Saltus Vasconum.*

Many Peninsular Iberian, or Iberianized peoples were also able, like the Basques, to safeguard their ancestral historical personalities, keeping them free from the pre-Celt and Celtic impact. They were able to do this just as much as the Basques, or even more than they since some did not even receive a visit from either of the invaders, while others were able to stand off or absorb the Celtic masses coming sooner or later to their native lands. However, a similar event did not happen with the Romans. The Romanization was more pertinacious, intense, continuous, and long-lasting. As the legendary Cid, Rome won many battles in Spain after its death. After its death as an imperial power, its cultural tradition, taken up by the Church and prolonged within the only civilization with any application in the Peninsula for some centuries, continued to triumph in Hispanic lands.

We are in debt to Caro Baroja for some excellent pages concerning the extension and profundity of the Romanization of the Basque Country. It achieved a much greater area than was supposed and an intensity so strong that, as the author himself shows, the Basques became agents of Romanization althought it appears unlikely. Where? In the Basque depression. A curious phenomenon! At the same time they brought their own temperamental heritage and, along with it, some relics of their remote Iberianism and their recent Romanism.

For reasons which escape us, the Basques demonstrated a strange eruptive dynamism on the occasion of the fall of Roman power in Spain. The *bagaudia,* or peasant revolts began to shake the country in the fourth-century. We are not well acquainted with their originating process. Were they provoked by the clash between the manly pride of the rural masses and the decline of their juridical condition in an agraian structure of a lordly type? I do not know; but in the Basque Country the peasant revolts acquired an extreme sharpness, something well-known to all. I alluded to this when I studied Western pre-feudalism. Were the revolts provoked by the eruption of the Basque dynamism when the vital forces, contained until then, were unleashed? It is not impossible; but I do not like to change conjectures into assertions. Whatever the causes, the exaltation of the historic potential of the Basque Country beginning in the fifth-century

is undeniable, just as its energetic overflow of an expansionary type. These latter I have twice pointed out. About fifteen years ago I dealt with the Basque invasion of Aquitania in my study on the changes undergone by the army beyond the Pyrenees at the dawn of feudalism. And just a little while ago I studied the entrance of the Basques into the Basque depression when I studied the origins of the name of Castile. Neither one nor the other of these expansionary overflows are doubtful. The first one has been recorded in the Frankish chronicles and has been dealt with by non-Spanish historians. Schulten, Gómez Moreno, and Menéndez Pidal, in agreement regarding the essentials, have indicated the entry of the Basques into the Euzcadi of today. I believe to have demonstrated the coincidence of an up to then unsuspected Basque dynamism with this explosive stage. Caro Baroja recognizes the Basquization of the toponomy of the land of the Varduli and Caristii, i. e., the Basque provinces of today, as a historic fact. This Basquization is certain. He furthermore points out that the Basques introduced many words with an *ain* ending, which he believes to be the result of the Romanization of the Basque Country, and other toponyms alluding to urban organization and life styles made known to the Basques by this Romanization but which never existed before in the Basque depression. He believes them to be imported by the kings of Navarre. However, today we know enough of the history of the Basque Country and the kingdom of Pamplona from the eighth to the tenth-century to be able to deduce that those strange local place names could not have come down from the old Vasconia to the new one at that time. This is because the Pamplona sovereigns did not dominate Euzcadi during those centuries and because, in their colonizations of that epoch, they exported geographic names ending in *urri*. This is demonstrated in the Basque toponomy of the Rioja region.

The entry of the Basques into the land of the Varduli and Caristii happened during the anarchical times following the fall of Roman power in Spain. I do not hesitate in making this assertion. Greek and Roman historians and geographers, and Hidatius, the fifth-century Spanish chronicler himself, interposed the Caristii and Varduli between the Cantabrians and the Basques. Venancio Fortunato in the sixth-century and Julian of Toledo in the seventh-century made them neighbors. In the ninth-century Alfonso III puts the Basques on the Ávila plains. The Euzcadi invaders, their Romanization still fresh, brought with them, along with their never forgotten way of life (the solid wheel, of Iberian origin, was introduced by them into the Basque Country of today), the aforementioned local place names, a product of their intensive contact with Rome. When they entered into Euzcadi they pushed a good part of the Varduli and Caristii towards Castile. Some sought refuge in the mountains, such as the inhabitants of Tulonio, a city in the Ávila plain, who fled to the mountains to which they gave their name. Those who remained in their old lands were inundated by Basque culture. Since each Hispanic tribe created its own

Romance dialect when it accepted Latin, the Basque tribes, beginning in the fifth-century, likewise created their own dialects of Basque, also preserved until today. In those places where these Romance dialects have been maintained, as in the North of Spain, the dialectical borders mark out the frontiers of the old primitive tribes.

The Basque Country would not have been completely Romanized and the zone, they Basquecized, at a historically recent date would have preserved in their home territory up to the present, the form of life that would have been imposed on them as a result of their conquest by the Basques of Navarre and Aragón. The abruptness and forbidding nature of the Navarre-Aragón Pyrenees would have made the duration of their primitive temperamental heritage possible. The fall of Rome, by allowing them to live independently in history and inducing them to leave off their receptive attitude, would have interrupted the course of their Romanization. The explosive dynamism which they underwent, or immediately enjoyed, and the expansive successes they obtained, asserted their ancestral personality. Their three centuries-long struggles against the Hispano-Gothic monarchy, right up to the Muslim conquest, completed the double process: a lasting detention of the inconclusive Romanization and a lasting exaltation of their tribal traditions. Rome's influence had reached the Basque Country, situated in a tiny, isolated corner of the Roman world, without riches valued at the time and with difficult communications, with less intensity than to the rest of Spain. The Varduli and Caristii, closed off between the sea and the mountains in a basin that led nowhere, were not able to attract the attention of the Roman colonizers. The presence of an imperial garrison in Velegia-Iruña, still advanced in the fourth-century, according to the *Noticia Dignitatum,* shows the scant Romanization of the country a little before the fall of Rome's power in the Peninsula. For this reason, after its Basquization, which involved a simple affirmation of vital and temperamental tendencies of a neighboring Hispanic tribe, not dissimilar in history but more saturated with Iberianism, the new Vasconia isolated in its small national land, was able to become a sacred reservoir of Basqueness and, therefore, of original Hispanism; while the authentic Vasconia, less closed off, more in perpetual contact with the peoples of the Ebro Valley and one of the eternal communication routes between Hispania and Gaul, was swept along by the whirlwind of Islamic history in Spain.

I have studied this subject with care. The contacts between Muslims and Basques began at the same time as the invasion of Spain. Muza crossed Vasconia following the Ebro upriver during his last campaign in 714. Before 718 the invaders had occupied Pamplona. The primitive land of the Basques underwent the same fate as other Peninsular lands in that sad hour when the Islamites conquered our common Fatherland. Once again, the community of destinies of all the people of Spain was affirmed.

This community of destiny soon brought the Spaniards of the North to rise against their Muslim dominators. The Asturians rose with Pelayo in 718 and won at Covadonga in 722. The Cantabrians probably also rose around this time. The Basques shook off the Islamite yoke after the defeat at Poitiers in 732. All the northerners were harshly combatted by 'Uqba (734-739); the people from the Cantabrian area resisted while the Basque Country gave in. The general rebellion of the Berbers in Africa and Spain (739-740) and the civil wars which ravaged Al-Ándalus for some decades, allowed everyone to save himself from the grave threat. The kingdom of Oviedo was able to assert its liberty and the Basques were able to recuperate theirs. The mountainous and maritime Asturian monarchy took in a long stretch of land that extended from Finisterre to the Pyrenees. The crazy geography of the country and the not forgotten Hispanic secessionism made difficult the union of Galicians and Basques to the united kingdom of the Asturians and Cantabrians. But the Oviedo monarchs were finally able to achieve unity. This unity was assured by King Alfonso II (791-842), whose mother was Basque.

Meanwhile, primitive Vasconia always more tied to the Ebro Valley than to the new Basque Country, always more united with the Cantabrians, began to live its own life. I have been able to renovate the history of the origins of the kingdom of Navarre. At the end of the eighth-century Pamplona found itself submitted to Córdoba and was governed by a renegade of the Hispano-Gothic family, Banu Qasi', called Mutarrif. The people rose against him and the Basques killed him; we do not know whether by their own initiative or someone else's. In order to avenge his death his family members, who ruled Tarazona and Borja, allied themselves with a Basque chieftain from beyond the Pyrenees (from Bigorra, perhaps?), Íñigo Arista. Together they defeated Mutarrif's murderers, took the country over and thus began the history of a new kingdom around Pamplona, not much after 800. The two ties, blood and political, between the two families, Basque and Muladí, allowed the Aristas and the Muzas to alternately defend themselves against Aix la Chapelle and Córdoba. From then on the new kingdom, direct heir of the original ancestral Basque Country, lived quite mixed with the peoples of their own Iberian race.

Classical Basque Country and new Basque Country were again separated for almost three centuries. The Euzcadi of today had not been submitted by the Islamite hordes. The Chronicle of Alfonso III, in opposition to the lands to be repopulated, naturally because of having suffered the ravages of the Muslim invasion, mentions Álava, Vizcaya and Orduña as always having been possessed by their old owners. This of course implies that faraway Guipúzcoa would not have been contested by the Mohammedans either. At the end of the eighth-century Córdoba began to take interest in the Eastern border of the kingdom of Oviedo. Some Cordovan hordes already had appeared in Álava and Castile in 792, 796 and 801. In this latter year a powerful Islamite army was defeated at Las Conchas de Argazón.

The Muzas from the Ebro Valley and the Aristas from Pamplona were also attacked from Córdoba. Those from the Ebro submitted, thus protecting their family members and allies from Pamplona. This state of affairs lasted for almost twenty years. During this time the Basques from Navarre were not bothered by Muslim troops. On the other hand, the Muslim troops unceasingly attacked Castile and Álava. Thus it seems certain that the *euscaros*, the people of Euzcadi and Vasconia, lived apart. If the Euzcadi of today would have depended on Pamplona, such attacks could not have been done without running into the Aristas and their allies the Banu Muza. Indeed, it was a member of this renegade family who, in 839, invaded Álava at the head of the Cordovan army.

The Basquecized land of the fifth-century, the Basque Country of today, still therefore made up the embryo of Spain under the government of the monarch of Oviedo. It is fitting to state that they assisted the common undertaking with loyalty and enthusiasm, lacking all Basque secessionist movements against the Chaste King for the half century he reigned in Asturias. Throughout these five decades the Basque Country heroically resisted all the Saracen undertakings, just as the Cantabrians, Asturians and Galicians, to whose destinies they were willfully united. At times, the Basques defended the entry passes to Asturias alongside other subjects of Alfonso II. In the meantime, the other Basque-speaking peoples lived united with the renegades of the Ebro Valley, to whom the Aristas owed their power, and usually lived at peace with Al-Ándalus. It was only after the break between the Navarrese and the Muladíes, around the middle of the century and due to causes I have studied in my examination of relations between Basque and Arabs, that the sovereigns of Pamplona changed the direction of their international policy and took sides with the kings of Oviedo. However, the last of the Aristas, Fortun, a prisoner in Córdoba for some years and the grandfather of an Andalusian prince (the future emir, Abd Allah, sired the father of 'Abd al-Rahman III by his daughter) was still controlled by the Cordovan Islamites. The coup of 905 (aided by Alfonso of Oviedo and the count of Pallars) was necessary so that a new dynasty, faithfull allies of the sovereigns of Asturias and León against the Muslims, could begin its reign.

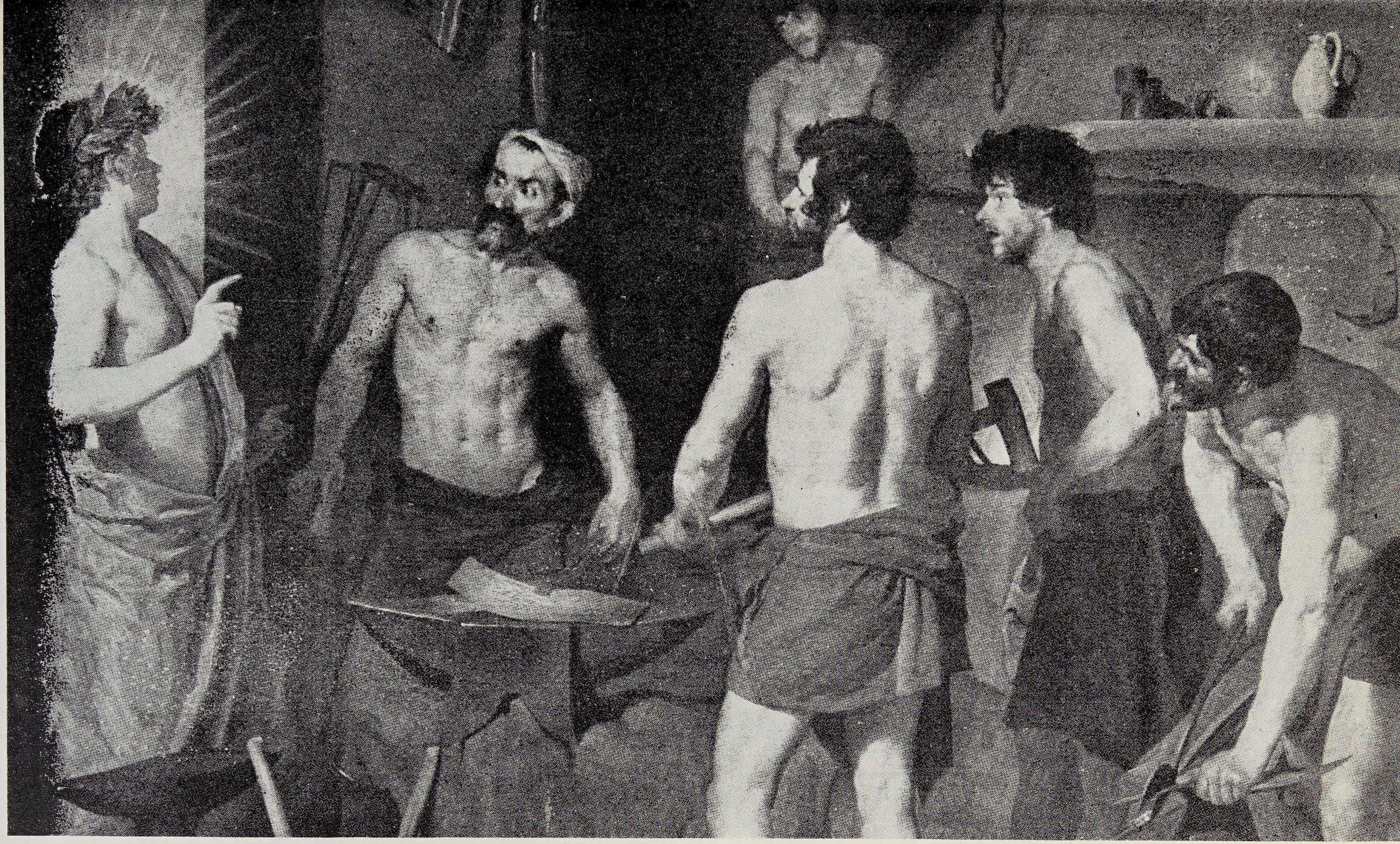
Both Basque-speaking peoples continued separate. The Basques of today were still united to the other Christian peoples, ruled from Oviedo and, soon, from León, the new royal seat. For many decades the people from Álava and the Basques resisted, alongside the Castilians, the attacks from the last whelps of the Banu Muza. The Basques contributed with their men and their spirit to the birth of Castile. They made up an essential part of the county of Castile during the tenth-century. The documentation verifies the importances of the Basque contribution to the colonization of new Castilian lands and bears witness to the authority of Count Fernán González and his successors deep within the Basque Country. Euzcadi, therefore, was part of the historical community singled out for the highest

of destinies and accompanied it in its first steps in history. It was only at the end of the tenth-century that Navarre annexed a part of Álava and only in 1029, after the dynastical crisis of Castile, that Sancho III the Elder incorporated the new Vasconia (today's Euzcadi) and the Castile of old into his kingdom. They thus continued together their declination towards Pamplona. Castile separated from Navarre in 1035 and began to slowly recuperate its old borders. In 1076, the year of the death of Sancho el de Peñalén, the Vizcaya returned to the Castilian fold. Along with primitive Castile it was united again by Alfonso I the Battler (1109), but always formed part of the Crown of Castile since his death (1134). It is true that the Basque Country was ruled by powerful lords, but they were dependent on the kings of Castile, just as the many other great lords of the Castilian-León kingdom throughout the centuries. Álava and Guipúzcoa also became incorporated into Castile at the end of the twelfth-century, Guipúzcoa doing so voluntarily. From that time, the Basque Country, of which only two parts had lived less than two centuries united to Navarre, experienced the history of Castile up to the present. Along with the history of Castile they experienced the history of Spain. It is true that the towns along the Basque coast at times would sign pacts with the maritime powers of the Atlantic, but so did the Castilian coastal cities. Castilians and Basques together formed a «nation» in Bruges and shared the same chapel until they fought over preeminence.

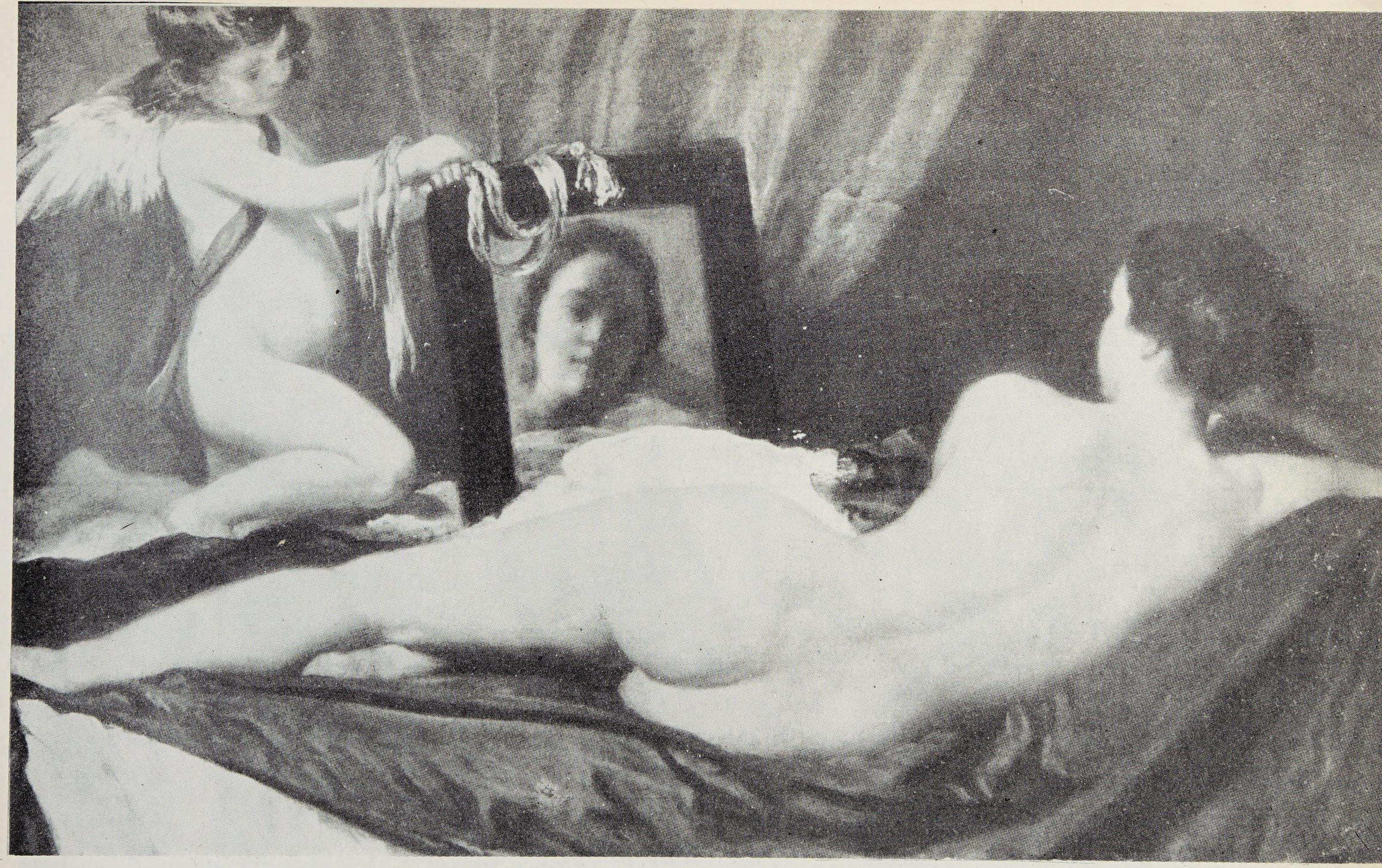
With John I the kings of Castile were even the lords of the Vizcaya. Since that time the Basques of today have lived all the joyful and all the sad times of Spain shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples of Hispania. They have enjoyed all the advantages that being Spanish has brought and have never cast off the duties withstood by the other Spaniards. Already in the fourteenth-century the Castilians protested that the Basques did not pay the same excise taxes and *alcabala* as they.

The Spanish patriotism of the Basques became famous whenever their union with Castile was in danger. They reacted as one man against the agreement between Peter I and the Black Prince according to which the Cruel King ceded the Basque Country to England as a compensation for the aid of the English hordes against his brother, Henry II. During the unsuccessful negotiations between Henry IV and Louis IX concerning the marriage of the Beltraneja and the Duke of Guiena, when the Impotent King of Castile was quick in ceding the Basque coast, the Basques again rose against their separation from the Castilian Crown. This is told by Mosén Diego de Valera. They obliged Henry IV to swear that they would never be separated from Castile. They were later enthusiastic supporters of Ferdinand and Isabel during the beginning of their reign and heroically defended the Spanish frontier against France.

At the beginning of the sixteenth-century they felt so united to Castile that, according to Zurita, in 1506 they requested their incorporation into the cortes of Castile. This they did not achieve because the knightly spirit



163.—*Vulcan's Forge,* by Velázquez. Prado Museum (Madrid). As Ortega has said, this is how Velázquez «returns to the root of the myth and obliges us to retury to reality» changing the figures of the classical Pantheon into men. He was able to realize this change pushed along by his Hispanic temperamental inheritance that had already been humanized and vitalized in the most peculiar literary and artistic creations of the Peninsular peoples. As in «Vulcan's Forge» he did the same in «Los Borrachos», and «Las Hilanderas», today also considered to be mythological «history».



164.—*Venus of the Mirror,* by Velázquez. National Gallery (London). The austere Celtiberian moral, of which Pliny spoke, was asserted by the resistance of Hispanic Christianity to let itself be contaminated by the sexual liberties of the enemy Islamites. For this reason «The Venus of the Mirror» of Velázquez (after 1652) floats like an exotic island in the Ocean of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish painting. For this reason the nude body of a dark haired Spanish girl exhales a roguish perfume and shows a liking for carnal sin.

of the *procuradores* stupidly envisioned attending the cortes as a privilege and did not wish to share it with anyone. Some decades before, they had opposed the entry into the cortes of the representatives of Logroño. Another factor was that the Catholic King did not desire (no king has ever desired so) to fortify the political assemblies of the kingdom with popular elements. Chancellor Ayala wrote: «The Basques are men of their own wills; they want to be quite free and well treated.» From the twelfth to the nineteenth-century not only have they not raised one single secessionist movement, they have been many times moved by an enthusiastic Spanish fervor. It is just as difficult to deny these facts as it is easy to demonstrate them to anyone.

The Basque Country has added some brilliant pages to the history of Spain, just as the other historical communities making up the country. The Basques have done marvels; and they have done so as Spaniards according to the Hispanic temperamental nature. Their great historical figures have not thought, written or worked as Basques. Everything great and universal they have done has been within the cultural and vital orbit of Spain. From Elcano, Francisco de Vitoria (the latter from Burgos, but remotely related to the Basques), Saint Ignatius and Legazpi, to Unamuno, Zuloaga and Baroja; all the famous Basques who can be pointed out have been before and above all else, Spaniards. And as Spaniards they have contributed to the great cultural adventures of Europe. Spain owes them to the Basque Country. However, without Spain none of the above names would appear today in the annals of the West. The very term of Vasconia would be a short lived shadow. Thanks to not having lived a purely peasant and seafaring life, between the mountains and the sea, and to having been very appreciated and valuable parts of Spain and the Spanish people, the Basque Country and the Basques have held, and still hold, a position under the sun of history.

Within Castile first, and later Spain, the Basques (the Biscayans, Guipuzcoanos, and Alavese separately, for clarification) were able to rule themselves for longer than the other historical communities. What a marvelous privilege! The smallness of their geographic space took away any interest from an authoritative intervention by the kings, and her location at one of the points of friction between Spain and France obliged the princes to treat the Basques indulgingly. Only in this way may we explain how they were able to salvage their autonomous life when it had been lost first by the great councils and later by the great lordships in Spanish kingdoms and even the Spanish kingdoms themselves. However, who would dare see in this duration the historical basis of an authentically national character?

The Basques possess their own temperamental texture, just as each of the different Hispanic regional grouping. However, their functional structure does not radically distinguish them from the other human groups of Spain. The dithyrambical or pejorative characteristics attributed to them essentially coincide with those making up the essentials of what is Hispanic. The

parallel between the way of being in life usually described as typical of the Spaniards, and the vital texture of the Basques is suggestive. This parallel uncovers the close relationship which unites them. This coincidence may easily be explained since the Hispanic archetype was forged in Castile and «Castilianism» is, to a large degree, a historical prolongation of the Basques. The differences which separate the Basques from the ways of life of the other human communities of Hispania are greater. From the simple and rigid pivot of Vasconia, the arms of the Spanish fan slowly advance towards the Portuguese Baroque, Andalusian Baroque, and Levantine Baroque. The Basques are the square root of what is Spanish, while whatever is Portuguese, Andalusian, and Levantine is Spanish squared.

The Basques fidelity to their traditional style of life has not been dissimilar to the fidelity of Galicia, Asturias, Castile and Andalusia, for example. The only cause for differentiation between the Basques and the other Spaniards is the duration of the old tongue, may God forever preserve it. In other words, neither race, history, temperamental texture, nor love for the past separates the Basques from their other brothers in Spain. They are only distinguished by the survival of a language that, in the farthest reaches of the Basque mountains, has resisted the advance, especially slow there, of Romanization. The non-interrupted duration of this process is continuously making it retreat little by little towards the Pyrenees. *Euscaro* (Basque) therefore, is not the language of all the Basques; many of them have not understood it for some time. What we call Spanish today is just as legitimately the property of the Basques as of the sons of Castile. Many Basques began to speak it as soon as the primitive Castilians, long before the Castilians from South of the Duero. It is well known that the oldest constitutional laws of the Basques, their *fueros*, were written in Castilian. However, even if all this were not so, the Basque language would never have separated the Basque people from the Spaniard; their language is not just one more in the Peninsula, it is the language spoken in the extremely remote times of the Spanish Neolithic. In spite of its being flooded over by Celtic, Latin, and Castilian, when we listen to it we still hear a echo of the millenary voices of our ancestors of the Stone Age. If this were not true, it would be incredible. It is the same language, or a sister of the language spoken by the Cantabrian-Pyrenean peoples, and several other old peoples of Hispania and it is intimately related with that used by the Iberians of the Levant before their Romanization, or at least saturated with Iberianisms. Garruchaga has accepted this relationship. It is, therefore, the language of a large part of primitive Spaniards and, for this reason, may not be a sound base for making a sound national distinction from the rest of Spain.

Vasconia, or non-Romanized Spain. Indeed; and also Spain's grandmother. As I stated at the beginning of these pages the Basques, by means of Castile, to whose generation they contributed, have projected their

temperament and spirit towards Hispania and all the Hispanic peoples. For this reason Spain may be conceptualized from the Basque Country. This is why Vasconia, or non-Romanized Spain, is the grandmother of present Spain. The grumbling grandmother who is not recognizable in her grandaughter and disowns her. The grandmother who dreams of the past times and who repeats the deeds and saying of days of old. *Jaungoikoa ta Legizarra,* God and *fueros,* is a slogan worthy of medieval man. The obstinate grandmother who would like to live as in the past. The particularist feeling of the Basques is a purely Hispanic trait. The grandmother we all understand and love with filial devotion and whom it is better to let live as she wants in the common Spanish Fatherland. Castile, her daughter, also liked to live freely at times. The grandmother who still keeps memories of our farthest removed past, of a several thousand year old past whose roots are buried in the primogenial land of Spain.

9. From Variety to Unity

During the twelfth-century, two unions, fertile in the long run, were realized in the making of Spain. The marriage of doña Petronila of Aragón to Berenguer IV of Barcelona avoided the uniting of the kingdom of Aragón to that of León and Castile, thus frustrating the possible structuralization of a unitary monarchy in central Spain. However, «*Dios escribe derecho por caminos torcidos*» (God writes straight with crooked lines) as the saying has it. In the end this frustration and the consequent birth of the Crown of Aragón truly had very important historical projections for the future Hispanic unity: Catalonia was forever united to a people from this side of the Pyrenees having a language and life different from hers. Moreover, this bond brought about the birth of a contractual spirit which, after it had later been assured, when the principality conquered Valencia and Barcelona, united her forever to Spain.

Towards the end of the century Alfonso VIII entered the Basque Country with war cries in order to punish the treason of the King of Navarre who, at the critical time of Spanish Christianity before and after the defeat at Alarcos (1195), had allied himself with the Almohads. The Basque Country had formed part of the kingdom of Oviedo during the ninth-century while Pamplona was an ally of the Muslims of the Ebro Valley. In the tenth-century they had made up a part of the County of Castile and did not become a part of Navarre until late. The Castilian king besieged Vitoria when the Guipuzcoanos voluntarily made a pact for their union with Castile. Álava gave up shortly after The lordship of Vizcaya depended on the Castilian Crown since the reign of Alfonso VI (from the death of Sancho el de Peñalén in 1076) and had only been separated for a few years because of the usurpation of Alfonso the Battler of Aragón (1109-1134). Therefore, since 1200 the Euzcadi of today lived

the same history as the people to whose history they had contributed with their blood and spirit during its already remote beginnings, i. e., the history of Castile. When Castile united Euzcadi to its life, it began the great enterprise of restoring Spanish unity.

During the first half of the eighth-century, nevertheless, we still encounter a bit of an echo of ancient Castilian secessionism. The child king, Henry I, had unexpectedly died. The throne of Castile pertained to his sister, doña Berenguela, who had two sons from her marriage to Alfonso IX of León, a union annulled by the Church because of their close relationship. The new queen sent for her first-born, who was with his father, without telling the father the motive for which she sent for him. The people of Castile set don Ferdinand on the throne. The author of the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla* (edited, according to Cirot, by the bishop of Plasencia or of Osma), in his telling of doña Berenguela's finesse, rejoices that, thanks to her assiduity, the Castilians had not been left without their own king.

In none other of the Christian kingdoms of Spain would the people have thought differently at the time. History had asserted the state differentiation among political communities born out of the original local resistance to the Muslims.

However, the idea of Hispanic unity had survived every political breaking-up of the Peninsula. Menéndez Pidal has pointed out the absence of regional ill-will and the persistance of the unitary consciousness of Spain in the *Cantar de Mío Cid.* The minstrel from Medinaceli discovers the liveliness of this feeling when he has some characters make allusions to Spain as a geographic reality, ever present in the minds of his sons. The Count of Barcelona, captured by the Cid, exclaims: «I shall not eat a thing for anything in all of Spain» (v. 1021). Count don García, speaks thus to Alfonso XI at the Toledo Cortes: «If you pleaseth, oh King, the best of all Spain» (v. 3217). The poem of the Cid makes one consider both counts, during important hours of their lives, not in their native lands but rather in the superior unity of *Hispania.* They even go further when they present Spain as the normal scene of notable deeds which happened there. They say, for example: «All of Spain will now speak of this.»

This unitary idea is asserted as the result of the great historiographic effort undertaken in León and Castile during the twelfth-century on the initiative of the kings after the union of the two kingdoms in 1230. Lucas de Tuy, in his *Chronicon Mundi* is won over by the spirit of Saint Isidore, saturated by national Hispanic pride. This national pride guides the writing of his work. The separation of the Spanish peoples takes them to defeat while their union brings them success.

Don Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, a Castilianized man from Navarre (born in Puente La Reina and Archbishop of Toledo for many years) gave even more exact signs of his unitary conception of Spain. He titled his

work *Rerum in Hispania gestarum chronicon* and truly wrote the general history of the Peninsula up to his days.

The so-called *Crónica General* acknowledges its title: *Estoria de Espanna.* All the Hispanic past, from the fabled primitive times until the death of Ferdinand III, marches past in its pages. The history of the kingdom of León and Castile is intermingled with that of the other Spanish Christian states and that of the Peninsular Muslim states. The *Crónica General,* begun by the initiative of Alfonso X and under his direction, and concluded in the court of his son, Sancho IV, reflects, furthermore, a clear idea of the unity of Spain, and does so continuously.

Non-Castilian historiography also recorded the same thinking. According to Lindley, the second greatest general history of Spain the so-called *Crónica de 1344,* was written in Portugal. Juan Fernández de Heredia, Grand Master of Rhodes, wrote *La grant e verdadera estoria de Espanya,* or *Grant Cronica de Espanya* around 1385 in Aragón. Fray García Enguí, Bishop of Bayonne and confessor of Charles III, wrote a *Chronica de los fechos subcedidos en España* in Navarre The Catalonian Ribera de Perpeja wrote the *Cronica de Espanya.* The influence through translations, textual usage, and continuations of *De rebus Hispaniae,* by the Toledano, and the *Estoria de Espanna,* by the Learned King have been studied by Masso Torrents for Catalonia and Sanchez Alonso for outside of Castile.

The historical tradition, rooted in antiquity, asserted this unitary conception of Hispania in the minds of all civilized men of the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula; and this happened to the disadvantage of the already secular political fragmentation. It has already been mentioned that the Catalonians felt the superior Peninsular unity with just as much sharpness as the other Spaniards. The testimonies to the reality of this feeling abound. In the minds and hearts of the two greatest kings of the Catalonian dynasty, James I and Peter III, this feeling was strongly nested. A short while ago I recalled that in 1271, upon leaving the Council of Lyon, after having offered the cooperation of his men and fleet for the undertaking of a crusade, James I exclaimed: «Barons, we can now take our leave for today we have at least assured Spain's honor.» It has also been said that Peter III considered himself to have saved the honor of Spain by heroically and no less novelistically going to Bordeaux to duel with Charles of Anjou, thus keeping his word. At those two moments in their lives James I and Peter III did not think of their own kingdoms; they did not think that by their actions they had honored the peoples they ruled. They thought their deeds had honored the superior historical, vital and effective community of which their states formed a part. For these two Catalonian kings Spain was not only a geographic unity, but also a human, closed, and unitary entity, distinct from the rest of western Christianity.

James I did not intervene in Murcia, subjecting the Moors there who had risen against the Learned King, for the honor of this historical and

vital community, but rather in its interest. «To save Spain», were his words. This vital and historical community had problems which concerned all her sons. For this reason, another great Catalonian king, James II, when he was told that Sancho the Brave had died and the child king Ferdinand IV had ascended the throne of Castile, exclaimed that the weight of all Spain would fall onto his own shoulders. The great Catalonian historian, Muntaner demanded a common policy for the four kings of Spain who were, he wrote, «of one flesh and blood.»

Muntaner was able to extend this unity to all the peoples ruled by those kings because they were truly of one flesh and blood. Spain, the Spain that was honored and saved by James I, was divided into different kingdoms; but did this plurality of states imply the same differentiation of the human communities living within their borders? The answer to this question requires some research which remains to be done and which I cannot undertake here; it demands a book.

At the beginning of this book I spoke of the possibility of establishing a multiple hierarchy among the human groupings with different life styles. We may descend from the differentiation of angel, man, and beast until facing the vital textures of those who live in two neighboring valleys. Within the organic groupings which appear to be the most united and unitary: Galicia, Asturias, León, both Castiles, Euzcadi, Navarre, Aragón, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, Valencia, Murcia, Andalusia, Extremadura, and Portugal, how many essential differences may be singled out among their multiple and dissimilar zones? On the other hand, it appears certain to me that whoever would undertake the task of establishing a parallel of the spirit, sensitivity, emotive capacity, passion-impetus, etc., etc., i. e., of the temperamental texture of the historical communities making up the divided Spain of the Middle Ages, would be surprised by the extremely close spiritual and vital relationship. This task would be difficult, but not impossible, for a Spaniard and easy for a foreigner who is free from the loves and ill-will of the Hispanic regions. If this researcher does not detain himself at the different superstructures and is able to penetrate to the very heart of the collective soul, when he attentively listens to the apparent inharmonious heartbeat, he will be surprised at the unity of chords played by the great Spanish Medieval symphony.

Often, not allways scrupulously, the social, political, cultural, etc. differences characterizing the different Hispano-Christian kingdoms have been pointed out. No one, to my knowledge, has clearly and precisely established the supposed antagonisms and temperamental contrasts distinguishing their peoples. The consideration of some problems with Spain's past has occasionally obliged me to lay out for myself this parallel I suggest to Spanish and non-Spanish scholars alike. I have naturally done this in a superficial way, given the amoeba-like quality of this book. In these cases I have continually been able to verify the analogy, not only of matrix ideas of all these historical groups, but also their most peculiar

reactions, feelings, appetites, impulses, ideals, grudges, passions..., Ideas are always the communal patrimony of the most dissimilar peoples of the same time period.

I have pointed out many of these analogies by the by; the latest case was in the presentation of Catalonia in Spain. The parallel may be carried much further. The complete Hispanism of Ramon Llull has been pointed out. In the chronicles of James I and Muntaner some of the most peculiar characteristics of Spanish writers of all times are found. For both of them: «The attempt to express the object of their observation or their thought ties them up with the expression of the simultaneous surge of their intimitate experience» Muntaner is present with all his being in his work just as are other Castilians of his century: don Juan Manuel and chancellor Ayala. The artists of Catalonia and of Castile at times show a similar baroque and pathetic style and the same taste for the portrait and the exposition of details. Their common explosive ego frequently carries them to the point of signing their own sculpture (San Cugat del Vallés) or to portray themselves at work (San Vicente de Ávila). Let us remember the two manifestations of vassal-type religiosity of the Catalonian gambler and of the Andalusians besieged by the Moors; the equivalence of the honor of Celestina with that of the Catalonian henchman; the pouring forth of intellectual powers into not too dissimilar philosophical, juridical and moral speculations by Eximenis, the Catalonian, Sánchez de Arévalo, the Castilian, and Alvaro Pelayo, the Portuguese; the same inclination towards the adventures of foreign commerce, with preference over quiet industrial tasks, of the two great economic capitals of Castile and Catalonia: Burgos and Barcelona; the analogous height achieved by the antisemitism of all Spanish medieval peoples, with the possible exception of Galicia, due to the insignificance of her Jewish population; the coincidence of the anarchical shout of the people of Salamanca in the twelfth-century: «We are all chiefs of our own heads», with the anarchical statements of Servetus of Aragón: «As all motives for having a government disappear, all power and authority will be abolished.» This parallel could be greatly amplified.

Some of the Spaniards of those days at times felt that some characteristics were common to all. For example, the Arcipreste de Hita wrote:

Más orgullo é más bryo tienes que toda España [304 b]
Con buen serviçio vençen cavalleros d'España [621 c] (70)

True; beneath the multiple lesser differences many temperamental features draw the Christian peoples of medieval Spain together. All felt tortured by arrogance, passion, audacity, and the spirit of adventure. All

(70) You have more pride and mettle than all Spain
The knights of Spain conquer out of good service.

demonstrated a crude hardness, an analogous exaltation of a harsh and anarchical ego, and the same religious sensitivity. All placed their rights before material goods and were able to confront death with courage. All projected their vitality to enterprises of the will more than to spiritual tasks. All liked ethics more than philosophy and triumphed in those activities and disciplines which regulated life with others more than purely scientific speculations and the study of man and nature. All strongly felt the pride and dignity of the complete human person and the knightly sense of honor was general, even among the masses.

For this reason I venture to think that not only have «geese always had beaks» as the Catalonian proverb has it, but all the Hispanic medieval kingdoms had them. It has been history which has been accentuating and diminishing the differences or contrasts among the various historical groupings into which Hispania was divided during the medieval centuries. For in history the temperamental heritage puts the turbine of spiritual and material life into action; and this turbine in turn generates energies whose coming together and accumulation creates the vital current of the national temperament and organic texture of the community.

Judging from the close relationship of these groupings, it is important not to forget the tremendous coming together of human masses which came about in the Peninsula throughout these centuries. First, from south to north, with the double emigration of a crowd of Hispanic and Gothic refugees during the first decades of Muslim domination; and the emigration of numerous Mozarabs and Jews when life in Muslim lands became difficult for them. The next coming together was from north to south during the long days of the Reconquest and repopulation of the country for many people during the eighth-century who took refuge in its mountains; and from the ninth-century it was a very fruitful provider of repopulators for the new lands of Spain: the Duero plain, the cities of the Tagus and Guadiana valleys, and Andalusia. The Basque Country was no less fertile a mother of colonizers than was Galicia. In my land of Ávila Moraneses, Castilians, Galicians, and Navarrese intermingled with the Hispano-Roman and Goths. It was so in all the lands. If they were united by blood, they were later united by the equality of life in the successive stages of the struggle against the Moors; after the battle the sowing, after the sowing the battle.

The intimate temperamental relationship of those human communities ruled by different political organizations was nevertheless a weak glue for the making of Spain. The millenary secessionist spirit of all Spaniards, which their common arrogance exasperated, the growing collective pride and the punctillious dynastical interests, exalted by the princes' being Spaniards, even made the ideas of a unitary articulation of the diverse peoples of Spain unforeseeable for some time. A federal system in the so-called Crown of Aragón had sprung up, but nothing could have led to the prediction that this organization could extend to other Spanish monar-

chies. Castile, the richest and most powerful of them all, had been made from the basis of a political fusion of two kingdoms, Castile and León, into one bundle in 1230. Moreover, Castile asserted itself by means of conquering and assimilating Islamic lands to the south. Around the middle of the thirteenth-century the Peninsular supremacy of the kingdom of León and Castile was evident. However, the great Castilian-León magnates and kings squandered this superiority by their clumsiness and ambitions, while the count-kings of the Lordship of Aragón created their Mediterranean empire and skillfully and unscrupulously took advantage of the civil strife of the hegemonic power in order to weaken it, by intervening in these struggles.

Spain has a long list of complaints against Sancho IV, the Brave or, as he may also be called, the Furious. His impatient ambition brought him to rebel against his father, Alfonso X, and upset the kingdom. He was successful, but not firm enough of will so as to be prudent, nor intelligent enough to be astute. He changed from weakness to fury. He gave himself over to a favorite, to the irritation of many, and killed him later thus making his powerful relatives his enemies. At one moment he would be arrogant and even cruel (he ordered the deaths of four hundred inhabitants of Talavera), and the next he would give way to an urgent request. He miscalculated the possibilities of victory of the kings of France and Aragón, and was even farther off on his calculations as to the damages the former, practically without a border with Castile, and the latter, his neighbor, could cause to his kingdom. Moreover, forgetting his obligation of solidarity to his sister nation, he allied with the non-peninsular monarchy at a very grave moment for the Crown of Aragón, and created deep feelings of resentment against him by the Count-Kings. Later, when James II, pretending to forget the grievance, negotiated with him, he was deceived and delivered to him those members of the Anjou family he held prisoner and who were an important triumph in the political game of the Peninsula.

Spain also holds James II of Aragón to account. After having deceived Sancho IV, and shortly after his death, he put the ignoble wish for avenging past grievances before his duty to Hispanic solidarity. By taking advantage of the difficult situation of the child king, Ferdinand IV, and his mother, the prudent doña María de Molina, he stoked civil strife which tore Castile apart. He recognized the pretender to the throne, don Alfonso de la Cerda; he helped him and the rebel magnates of Castile and invaded the kingdom of Murcia on his own initiative. His debt to Spain is doubly grave because he had a highminded and clear idea of the spiritual, vital, and historical community it was. Moreover, besides making Castile burn in a bloody uprising and placing the border with the Moors in danger, he obtained only the northern part of the kingdom of Murcia from so much ill-doing. Amidst the strife incited by him it was difficult to come to the defense

of the Straits under the Castilian government which, drowned in the lagoon of crisis, impotently debated the question from afar, in Old Castile.

The responsibility for unfortunate deeds in Spain is even greater on the part of the long series of princes, richmen, or lords of Castile and León who, out of pure ambition for power and wealth, were unloyal and traitors not only to their king but also to Castile and therefore to the entire historical community of Spain. Very few of these men did not, in all justice, fall into this category. When the kingdom was sunk in civil war during the reign of Ferdinand IV and the minority of Alfonso XI, not only did they interrupt the great national undertaking that was the Reconquest (for example, the rebellion of don Juan Manuel made a failure out of the Castilian-Aragón campaign against Algeciras and Almería), but at the same time they destroyed the supremacy of Castile in the Peninsula and made the unification of Spain difficult.

The sharp political sensitivity of the Castilian people, with which I have already dealt, and the presence of doña María de Molina saved the unity of the kingdom. During the last days of his reign, James II changed his policy towards Castile. Castile was governed for some decades by an energetic and active king, Alfonso XI. Peter I asserted Castilian supremacy in the Peninsula during the first years of his reign by his anti-Hispanic, but victorious war against Peter IV of Aragón. However, his madness fired the forever latent nobiliary rebellion. The Aragón monarch keenly took advantage of the situation to free himself from the claws of the Mad King and Castile again fell into civil strife which did not even end with Montiel's fratricide.

This long litany of events, and the failure of John I of Castile in Portugal, maintained the balance of power among the three great Christian kingdoms in Hispania. However, by prolonging their separation and asserting the enmity among them in wars, which today seem fratricidal but then were foreign, the unity of Spain was made more and more difficult. No Spaniard may remember these wars with glee unless he is blind to the collective interests of all Hispanic peoples; we might say he would spit on himself if he did so.

Immense damage was done to the future union of Spanish kingdoms by passing the time in hostile remoteness, within dissimilar constitutional and economic frameworks, projecting their similar vitality towards distinct, and at times opposing, political and human interests. Castile was a faithful ally of France, while the Lordship of Aragón was a permanent enemy. Portugal was united to England, at war against the French for one hundred years, and also allied with Castile. The differences of their vital texture became accentuated and the proud conception of their dissimilarity compared to the idea of a superior Spanish unity, which now seemed withered away forever, was asserted because the temperamental relationship that united them all since time immemorial was weakened.

But a miracle occurred. The Catalonian dynasty was extinguished. The

firm federal solidarity among the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragón, after centuries of life together, the interest of the Barcelona bourgeoisie for not losing their economic contacts with Aragón lands, and the love of liberty which encouraged all (Vicens Vives pointed out that elected kings probably had more respect for the law since they owed their enthronement to a pact, not to inheritance), led to the Caspe Compromise. This was a compromise in the old and modern sense of the word. A Castilian prince was elected king and a Castilian dynasty ruled the Aragón Lordship from then on.

A new weaving of the tapestry of Spain begins with Caspe. The impulses that had separated and differentiated the political communities born of the original synchronous and diversified resistance to the Moors for hundreds and hundreds of years came from above. From then on the impulses which were favorable to contact, intermingling, ties, and union of these historical groupings would come from above. The Aragón Trastamaras did not betray their new kingdom. They served it with loyalty and fervor continuing their traditional Mediterranean policy. The Castilian Alfonso V of Aragón conquered Naples and the Castilian doña María, the «good queen», aptly ruled the Aragón confederation. However, the count-kings could not forget their native land and led their political lives astride the border between the two States. The people of Aragón and the Castilians were equals, both in their hearts and in their own interests.

The Aragón princes rebelled in Castile; but not as their Catalonian grandfathers, Alfonso III, James II, and Peter IV had done from without, attuned to the political interests of their lordship, i. e., the Confederation. They rose in revolution from within, as Castilian magnates, just as the princes, the richmen and the lords of the country had risen for centuries. These revolutions, nevertheless, provoked an intense and continuous current of osmosis and endosmosis of the Crown of Aragón toward that of Castile and vice versa. They were not any more worthy of sympathy than other revolutions since the Hispanic kings of the Middle Ages, alternating clumsiness, weakness, and cruelty, were unconscious and egotistical tools of fate in the eternal march of history, which at the time was towards the creation of the modern state, surpassing the so-called feudal structure. This current was one of men, ideas, literary forms, etc. and, at the same time, a crossroads of languages. Castilian works were translated into Catalonian while some Catalonians wrote indistinctly in both languages although the opposite case also occurred; yet these were the exceptions, e. g., the poet Pedro Navarro.

This double current was fertile and even decisive in the making of Spain. After the rule of the Trastamaras in Castile, Aragón and Navarre, for half a century, a climate which was favorable for the comprehension and solidification of the superior Spanish unity was created by the intermixing of dynastical interests, political contacts, courtly and nobiliary meetings, and uninterrupted human coming together. Around 1463 a gentleman from Aragón, a court attendant and poet in the service of

Catalina de Foix, daughter of John II and Regent of Navarre, collected a long series of poems in Castilian in the so-called *Cancionero de Herberay.* These poems were by authors of the old and new generations; all were born in the various regions of Spain, from Galicia to Catalonia. Hugo de Urríes, the probable author, included compositions of the old masters such as Macías, Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Santillana, and Juan de Mena; of Castilian *conversos* such as Bachelor Alfonso de la Torre, teacher of the Prince of Viana, the court jester Juan de Valladolid, and the poet-become-monk Juan de Maçuela; of Aragón *conversos* as Pedro de Santa Fe; of great lords of Castile such as Alfonso Enríquez, Rodrigo Manrique, Lope de Estúñiga, Juan de Pimentel, García de Padilla, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Gonzalo de Ávila; of Aragón poets such as Pedro de Vacas and Juan de Vegas; Suero de Riera from Valencia, Carlos de Arellano from Navarre, Pere Torella, Pedro Navarro, and Gregorio, all from Catalonia. Aubrun, who has just studied the *Cancionero de Herberay* considers the young generation of poets appearing in it as «Spanish». He writes: «*Nous disons 'espagnole' car elle est à la confluence unique de deux inspirations diverses, aragonaise et castillane, elles-mêmes issues de sources napolitaine, provençale et galaico-portugaise... Cette génération se caractérise d'abord par l'unité de son inspiration, signe avant coureur de l'unité spirituelle et corporelle de l'Espagne*». Aubrun himself singles out the year 1463, the date when the *Cancionero* appeared, as that of the spiritual unity of Spain.

During the aforementioned and explained slump experienced by the superior affective unity, going beyond the boundaries of the individual kingdoms, in the fourteenth-century, the voice of Spain at times came to be identified with that of Castile, thus losing its unitary historical sense. Some of the more adulatory Castilian poets used the term in this sense: The author of the Poem of Alfonso XI frequently called him king of Spain; the same title was given to Henry III, by Pedro Ferruz, Villasendino, and Baena. This latter note was recorded by Rosa Lida. Outside of the Peninsula some authors did much the same, such as Mateo Villani (d. 1363) who was, perhaps, more affected by the echo of superior Castilian wealth and power than by the hostile reaction of other Peninsular folk to this situation. Then the same thing happened to Castile as to León and its imperial idea which was increasingly asserted textually as its political potential was daily diminishing. Castile began to be identified with Spain when its authentic political power had begun to decline compared to the power of its sister states.

With the changes of the fifteenth-century the term «Spain» again took on its old medieval meaning. The return to Antiquity, during the pre-Renaissance period, at times inspired some Castilian authors to use the plural for «Las Españas», which had been forgotten for centuries. However, contrary to what Rosa Lida believes, the term reappeared without any political meaning, rather as an echo of the renovated taste for reading

classical authors. The same resurrection that brought it to literary life in the fifteenth-century, also restored at the same time the unitarian signification of the term «Spain», giving it a new sentimental and human content. The Marquis of Santillana himself, who had used the Latinizing plural «Las Españas», who had never confused Spain with Castile, and who always gave the former term the geographic limits of old Hispania, wrote a doleful *Lamentación de Spaña,* included by Hugo de Urríes (?) in his *Cancionero*, and used the following emotive words as equivalents: «Oh, my Fatherland! Spain!»

The other Castilian writers of the Quattrocento did not go so far. Juan de Mena dedicated his *Laberinto* «To the very powerful John the Second... to the great king of Spain, to the new Caesar». Furthermore, he extended his adulation to his wife calling her «the renowned queen of Spain». However, I am not sure whether this adulation implied a willful indentification of Spain and Castile, for he also wrote: not only of Spain but everywhere was he king, acting on his own.

Mena and other poets, no less given to exaggeration, if they did not state with Santillana «Oh, my Fatherland, Spain!», were indeed aware of the spiritual and human unity of Spain. For example, Mena called John II the «light of Spain», and an anonymous *Dezir de la Fortuna* included in the *Cancionero* of Hugo de Urríes (?), don Álvaro de Luna is called «the greatest man of Spain». The study of old Spanish history, especially of Gothic Hispania, removed from the body of the Roman Empire and making up one single state unity, filled the educated men of the times with nostalgia; such were don Alonso de Cartagena, and Mosén Diego de Valera among others.

I cannot follow the track of how Spain was considered in Portugal and Catalonia just before the uniting of Aragón and Castile in the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs. Such an investigation would allow us to see whether only Castilian minds conceived of the idea of a complete Spain, as Ortega y Gasset has stated. I do not know. However, I do suspect that Maravall, even though I have not been able to read his forthcoming book, has found proof that outside the kingdom of Castile, Spain was felt to be united as well. At least this is what the fifteenth-century Catalonian historians felt.

The person who did most for the union of the Crowns of Aragón and Castile was a man born in Castile but who spent almost his entire life in other lands. I am speaking of John II of Aragón. Vicens Vives, in his excellent book about this monarch, has pointed out the pressing circumstances, perseverance, sacrifice, and crafty finesse concerning his conception, planning, and negotiation for the marriage of his son, Ferdinand, to the Castilian princess. He did not hesitate to insist, compromise, and reject when it was necessary, nor to adulate some and buy others when called for. All this he did in the midst of a struggle against the Catalonian rebels and Louis XI himself. Jiménez Soler had already note it, and today

there is no room for doubting that John II was the great author of Spanish unity.

Spanish unity? Indeed. It has been denied that the marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand made Spain and both have been accused of not having conceived of the idea of forming one single nation. These accusations, made by some from Aragón and Catalonia, are just as unjust as are the praises of many other Spaniards of Spain's birth due to the Catholic Kings. If men were not the most absurd and contradictory beings of all the universe, and if our capacity for surprise and amazement were not already played out, very few other critical attitudes would cause us greater wonder. This is because those who go beyond feudalism, according to the present conception, and wanted that the so-called Hispanic nationalities be united by a weak, tenuous thread, are irritated that Ferdinand and Isabel left intact the double state frameworks of the kingdoms their marriage had united. And those who wish Spain to be unitary and centralist are jubilant at the work of the Catholic Monarchs, who actually realized a pure stammering personal union of two monarchies. Both opinions are wrong. Another equivocal theory is that presented by those who still bemoan the supposed or real plunder of doña Juana la Beltraneja and dedicate more pages to the historical process of said plunder than to the work of Spain under the Catholic Monarchs. It is as if we humans were able to arrive at the Atomic Age from living in caves without history having seen millions and millions of unjust ruptures of the most different juridical norms. In order to have lived according to the most pristine, pure, immaculate, and virginal legality we would have had to continue living according to the original articulation of the tribe, or perhaps, in an even more remote and simple structure. The Galicians are also wrong to reject the Catholic Monarchs who vigorously fought the bandit magnates. These bandits were fierce chieftains who at the time tyrannized Galicians of all ages, oppressing them and continuing to oppress them violently within the confines of their native region.

The Catholic Kings took the first step towards a joint structuralization of Spain as a vital and historical unity. This first step was not a very big one since they could not go much further. Nevertheless, it was the decisive one; the one that allowed Spain to cross the Rubicon of her division.

I have just written that they could not have gone any further and so it is. It is usually forgotten that Isabel and Ferdinand confronted a nonexistent and multiple Spain, disintegrated into various kingdoms which were hostile, jealous, and on-guard. These kingdoms had been separated by many centuries of independent life, with different socio-political organizations, opposed international alliances, distinct ideals, and inharmonious economies.

At the time of the coming to power of the Catholic Kings the regional communities of Spain were less different from each other than the most unitary and centralist country of Europe, France. There were

fewer ethnic and cultural differences which separated them than those separating Marseilles from Brittany, Burgundy from Aquitaine, or Provence from Normandy. Before our era, because Spain was the world's melting pot, and at times the melting pot of the Reconquest due to the forced repopulation of the lands won from Islam, there were more intense and prolonged migrations and human contacts than in any other Western land. I have often pointed out the importance of this dual process. With the exception of some northern peoples of the Cantabrian and Pyrenean zones, none of the popular Hispanic groups had dwelt for more than but a few centuries on the historical grounds they occupied at the time of the rise of the Catholic Kings. The Andalusians and Valencians had been in their lands for a little over two centuries earlier. Moreover, as I earlier stated, in the northern lands just as in the newly colonized lands, the populators were racially quite heterogeneous. It is not difficult to calculate the results of this colossal human movement and heterogeneity with reference to the proximity of blood and spirit of all involved. A singular communal task bound them tightly. They had been realizing this task for centuries at times with uneven intensity, but without exception. The task was the fight against the Moors and the repopulation of the lands won from the enemy. Moreover, the projections of these common tasks onto their way of being in life united them.

However close this bond may have been, the dead weight with which the distinct history of the various Hispanic kingdoms ballasted the attempt to unify Spain was enormous. In spite of the great cultural, ethnic, and temperamental differences, plus those of historical mission, vital texture, etc., that had distinguished the various peoples and regions of Medieval France, there had always been a *rex francorum* having a unifying and catalyzing role in the feudal articulation of the nation. The king could make France, by changing his nominal power over some of the zones ruled by great vassals, into an effective power. It was a difficult task that consisted in adding provinces that had so far enjoyed more or less vassal autonomy to the never theoretically spent central power. The juridical equality of the Hispanic reigns and the unconnected life of the groups dwelling within their borders, made the unification of Spain extremely arduous. If the educated minorities comprehended the superior Spanish solidarity (let us remember the words of Santillana) the great majority of each of the peoples strongly felt the tradition of alienism that had separated them for centuries.

Not even the Castilians freed themselves from this tradition. At the beginnings of the reign they took care to safeguard, perhaps with excessive zeal, the sovereign rights of the owner-queen with the necessary limitation of the consort-king. This logically implied the assertion of a separate political life for both monarchies throughout the reign of the two monarchs. The 1480 decree of the Catholic Kings in the Cortes of Toledo, authorizing meat, leather and other goods to be exported from Aragón which had been forbidden of old, was not well received. At the 1512 Burgos Cortes don

Ferdinand was asked to revoke the authorization for such exports in order to avoid having them grow scarce. The king replied: «At the Cortes of Toledo this law was passed keeping in mind the union and fraternity of those kingdoms with Aragón, and that it could not be revoked without causing some scandal.»

The Catholic Kings were not able to confront the extremely strong current of opinion of which they themselves were naturally prisoners. They realized that it was just as impossible to articulate the kingdoms into one state unity, even in the slighest federal form, as it was absolutely necessary to bring their subjects together and create common interests and ideals in them.

It is well-known that the arbitrary sentence of Cardinal Mendoza and Archbishop Carrillo de Albornoz of 4 January 1475, and the power given to king Ferdinand by queen Isabel, dated 28 April 1475, established the diarchy as the form of government, and that from then on such was the manner of ruling of the two united Crowns. However, they did not create common state institutions. The natives of each state preserved their own, distinct citizenship and were governed by their own particular laws. None of them could hold a public office outside their own country. Custom barriers continued to separate them. The territorial gains of the Catholic Monarchs were not a common political patrimony; some were united to Castile, such as the Canary Islands, Granada, and the Indies, while others were united to Aragón, such as Naples, and the fortresses of Africa. Not even Navarre was a separate governmental entity when it was conquered, as it was at once tied to the Crown of Castile. Although they were together under the same lordly rule, the kingdoms inherited or won by Ferdinand and Isabel did not juridically make up an authentic state unity.

The mere personal union of the two monarchies was a leaf likely to be blown off by the slightest wind. The Catholic Kings trusted in the future. Furthermore, the tenuity of the tie established between the two kingdoms favored the very Peninsular unity to which they aspired. Their matrimonial policy with Portugal could lead to the coming together of the three Hispanic kingdoms, and the respect for the personalities of those already united could ease the union. For a few months a child, the Prince, don Miguel, was heir to the three Crowns of Portugal, Castile and Aragón.

However, Ferdinand and Isabel did not leave the consolidation of their labor to the workings of chance. In law III of the Ordinance of the 1480 Toledo Cortes they stated: «Therefore, by the Grace of God, our kingdoms of Castile, León, and Aragón are united; and we hope that, by their piety, they will be united from now on... Thus, it is necessary that all the natives of them (the kingdoms) deal and communicate with each other in their dealings and doings.» In this way did they begin the task of fastening their peoples together. But, how could they manage an effective solidarity?

The freedom of traffic between Aragón and Castile could only bring this about with time. A renovation of the cultural life of the country,

165.—*Christ in the House of Martha,* by Velázquez. National Gallery (London). Since vitality and devotion were united in Spaniards, idealism and realism, the chimeric hallucination and taste for things, an exalted faith in man at the time of awaiting a miracle is shown in many Spanish religious paintings. However, this takes place in a home –like, daily– life atmosphere. An example could be Velázquez' «Christ in Martha's home», and «The Angles' Kitchen», by Murillo.

166.—*Las Meninas*, by Velázquez. Prado Museum (Madrid). The poison of minor nobility aroused Velázquez' ambition to ascend to the noble ranks. He was proud of having achieved this. This pride took him to make a self-portrait of himself in the midst of the court. His ingeniousness allowed him to include even the king and queen in the canvas, reflected in the mirror, without committing the irreverence of painting himself at their side. This is the simple human foible that explains «Las Meninas», without the necessity of relating them to imaginary psychic translations from Hispano-Muslim culture.

initiated by them, could not accelerate it either, although by showing interest in the spiritual tasks of the intellectual minorities of their two monarchies they did contribute to the coming together of their subjects.

For this reason the Catholic Kings sought other stimulants for the fusing of their peoples which would be faster. They found the answer in an increase in the prestige of royalty throughout the entire country. This was done by a policy of restoring public peace and communal justice, of submitting the arrogant magnates to the law, of bettering the treasury, and of the collective standard of living. They also were able to intelligently exploit the common temperamental features of their subjects, i. e., the warrior dynamism that excited all and the religious exaltation that tortured everyone.

As the personal credit of the monarchy grew throughout the country, the measures of good government bound all the kingdoms thanks to the general sympathy towards the new state of affairs their union had achieved. The satisfaction of the temperamental inclinations of all, contributed to secure in them collective feelings and ideals. For this reason, at the same time they undertook the domestic pacification and betterment of the country and two intertwining and complementary policies: the conquest of the kingdom of Granada and the drastic persecution of the «heretical depravity» of the Judaizing *conversos*. Both policies were popular in all the Peninsula. Castilian thinkers and poets had been clamouring for the conclusion of the Reconquest for an entire century. The subjects of the Crown of Aragón were not indifferent to the adventure. Moreover, the fight against the Moors made a fine palisade for Castilians and Aragonese to mix together in a common undertaking. The anti-Semitism of the masses, a mixture of religious ill-will against the deicides and hate of the Hebrews, their secular exploiters, triumphed throughout the Peninsula. Around the same time the monarchs had to confront the decidedly anti-Jewish attitude of the clergy and people of Saragossa and Zamora. Isabel and Ferdinand abandoned the traditional tolerance of both royalties, of Aragón and of Castile, and the traditional protection they both afforded to their Jewish subjects, both those who had converted to Christianity and those who had remained faithful to their religion. They set up the Inquisition to punish the heretical dissimulation of the former and finally decreed the expulsion of the latter, thus achieving a common tie with the common feelings of the intolerant plebe in their dual monarchy. They continued to add coal to the fire of their subject's collective enthusiasms through a policy of Mediterranean expansion and prestige in all of Europe. In this way they followed the path established by the Catalonian-Aragón tradition and, at the same time, opened new escape valves for Hispanic activism.

It is true that the measures chosen by the Catholic Kings for bringing the people of Castile and Aragón together were extremely dangerous for Spain's future. They diminished Spaniards' political sensitivity, deformed their religious sensitivity, and exalted their imperial impetus. However, they had no other means at hand to create collective ideals, feelings,

emulations, and interests among their dissimilar subjects. Alienism was very old and quite deeply rooted. Their union was very recent and precarious. Neither the former nor the latter offered very solid bases to venture upon other ways than those that were chosen by them.

10. The Making of Spain is Interrupted

Some Catalonian historians, blinded by a natural but too excessive love for Catalonia, still bemoan the union of Aragón with Castile by the Catholic Monarchs. They weave loving, historical fantasies concerning a frustrated history of the Peninsula divided into three separate kingdoms: Portugal, Castile and the Aragón Federation. Every man can be permitted to have his dreams. «We are made of the stuff of dreams», as Shakespeare put it. As historians we may also dream. However, those of us who have dedicated our lives to the study of our Hispanic fatherland have multiple reasons for congratulating ourselves that this dream of the Catalonian historians, has never come about. With the Peninsula divided into three kingdoms, we would not have been able to perform the historical mission, the magnificent and highly noble mission, that Providence or Chance designated to us in the modern world. Of these three kingdoms the Crown of Aragón would have had the roughest life. Castile and Portugal would have been able to realize their same authentic feat of heroism beyond the seas. It is doubtful that the Aragón Lordship would have been able to maintain her position in the Mediterranean. It may not even have been able to safeguard its own independence.

These dreamy Spanish historians from Catalonia forget that Eastern Spain (we shall thus call this *non nata* nationality) would have had to fight alone and without backing against two very strong powers, quite superior to it in population, wealth, financial and fiscal resources, military power, etc. These two powers aspired to dominate Southern Italy and the Mediterranean Sea, vital zones for the free life of the Crown of Aragón. They forget that Aragón would have had to confront the joint hostility of France and Turkey. This France was much more powerful after its unification than the France Peter III fought against in the thirteenth-century, and much more arrogant, firm, decided, and ambitious than the France that contended with John II in the fifteenth-century. On the other hand, Turkey was at the zenith of its strength. It had conquered the Balkans and the Danube Valley and had laid siege to Vienna. This was the Turkey whose squadrons would soon threaten the Western Mediterranean. These were the France and Turkey that were only contained by the tremendous effort of the Catholic Kings, Charles V, and Philip II. How could Aragón alone have withstood French and Turkish power with Castile as a secular ally of France and, therefore, neutral in the struggle, witholding Castilian wealth and human resources, quite superior to those of Aragón, Catalonia,

and Valencia together? (see Carande's great work *Los banqueros de Carlos V).* It goes without saying that neither would they have had use of America's gold and silver. It is not venturesome to suggest that Aragón would have fallen where resisted with great strength, and ruined, spent, miserable, she would have had to beg for union with Castile. The responsibility for Spain's having arrived at Utrecht rests heavily with Catalonia; without the rebellion of 1640 and without its having fought alongside the Archduke, it is improbable that we would have fallen so low at the time. Catalonia would have begged for this union with Castile after having lost the Mediterranean empire it gloriously created beginning in 1282, and naturally, its own liberty, well before Utrecht. With the Hispanic kingdoms thus untimely united, we would not have exercised the political and cultural hegemony in Europe that saved great collective spiritual values, today unquestionable, and we would merely have been a prolongation, like an epilogue, of the Europe North of the Pyrenees.

Disgraceful historical resentments, born out of pride and emulation (not envy, for I do not believe in Hispanic envy) have confused these historians. Envy is usually meant to be a less base sort of feeling; the impetus to surpass the feats of others. The weak or the impotent have envy, and this has not usually been the case among us. The strong and bold have had the feeling of emulation. Only such resentments, born out of Hispanic pride and Hispanic emulation (their temperamental Hispanism is shown by this pride and emulation) has been able to provoke in some Spaniards coming from diverse Hispanic regions having magnificent histories, which of themselves are enough to make their names last in the annals of the world, an unjustified pain for the union of central Spain and western Spain by the Catholic Kings. This union made us all p articipants of the magnificent undertakings of modern history of our common fatherland.

The historical process of the making of the great modern nation-states was too strong for Spain to have remained on the margin of this unifying current, before or after. In spite of multisecular divisions, asserted in the sixteenth-century in its unfortunate history, Italy came to be united; so did Germany, in spite of its hyper-feudalization during the Late Middle Ages and its intended division at Westphalia. The modern history of these two peoples is not an archetype worthy of being dreamed of by any Spaniard. This is because in 1640 the union of a complete Spain, on the Peninsular level, was broken and all the Hispanic peoples, from Lisbon to Barcelona, have dragged along a sad history until the present day. Moreover, from then on we have not truly been masters of our own destinies. It is necessary to say this continually and without blushing. When Catalonia attempted to break its old tie with Spain, with the Spain its great kings had earlier foreseen, and when Portugal was able to form an independent state, the superior historical independence of all Hispanic peoples was truly removed. Beginning with those cruel years all the Peninsular peoples have lived in a dependent country.

For the satisfaction of both nations, and of the other historical communities of Hispania who aspire to repeat their clumsy conduct today, under threat of accentuating the damage they provoked, it shoul be said that their lack of historical vision is not entirely at fault. Providence or chance (I have already chosen many times) has assigned us a solitary mission in history; one which we had to undertake for our very existence as a people. The death of Prince don Juan, for he loved much, and that of Prince don Miguel, because of a childhood disease that is presently curable, brought the House of Austria to Spain. Among all the evils this event produced in Spain the first was the interruption of the most valuable of its urgent undertakings: the unitary articulation of a national Spain.

The acceptance by a non-Spanish prince of the inheritance of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabel of Castile might have facilitated the fusion of the Spanish kingdoms. He would not have felt any preference for any one of the kingdoms. He would have been at the margin of the traditional struggles between them and would have better been able to see the common elements of all Hispanic peoples. Moreover, the states making up the Crown of Aragón, would not have had a Castilian born and raised king, as was Philip II afterwards, and would have felt equal in its relations with a foreign monarch. However, in order for this foreigness to have born fruit, it would have been necessary for Charles of Ghent to have been king of Spain only and to have taken an interest in its unification. However, this was not so. The two kingdoms, united under the diarchy of the Catholic Monarchs after seven centuries of independent life, were incorporated into the great imperial structure of Charles V forty years after this union.

The extension and dispersity of the Emperor's domains made it impossible for his mind to comprehend the urgency of asserting the national community of Spain and thus surpassing the differences that separated the various historical communities of the Peninsula. After the coming of the Muslims to Spain, an event which provoked the breaking of Hispanic unity for centuries, no occurrence was more fateful for the making of Spain than the gathering together of the possessions of the Houses of Aragón, Castile, Austria and Burgundy, and the Holy Roman Empire under the authority of Charles of Habsburg. The unitary concept of Spain was not compatible with the complex articulation of the quite diverse peoples of Europe which fell under the rule of his spectre. Ferdinand and Isabel did not dare call themselves the monarchs of Spain so as not to wound the pride of the kings of Portugal, because Portugal was Spain as well; «Portuguese and Castilians, for we are all Spaniards», as Camoens wrote. The pompous official title of Charles V, in which all his states are mentioned with the exception of Spain, reflected the reality of a mere union of all the dominions that Charles governed to the exclusion of any idea of a higher historical, spiritual, and human unity of Hispania.

Even after the separation of Spain from the Empire, Philip II's pre-

servation of the dominions of the House of Burgundy and of the Spanish possessions in Italy, kept alive the old state structure of the days of the Emperor. The monarchy of the Philips was not even an authentic federation of states It was hardly a vague community of peoples united through the tonuous bond of one single royalty. Neither Charles nor Philip made one single gesture for the disappearance of the localism of medieval Hispania. The promissory historical trajectory towards the unification of the Peninsular kingdoms into one Spanish national unity, initiated by the Catholic Monarchs, was paralyzed. The process of the creation of Spain was detained.

Furthermore, the centralist concept of government of Philip II stepped in the path leading to a new historical and state structuralization of the Hispanic kingdoms. Neither the traditional decentralized policy of assimilation of León and Castile (the Castilian monarchy never had a capital), nor the federal system of equals of the Crown of Aragón continued. An egocentric centralism was set up as the basis of a new type of state. Nevertheless, on the two occasions presented by history, he did not dare reduce all the Peninsular reigns to unity: when his rights to the Portuguese crown were forcibly supported, and when he had to use force to end the events provoked by the flight of Antonio Pérez to Aragón. He did not even venture to create unifying organisms of a representative type, such as cortes and general councils, for the concurrence of delegates from the various historical communities which had sprung up during the Reconquest. Such organisms would have brought the states nearer to each other without breaking their autonomy.

The idea of articulating all the Hispanic peoples into one state unity, of any type, did not occur to him nor to his collaborators. Charles and Philip did indeed organize the modern Castilian state, but not the modern Spanish state. However, upon doing this they accentuated the obstacles which arose in the making of Spain. This occurred because they placed Castile, essential political axis and fiscal support of the monarchy, on a different plane from the other Peninsular kingdoms, transformed into mere satellites having similar importance as the other European states inscribed in the general framework of their great empire.

The extremely complicated and overwhelming series of political problems which the older Habsburg monarchs had to confront, blinded them to the most decisive of all, i. e., the making of Spain. They did not even take care to give it a state structure in tune with the borders of the Peninsula, nor did they do anything to bring its peoples together, to make them brothers and provoke in them a clear consciousness of their complete unity. The educated minorities of Spain came together and communicated with each other. The nobiliary minority did so less, while the people hardly at all. There was no conscious, firm, sustained, and long-lasting policy for the contact and intermixing of the masses. The limited communities

continued to be removed and distant. It was a completely lost century for bringing all the peoples of old Hispania together in one solid bundle. It was, moreover, the most likely century because it coincided with a euphoric and optimistic period, and because there was no problem then separating the people of the Peninsula. However, none of the states can claim to have had an indestructible vital force, and extremely strong national structure or a historical potential free from the possibility of shipwreck, because truthfully, during a time that could have been decisive in the founding of all into one authentic Spanish unity, no one did anything to do so.

Politicians and even historians of some Hispanic regions today tend to be outraged at what they call the unitary superstructure of the Austrian monarchy. As Don Quixote, they thrust their lances at the ghosts of their fantasy. There was not even an attempt to impose this process. The responsibility of Charles V and Philip II is enormous in their negligence in the unification of Spain. Spain holds a dark account with them. Those who are the most hostile to the idea itself of Spain, in the peripheral regions, recognize that during the eighteenth-century a Spanish pariotism sprang up everywhere, even in Catalonia; in the very Catalonia conquered by Philip V with force and by force deprived of its historical autonomy and incorporated into a centralist monarchy! What would have been the national reaction of the various Hispanic regions, under the greater Austrians, in days of plenty and triumph when no rivalry existed among them after their peaceful unification, apparently the work of divine will? It would have sufficed for Charles V and Philip II to have fulfilled their duty to Spain and to have taken an interest in its non-centralist, organic structuralization and in the complete intermixing of Spaniards in their duties, rights, interests, and obligations for Spain to have made some decisive steps in the direction of an authentic national unity. The joint exploitation of America by all the Spaniards would have been the winning card for the, if not uniform then unitary, articulation of Spain. I again accuse Charles V and Philip II of the gravest fault that a Spaniard can attribute to them.

Philip II's successors inherited from him the most acute manner, the grave problem of Peninsular unification and the errors of his neither assimilating nor federal policy. The lesser Austrians were not able to undertake their forefathers' task, nor even dream of doing so. They were lacking in authority and opportunities during the difficult times of crisis that were their fate to live None was less propitious than that chosen by the Count-Duke of Olivares for his clumsy experiment. For this reason the great adventure of Hispania's articulation into a communal organization did not advance one inch during the seventeenth-century. Although it may seem incredible, the first two Philips propagated an Austrian patriotism instead of favoring the birth and formation of a Hispanic patriotism; they did not favor Spain's interest but rather those of the most august House of Austria.

It is not surprising how Hispanic regional particularisms have survived; rather it is amazing that Spanish unity has been saved from so many absurdities. Its intimate bonds must have been extremely strong and indestructible to have arrived, albeit ill-treated and unstable, to the present day. Ill treated because hispanic Portugal not yet forms part of Hispania; it is unstable due to the exasperation of a recent history of secessionist pride, typical of the Peninsular peoples and of which Strabo spoke.

History facilitated the union of the Crown of Castile and of Aragón, just as it made that of Castile with Portugal difficult. Aragón and Catalonia had not been separated from the Castilian-León trunk, it coming-to-be had not meant a partition or secession and, therefore, no historical complex able to maintain an opposition to Castile alive, as a decisive element in its state autonomy, had arisen. On the other hand, Portugal, separated from León by chance, brother in institutions and economy of the Castilian-León monarchy, and its twin in psychology and life, was aware of the element of chance in its separation and its very close fraternity with us. It lived on guard, vigilant, and mistrustful of what was judged to be an absorption more than an agreed and free union.

From the beginnins as a historical community, the Crown of Aragón was a federation of two states, ruled by the same sovereign but politically and economically distinct. This federal articulation, begun after the marriage of Petronila of Aragón to Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona, was buttressed after the taking of Valencia by James I. A monarchy thus set up would have offered a minimum of resistance to its union to a new kingdom; to a union with another political community which was to be added to an old federal state type articulation. Portugal was a unitary state that had been adding the lands won from the Moors during the Reconquest to the primitive nucleus and that had soon established Lisbon as the center of her government. A kingdom that was set up in this way would have had to feel greater mistrust and offer greater opposition to a union with another kingdom that also had been unitarily organized through a policy of assimilation. Moreover, this other kingdom had followed the same juridical line by incorporating the lands won from Islam into its primitive nucleus, and that had been born out of the intimate fusion of two peoples, Castilians and Leonese, during the eleventh and thirteenth-centuries.

The Crown of Aragón and that of Castile had lived with their attention placed on different international horizons; they had practiced diverse foreign policies, but not opposing ones. From the twelfth-century Catalonia had looked towards France and the Mediterranean, while Castile had boldly continued its struggle against African and Andalusian Islam. This disparity of policies, since they were complementary, was to contribute to the historical binding of the two monarchies, much more than the competition in similar African and seagoing undertakings of Portugal and Castile.

From the bygone days of doña Urraca and the Battler the union of

the Aragón and Castilian crowns had never been attempted, and, therefore, had never failed The union of Portugal and Castile had twice been attempted in vain; in vain because both times the attempts had failed after two inflamed civil wars that had ended in reciprocal disasters at Aljubarrota and Toro. Therefore, there was no bitterness to forget nor precedents to invoke in the case of a political and human union of Castile and Aragón, while there was bitterness and precedents in the middle of the road leading to the fusion of Portugal and Castile.

The union of Castile and Aragón had been pacifically realized, through a fortunate marriage; it was necessary to unsheath the sword to unite Castile and Portugal.

United, Aragón and Castile could sit together at the great feast of victory at the euphoric and ascending times of Spanish expansion and Portugal came when the peninsular folk were about to round the cape of storms and Spain went through the difficult hours of her navigation in the storms of defeat and decline. The rebellion of Portugal came in the most critical year of modern Spanish History, coinciding with that of Catalonia and when Spain was simultaneously fighting in many theatres of war throughout Europe. The attempt for its reincorporation into Hispanic unity was begun during the years of the decline and impotence of the monarchy and Spanish society.

The war with France on the Pyrenean borders made it necessary to concentrate troops in Catalonia. The extortion committed by the armies in other countries are as old as war itself. Recall what Saint John the Baptist replied to the soldiers when asked how they should behave (Luke, 3:14). Therefore, the outrages committed in Catalonia by the hordes sent to fight the French cannot be attributed to twisted maneuvering, nor much less to any type of hostility of Castilian Spain. Moreover, a good part of these hordes were not even Spanish. Nevertheless, their outrages sufficed to provoke great malaise throughout the principality.

The financial anguish of Philip IV (there is no hyperbole in the phrase) was in tune with the evident injustice implied by the enormous unbalance of the fiscal loads carried by central Spain and Atlantic-Mediterranean Spain. This anguish and unbalance irritated many people in Castile and made the unifying project of the Count-Duke appear on the scene. The irritation from this injustice aroused the anti-Catalonianism of Quevedo. The Count-Duke is usually furiously accused for having conceived of the necessity of articulating Spain into one state unity. It is true that he proposed to go too far, that he was mistaken in his methods, and that his concept came at the wrong time. It should have been initiated by the first Austrias. Nevertheless, he should not be denied the merit for having conceived of the idea, out of pure Spanish patriotism, that it was necessary to renovate the absurd political framework of Hispania that has been described. Out of pure Spanish patriotism? Indeed, the situation of Spain in Europe was critical and his renovation concept sprang out of a noble

attempt to save his Fatherland from the crisis, not out of ambition for control (could he have wished for more power than he already had?). The Rome of yesterday and the democratic states of today have always realized a unitary concentration of power during their difficult hours. The Count-Duke attempted to do the same. His mind was not able to elect the proper way, but his clumsiness may not take away from the consideration his attempt merits.

The principality, however, was justly unrestful. From beyond the frontier, Richelieu astutely and watchfully kept guard, ready to create any problem he could for his enemy, Spain, to weaken its psychic and military potential. Proud Iberian ancestral secessionism showed its head. The government of Madrid did not act with prudence and rapidity. The rebels gave in to Spanish passion and threw themselves into the arms of France, the multisecular enemy of their beloved Catalonian land. The confluence of so many circumstances converted what should not have been more than a riot, into a general revolt and civil war. The first great fissure of Hispanic unity occured. It was overcome, however, although at the cost of the great lacerat on suffered by Catalonia in the loss of Roussillon and Sardinia, integral parts of its historical lands for many centuries. Portugal also separated, taking advantage of the situation to rise in revolt. The petition for foreign help has always brought immeasurable evils to Spain; since Atanagildo brought the Byzantines in the fifth-century, and the sons of Witiza delivered it up to the Muslims in 711. The Catalonian petition of 1640 definitively sunk Spain, the Spain whose destinies it shared. Help in gold and men towards the common cause would have saved the common Fatherland for all. Because it realizes this reality, Catalonia tries to place all the responsibility for what happened on the Count-Duke. It should not fail to recognize its own.

The losses occurred, and the prolongation of the war with France on its frontiers renovated the old Catalonian hostility to the French. For this reason they took up the cause of the Archduke during the War of Spanish Succession. This, its second grave historical error (historical errors are always paid for) cost its autonomy. The «Decreto de nueva planta» (New Foundations Decree) made it a part of the unitary and centralized monarchy of the Bourbons, just as Valencia and Aragón, also dispossessed of their *fueros.*

This unification and centralization did not create lasting resentment and anger which would have been logical, since Eastern Spain had a deep rooted, profound, haughty, and indominable national spirit. As Catalonian historians recognize, during this ominous eighteenth-century of shackling and oppression of liberties in Catalonia, a genuine Hispanic patriotism sprang up. It should come as no surprise that this patriotism appeared among the Basques as well. It brought them to conclude that the Basque language was general among all the primitive Spaniards or, at least, was identifiable with Iberian. This happened because it was a point of pride

with them to form part of the Hispanic community. This Spanish patriotism was asserted throughout all Spain by the War of Independence against Napoleon; it was fortified by the fights for liberty in the nineteenth-century.

Nevertheless, during the War of Independence it was demonstrated that the particularisms of the primitive Spaniards had remained latent for two millenia. This was true not only in Catalonia but also throughout all of Spain. However, this development did not contradict the national Hispanic unity and spirit. The organization of multiple *Juntas* in diverse regions, even in Asturias, the cradle of Spain, showed the Spaniards' taste for their own territorial government. There were ill-winds of ideology blowing across Europe at the time, which serve to understand this temperamental inclination of the Spaniards for the principle judicatures of the common Fatherland. This tendency was buried under the weight of the State, not only unitary but also centralist, that ruled Spain in the style of the Europe of those times.

The decline in the cultural and political potential of Spain to the very bottom of its historical crisis and the barbarous and bloody fights between the old and the new estate and human concepts that agitated the turbid hours of our nineteenth-century, separated the ruling minorities of Spanish life from the main problem of Spain: the affirmation of the spiritual unity of the nation through an efficient school of thought. France was made by Richelieu, the Revolution, and the nineteenth-century school of thought, just as similar historical processes have made the unity of peoples like the Italians and the Germans. The unity of Spain began to crack because of the folly of the men of the last century of our history in combination with, naturally, our temperamental inheritance. However, it is only just to confess that this crack was given impetus by the new ideological and sentimental winds originating on the other side of the Pyrenees (I am referring to the nationalist projections of Romanticism), by the almost fabulous growth of the industrial wealth of some peripheral regions (Catalonia and Vizcaya), and by the consequential formation of an urban center of such proportions that it inevitably had to become the focus of a growing cultural and political centrifugal force; I am, of course, alluding to Barcelona.

Catalonian literature was revived by Romanticism, but with a more erudite than national character. It was only around 1890, after the great economic and vital rise of Catalonia and after the overflowing growth of Barcelona, that the second and authentic *renascença* and the great culture of which the great Mediterranean metropolis, without an equal in Spain, serves as the axle were begun. The same process, although with a double delay in its double initiation and triumph, and reduced to much less wide proportions, occurred in the Basque Country This is because Euzcadi (Navarre has never participated in the spirit of the Basque Provinces) is not comparable to Catalonia and Bilbao is not Barcelona. Moreover, in

Euzcadi, Castilian is the mother tongue of a large part of the country ever since Castilian was spoken through Spanish lips. It is only as a reaction against the system of local bosses which has always been implanted there, that a new separatist restlessness has appeared in Galicia.

The clumsiness of the Habsburgs and the Bourbons, seen in the light of the great question of the making of Spain as a function of the vitality of not a few aforementioned features of the Spanish temperament (a fact which must be recognized), and the great crisis of its historical potential —its insignificant political role in the world—, have kept the problem of the political articulation of Spain alive. Brothers never fight in times of euphoria and triumph.

As in many other aspects of Hispanic life, the historical and vital unity of Spain as a nation places us much closer to the primitive stages of our past than any other people or nation in the West. This is not because the geographic surroundings of our land abound in a plurality of peoples and nations; but rather because, to the contrary of what happened in other nations of Western Europe, the unifying process of prehistoric particularities has not been completed because of our singular history which went against the grain. Many pages could be written, and I shall write them if forced to, on the unity of vital texture of all the Peninsular peoples of today. Although it would seem a paradox, we are many times separated by the identity of our functional structure: our common pride, vehemence, vitality of projection, jagged edges, quixoticness, irreconcilability... There are not various Spains on the lofty stones situated at the extreme southwestern tip of Europe. There is one problem of Spain that is necessary to be solved once and for all, in accordance with the historical situation of today. It is impossible to force its solution. It implies a plurality and, therefore, a wealth of spiritual projections; and not only in those regions having a particular speech, but in all, since all have a live culture and human tradition. There is one problem that Spain must solve by means of a lasting and agreeable articulation for all Spaniards. Today it is always a blink of the eye between history and the future; this is all that interests me in these meditations on my far away homeland. There is a problem of Spain that must be solved, not among diverse nationalities that have never existed, but rather among the numerous historical communities (Galicia, Asturias, León, Castile, Euzcadi, Navarre, Aragón, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, etc.) that make up Spain from Cape Creus to Cape Finisterre, from Irún to Gibraltar, and from Lisbon to Valencia. Spain may take up its path in history once more only if the necessary formula for this articulation is found, without the rise of privileged peoples, equal in rights but unequal in position.

Chapter XVII

THE SHORT CIRCUIT TO SPANISH MODERNITY

1. Wanting to Be and Wanting Too Much

In the cathedral of Sigüenza in front of the beautiful sepulchre of Martín Vázquez de Arce —warrior-page whom the sculptor represented reading and whose image reveals the man of letters more than the man of arms— Ortega y Gasset wrote years ago: «Is it possible? Has there been anyone who has united courage with dialectic?» Any historian could answer this question affirmatively. There have been many men who have united impetus with the creative force of thought. There have also been whole nations where these forces have coincided; peoples in whom these two different human inclinations have been synchronously experienced. It is not necessary to cite names of men and nations where courage and dialectic have fraternized. Of the first we could mention no few Spaniards.

The antithesis which is difficult to overcome is another.

«Will and intelligence look for opposite goals», Unamuno says; «the first, to absorb the world in us, to appropiate it for us; and the second, for us to be absorbed in the world... Intelligence is monistic or pantheistic; will is monotheistic or egotistical.» «The tragic history of human thought is but that of the struggle between reason and life, the one determined to rationalize the other..., the other determined to vitalize reason, forcing it to serve as support to life's vital drives.» «The sense of the world, of objective reality, is necessarily subjective, human and anthropormophic. Vitalism will always rise against rationalism, will will always stand against reason.» «Because the thinker, despite all, does not forsake his human conditions, he puts reason in service of life, whether he knows this or not. Life deceives reason and reason deceives life.»

Who can doubt that, in this struggle, the Spaniards have taken side with life, that they have been men of will more than men of reason?

Many years ago Ortega y Gasset publicized Nietzsche's later to be vulgarized phrase: «The Spaniards! Here are men who have wanted to be too much!» In his *Tratado del esfuerzo puro* Ortega footnotes it in this way: «We have wanted to impose, not an ideal of virtue or truth but our will. Never has our ambitioned greatness been determined in any particular way... we have wanted to want will without ever wanting anything. In history we are an outburst of blind, diffuse, brutal will.»

Yes and no to Nietzsche; a categorical no to Ortega. I feel it necessary to retouch the former's thought. The omission of only one word in Nietzsche's phrase, a brief and minuscule word as meager in significance as reduced in letters or that of another, richer in sounds but of less vital content, Nietzsche's phrase will give a free passport to the republic of the accurate. Let's take the verb «to be» which confronts the phrase with historical truth, throw it out the window and after that simple amputation say: «The Spaniards! Here are men who have wanted too much!» Or by extracting the adverb «too much» we shall simply express the lasting will of the Spanish.

It is not so easy to adapt Ortega's thought to the reality of our history. Because Ortega is a Spaniard and, as such, has also wanted too much. He has wanted to interpret the enigma of our past in a swift shoot of an arrow. That is why his beautiful words require a more audacious and dangerous surgical operation. After surgery they could thus appear rejuvenated: «We are in history an outburst of will, but not of blind, diffuse, brutal will. We have not wanted will *per se*; we have wanted to sustain an ideal of truth and justice, our ideal of justice and truth, through a pure and very noble effort, through the adoption of the «deed» as a base for our vital philosophy and with the quixotic sacrifice of the most important thing a vitalist people could immolate in the holocaust of its own ideal: life itself.

We have wanted too much. Yes, but why? Again one of those big-game interrogations in whose hunt I have again plunged in this second adventure of my reposed life of a scholar —in the first I hunted Spanish misery and ignorance, in 1931. Have we wanted too much simply for pure spiritual sport? Other peoples have wanted «to be» much, have wanted to be great, to dominate the world for their own material benefit. Of those, whose empires are but a historical remembrance today, and of those who failed in their attempt to found an empire, we could say that they wanted to be too much. As much could be said tomorrow of those who today see the beginnings of their greatness collapse. We wanted too much. And a great difference separates our «want» from that which pushed other nations in the battle for their empire. Using words of Unamuno, but without completely coinciding with his thoughts, we could say: «Spain, your kingdom was not of this world.» Because in sharp contradiction with what Ortega affirms, we wanted to be God's sword upon this earth, which naturally was to want too much. But this want was very different

from the want to be masters of the world as in the Persian, Macedonian, Roman, French, English, German or Moscow fashion. Our want to be is more like that want of the Muslims, I have written. Because nearness is not coincidence. We wanted to be God's sword on this earth, but not in order to impose a new faith over culturally ancient peoples —the Muslims wanted this—; rather, to convert to civilization these barbarous peoples of America and to defend the traditional faith of the civilized nations of Europe. We wanted this, not because our collective soul had been Islamized. We wanted this because our tragic historical destiny had forced us to pour out all our vitality in the waterfalls of want. By forcing us to rush with fury through the narrow canyon of «wanting *to be*», of «wanting to exist», against a historical community of a different faith than ours.

We had to want to «be» unto anguish. The magical transmutation of our «being» into what we were not was imminent. We were at the border of annihilation; our backs to the abyss of not «being».

We wanted to be because to want is a sentiment of primitive peoples, and the three forces of nature which had joined to engender Castile: the Cantabrians, Basques and Goths, were primitive. The other mountain peoples of the north of Spain were also primitive, enclosed in their harsh Cantabrian-Pyrenean region, having never been drugged by culture —Ortega would have written: drunk in Romanism. They had not had occasion to unfold and increase their strength and intellectual curiosity. The restless armies of life continued in that eternal duel between life and reason when the Muslims peered into their mountains.

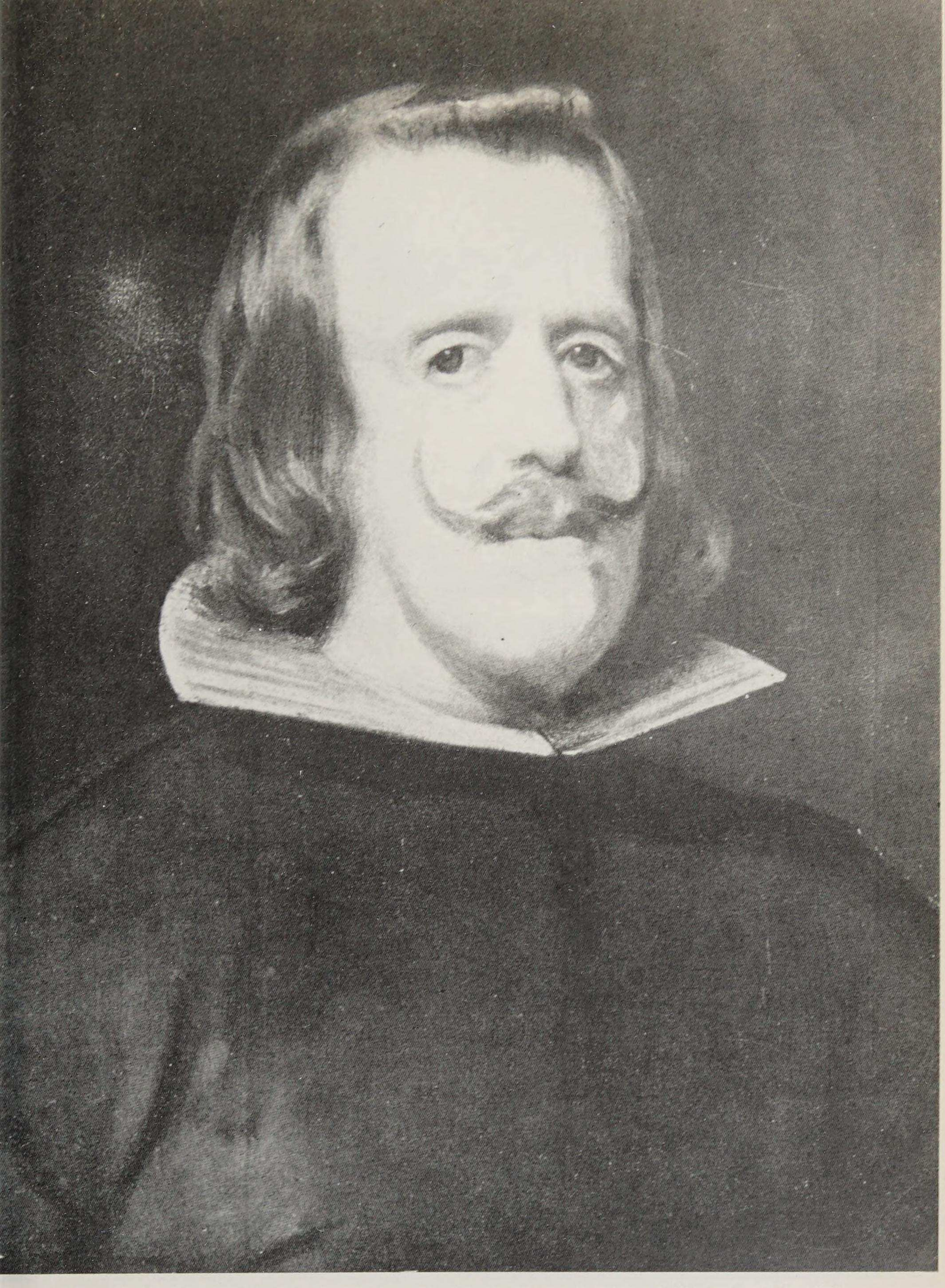
And we were not able to stop wanting during one, two, five, seven centuries; first to continue «being», to continue being free; then to reach the necessary vital space south of the mountains and maintain them free behind the new frontier line; immediately after, to freely defend ourselves from the terrible African attacks; later on to complete the reconquest of the national land and, with it, our full historical freedom.

Always wanting to have a place in history, not to be too much but enough so as not to cease existing. I have many times asked myself, and today ask everyone, if we ever had an option. Did we attack or defend ourselves from the heresy and nationalism which were tearing asunder the unity of western Christianity? If we had shut ourselves behind the frontiers of the Hispanic monarchy of the Catholic Monarchs and their Mediterranean and Atlantic projections, would the Turks, the French, the Protestants, the English have let us rest in our laurels? Would we have been able to live freely if we had let the French rule Italy, the Turks dominate the old sea of civilization and penetrate into the West; if we had let the Lutherans and Calvinists take possession of the Europe beyond the Pyrenees; if we had let the English conquer our America? Would they have let us «be»; would they have let us exist? Obviously since our multisecular battle prolonged itself for decades and decades —not

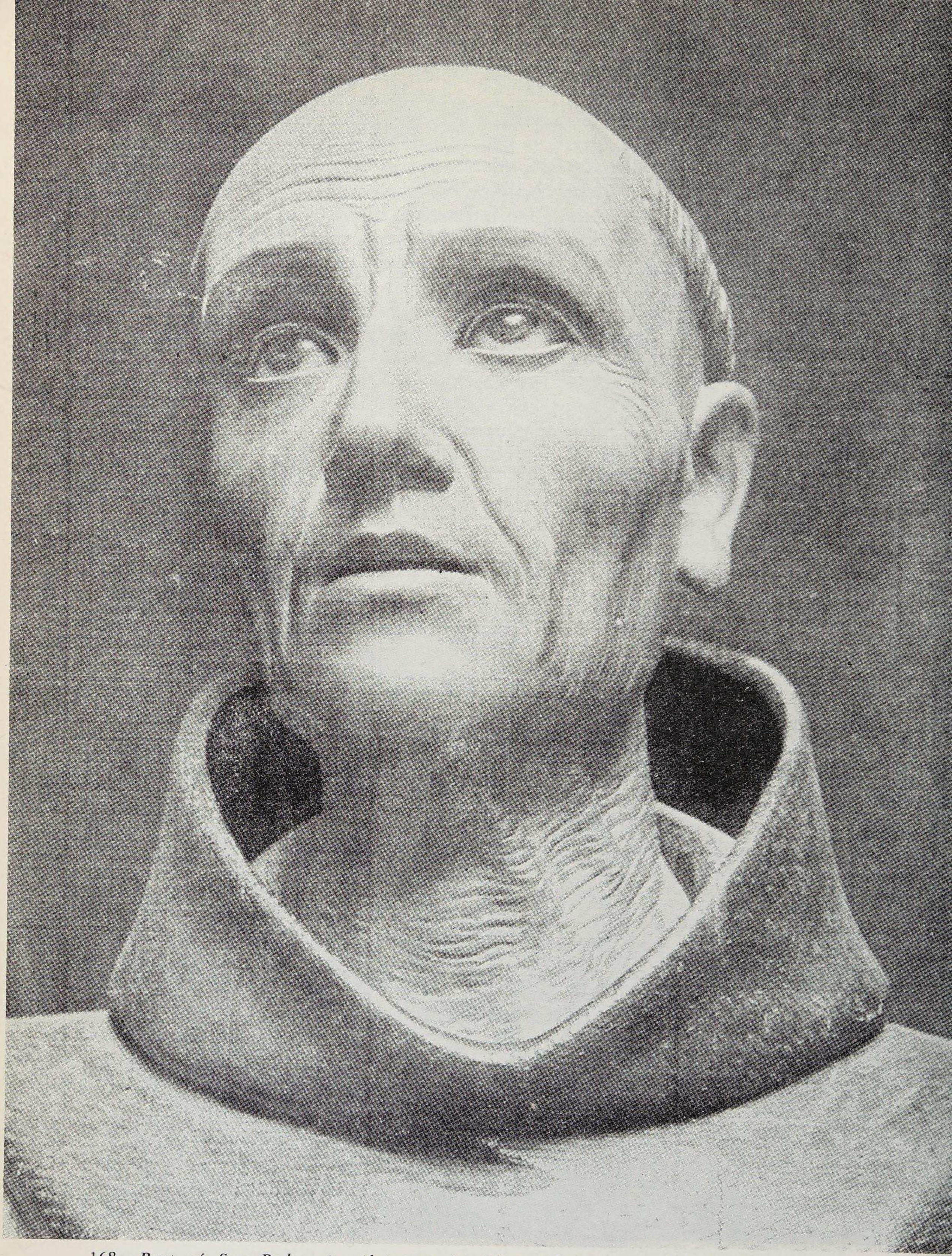
because of wanting too much, but of wanting to «be», a pure and primitive biological instinct— in the end our path diverged from its original goal. This occurred when, by chance or by mysterious divine designs, the excessive and quixotic volition to maintain Europe's Catholicism, in its double sense of religious and ecumenical unity, and to regulate the relations between nations through norms of justice and not by the principles of a contractual opportunist friendship, interfered in our existential volition, our need to exist. And just like cherries entangle themselves, our wants became entangled towards goals in which our will to live free and our will to make the brother nations of Europe serve God were combined. For selfish reasons? No; in spite of Unamuno's words mentioned before concerning the egotistical sense of will, our will was not selfish; neither was it blind and diffused as Ortega affirmed. We could have calmly let the Flemish become heretical and in some instance ally with a Lutheran Germany against a Catholic France. But we did not do so. That is to say, we continued to want what we had wanted; that which our historical destiny had accustomed us to want. But that was one of wanting too much. We preferred that excessive desire —to want *to be* too much— and that excessive desire —a desire for salvation— again pushed us to the danger of not being. Thus we were able to complete an entire historical cycle and again faced the biological and primary want «to be» —want to freely exist— of our first and distressing days after the Muslim invasion. But we lacked the cosmic virginal impetus of before, and exhausted by that want for too much of our initial Modernity, we ultimately fell in the abyss of non-being, of not being free in the concert of the peoples of Europe and of not even being what we had been: real men. Around the second half of the seventeenth-century, we became little more than ghosts.

Since our will for life, our wanting «to be» and our «wanting too much», had not been a blind, diffuse and brutal appetite for dominance, we placed reason at the service of the will to live, of the desire to exist, of wanting too much, yet never renouncing the normal exercise of reason. When Celestina asked Pármeno: «What is reason?» she was really asking: «What is reason without life? We were not a people who slighted intelligence nor disdained the creations of the spirit. In the struggle between reason and life, to which Unamuno reduced the history of human thought, we unhesitatingly placed reason at the service of life and, equally and synchronically, vitalized intelligence. These tasks cannot be comtemptuously judged today when the vital ties which serve as the support of our culture seem to be loosening.

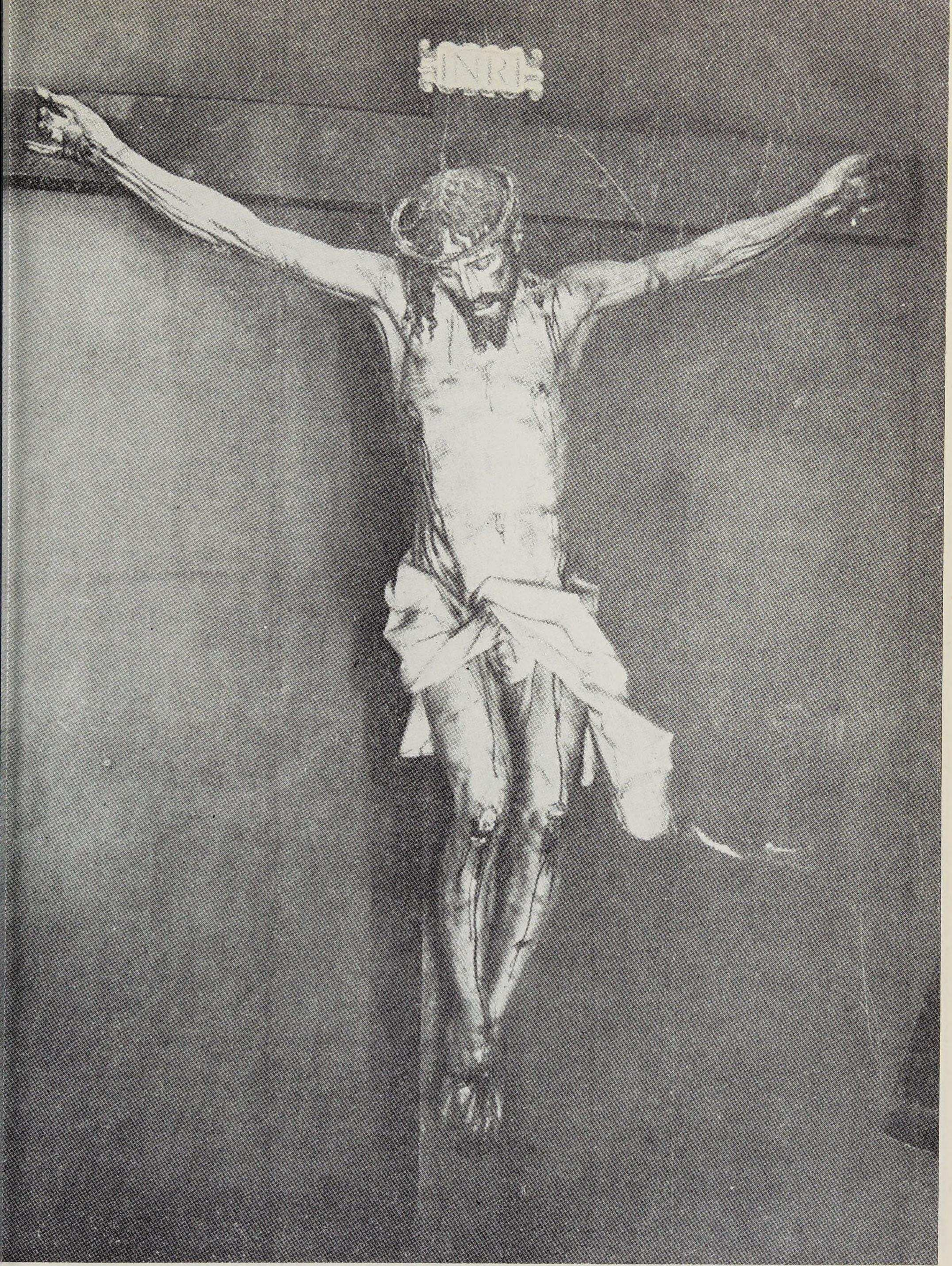
Yet we must be careful to realize that taking sides for life, that vitalizing reason, the act of putting reason at the service of life, did not imply an incapacity for the free flight of thought, nor pure scientific creation, nor technical achievements; it did not even imply disdain for any of these.



167.—*An Old Philip IV*, by Velázquez. Prado Museum (Madrid). Philip IV (1621-1655); from euphoria to pessimism: great hopes, victories, once again at the gates of Paris... and later alone against everyone and with his own house burning –Catalonia and Portugal in arms. Here Velázquez paints him as an aged and tired man, when he was the king of a hallucinated, defeated and exhausted Spain. Lope, Quevedo, Tirso, Zurbarán, Calderón... were his subjects and that was his only greatness.



168.—*Bust of San Pedro de Alcántara*, by Mena (Granada Cathedral). The expressive rigor and the emotional depth of our religious image makers, filled with the triumphant religious exaltation of the Spain of the Counter-Reformation and the Baroque, were able to make the world of the devine shine through the individualized and human bodies and faces which seem to reveal living souls of men. This is the case in this bust of San Pedro de Alcántara. The work of Pedro de Mena (d. 1688) in the Cathedral of Granada.



169.—*The Christ of Light*, by Gregorio Hernández University of Valladolid. Because the contemplation of the «fatally wounded body» of Our Lord on the cros, on the verge of death, moved us to love him as much as the heaven which he has promised us, and when seeing how his infinite love of men, made them adore him, even without expecting what they hopped for; the contemporaries of the anonymous author who knew how to pour these ideas into a mystic sonnet, carved and painted many moving Crucifixions.

170.—*The Immaculate Conception,* by Murillo. Prado Museum (Madrid). Marian devotion, so generalized in Christendom during the Middle Ages, acquired in Spain singular fervor and lasted among us into the new times. The cult of Mary, whose virginity was already sung by St. Ildefonso and which for centuries and centuries warmed the hearts of kings and warriors, writers and artists, navigators and merchants, saints and sinners in all the Hispanic lands, culminated artistically with the Immaculates of Murillo in the Seville of seventeenth-century.

The dramatic reason for that Spanish temperamental fault has tortured many modern Spaniards. Laín Entralgo has collected the explicative attempts of some of our thinkers of yesterday. There is in the Spanish soul, says Menéndez y Pelayo: «An astounding lucidity for catching ideas, but little attention to developing them.» The Spanish men of science, writes Ganivet: «When not of mediocre intellingence, feel dragged to the heights where science is disfigured, either combining itself with Religion or with Art.» And these words concerning the Spanish people are of Unamuno: «This was a country of theologians... In theology it is not a matter of working with accomplished facts rather it is a question of sharpness of inventiveness and of the intellect in combining given propositions». The three thus coincide in pointing out the dialectical capacity of the Spaniards and the three register their lack of constancy in the slow work that scientific and technical creation requires. We should not look down on the clue they give us to explain that lack of our vital makeup. It is not a bad clue, because it points to an undeniable reality of our style of life.

But let us proceed more slowly. The first of the three writers mentioned did more than just recognize our singularity; he tried to erase it and thrust himself into the search and invention of «Spanish Science» with typical Iberian faith and drive. Laín Entralgo calls Menéndez y Pelayo's attempt an intelligent and loving self-deceit, because in his days he would travel in trains pulled by foreign locomotives and because, in truth, in his days Spain lacked science or technology. This argument is not sufficient to convince me. It was possible for science and technology not to have existed at the end of the nineteenth-century and possible for the Spaniards to have possessed science and technology in other periods of their history. It is for the Spanish historians of science to decide the nature, importance, quality and duration of the scientific movement as well as the technical creations developed in the initial stage of our Modernity. However, the dawn of Spanish science during the sixteenth-century cannot be doubted. It cannot be doubted, even though we must overcome the inferiority complex of the Spaniards which López Ibor has talked about, we have been denied the capacity to objectify ourselves in thoughts and in things and words have been written which not even the most ferocious enemies of Spain have dared write.

The question provoked by these words is one of anguish. Are we or are we not rationally capable of philosophy, science and technology? Those who have the intimate sense of history will angrily shout a sharp and stentorial no. Nothing in the past of a historical community has been eternal. One day all have lost the capacity to do what they did before. Or one day they have acquired the possibility to do that which up to that time they had never done. And throughout history, under different spiritual domes and even under the same ideological one, Spaniards have sometimes been capable and other times incapable of philosophic, scientific and

technological creations. It is necessary to reduce the issue to less exaggerated terms to attempt to solve it. However, before that, it is still necessary to pursue further this inquisition into the historical enigma of Spain.

2. The Three Landings

In the forging of the functional structure of all historical communities, their pugnacious or peaceful contacts with the human groups beyond their frontiers have always shaped them. From the most remote prehistory to our days all nations have received great transfusions of foreign blood and great impacts from foreign cultures. Those processes are known. The processes suffered or enjoyed by the fraternized peoples of Western Europe in the course of milleniums are not too dissimilar. The peculiarity of the Spanish Peninsula consisted in having been the melting pot of the ancient world and of having therefore served as the crossroads of the most varied races and civilizations before the political unification by Rome of all the Mediterranian basin. After that, Spanish history was thrice disturbed by three different landings. Those three landings changed the routes of the great historical navigation of the Spaniards and singled out their destinies separating them from those of Western Europe. Between the first landing and the last two almost eight hundred years passed; between the last two, only twenty-five years. Without the first landing it is doubtful that the other two would have been accomplished; the first was the most decisive. But the three of them, all genealogically intertwined, pushed Spain towards the same horizons and contributed to perpetuate one and the same structure of life.

The night of 27 April of 711, a Berber recently converted to Islam, *maula* or client of the oriental leader who had just conquered the Maghreb —the West—, i. e., Algeria and Morocco, crossed the Strait with a few thousand Africans. He set foot on Chebel Tariq —Tariq's Mountain— Gibraltar, to carry out the third foreign intervention solicited by the Visigothic factions shaken by barbarous conflicts. His landing forever changed the routes of Spain. Forever? Nothing in history is forever. Perhaps up until now would be better. And may God permit the Spaniards to take a definite hold on the helm and change their destinies.

In the morning of 12 October of 1492 a foreign Genoese (?) sailor in the service of Castile, who had crossed the rough sea at the head of three Spanish caravels, disembarked on the island of San Salvador, of the Bahamas group, on this side of the Atlantic. The driving forces of Spanish living —illusion and adventure— accumulated in the course of eight centuries of battle between Spanish Christianity and Spanish Islam, had pushed the three small Andalusian ships to accomplish the miracle of discovering a new world and made possible the most formidable enterprise of modern history: the transplanting of western civilization to the still primitive

peoples of America; and a wondrous turn in the struggle between man and nature of the old human groups of Europe.

On 19 September of 1517 the neighbors of Tazones (Villaviciosa) in Asturias prepared themselves to resist the feared attack of a supposedly enemy fleet which, however, hoisted the arms of Castile. From one of the ships disembarked a young Flemish prince, still beardless, absent minded, agape, his intelligence not yet matured, who did not know the Spanish language, knew little of the Spaniards and came surrounded by foreigners. A new royal lineage had begun to rule Spain. It was from then on to be subordinated to foreign dynastic interests, to become entangled in political problems which did not pertain to it, to see the great task at hand interrupted: her own articulation as a nation, and to receive upon its staunch back the heavy load —silver, sweat and blood— of the adventures of that young boy, heir of Ferdinand of Aragón, Isabel of Castile, Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy.

These are the three decisive landings of Spanish history. The landings of Tariq, Columbus and Charles V! Those three landings, of three foreigners, and one far away from the Spanish coats, provoked decisive contortions in the forging of our Spanish nature. I talked for the first time of the historical consequences of Tariq in Prague in 1928 and wrote of it in Madrid in 1929. The essayist-turned-historian has studied them in his own way in 1948. I have said it many times: for him, our nature depends exclusively on it. What happened before Tariq landed on the Rock warmed by the African sun and beaten by the Mediterranean and Atlantic winds, does not count for his thesis; nor does that which happened to the Peninsular people after the contacts between Moors and Christians were over. Nothing before, nothing after. I did not dare before and do not now dare to open Spanish history in the year 711, nor to close it when the last echoes of the first of the three landings died out.

The landing of Columbus in San Salvador and that of Charles in Villaviciosa, had gigantic consequences on the life of Spain and contributed as decisively as that of Tariq to the formation of the vital Spanish make-up. It is impossible to deny it. The subject has been analyzed so many times since the seventeenth-century that perhaps because of this the gentile lovers of novelty purposely avoid it. But there are matters that, though old, are nevertheless perennial. The result of the two still poorly calculated historical contortions provoked by the last landings in the history of Spain, have up to now been analyzed without focusing the light of our medieval past, to a large extent fruit of the first landing, on them; without taking into account the corollaries of the decisive impact of the multisecular struggle between Muslims and Christians on the temperamental inheritance received by primitive Spain.

I do not believe, as many in and out of Spain have believed and still believe, that we discovered, conquered and colonized America by chance,

nor that the rise of the Habsburgs to the Spanish throne changed the destinies of Spain from the root. The American and European enterprises were possible because the Spanish functional structure was what it was at the end of the fifteenth-century. But it is certain that the discovery, the conquest and colonization of the new world and our imperial enterprises in the old world during the reign of the Habsburgs made the new Spain, which was beginning to materialize, burn up like a gigantic short circuit, and decisively contributed to affirm the Peninsular style of life which had been forged for eight centuries in the course of our «divine» war; it contributed to perpetuate the same vital make-up which had permitted the Spaniards to thrust into the adventure on both sides of the Atlantic. In that formidable historical short circuit, which, by divine will or by the whim of chance, began on the beaches of San Salvador and Villaviciosa of Asturias, the vessels in which Spain was beginning to sail on the seas of Modernity, began to burn.

Yet, as I have said, if nothing in history occurs by pure chance, nothing necessarily happens either. Peoples do not drunkenly zigzag throughout the centuries, dragged on by casual events or pulled by the whim of superior men; nor do they sleepily turn, like the heavenly bodies, in orbits plotted out from eternity. History is the marvelous result of the united action of a series of forces. The temperamental heritage or style of life of each human community provides a limited series of possibilities for its future. These possibilities cannot be amplified by the heroes never capable of working the miracle that could lead to the sudden change of the destinies of a nation, nor by the magic wand of chance, which can alter the path of the national ship but cannot move the ship which crosses the ocean. Yet it would not be licit to underrate the importance of the decisive tug given by the guide or conductor of a nation on its historical march; he can lose hold of the electricity accumulated, wasting it stupidly; he can damage vital organs of the community with mistaken strategic or tactical operations; he can increase the weaknesses or ills of the nation he rules through stupid measures; and he can ground the ship he steers: through excessive audacity or through ignorance, obstinacy, rage or cowardice. Nor should we underrate the grave risks they presente the historical navigation of a people: an unfortunate change of route, a ruch to attack storms which the small national vessel cannot resist, or a call for an effort superior to its own vital potential.

Therefore, history is the science of if's and why's. The historian cannot venture to turn measure of the past upside down and guess what could have happened. It is not licit for us to conjecture as to what would have happened if the double contortion provoked in Spain's history by the two landings of 1492 and 1517 had not occurred. It is enough to bear witness to the fact that the landings did not have to occur when they did or that they did not have to occur at all. And it is enough to observe that if the Castilian ships had not discovered America and the Habsburgs had

not come to rule Spain, our history would not have been as it was. The short circuit produced by both of these transcendental historical processes did not necessarily have to occur. I will not fall into the temptation of playing the entertaining game of if's. Furthermore, what could have happened and did not happen does not matter. What does interest one is to establish what really happened by means of the reaction to the two great historical processes begun on the beaches of San Salvador and Villaviciosa; how both of these influenced the slow but continuous change or affirmation of the Spanish functional structure.

We discovered the unknown and unforeseen America because of the unique temperamental heritage of the Peninsular historical community and because we had an active naval tradition. It has today been demonstrated that Castile did not have to improvise a marine in 1492. Scientifically Columbus' projects were erroneous and, in any case, it was still somewhat fanciful to reach China by navigating westward; economically it was bad business to expose a fleet to a more than probable failure. It is doubtful that a republic of bankers or industrialists would have ever decided to initiate the uncertain enterprise of Columbus. We discover because we were a people —I say a people remembering Camoens' phrase: «Castilians and Portuguese, because we are all Spaniards»— struck by the vital appetite of a continual frontier overflow and in no way prisoner of the circular bourgeois spirit.

But let us admit the impossible: that Spain had not discovered America. Something immediately appears certain: only Spain could have conquered and colonized the discovered lands. We can imagine what would have happened if a Venetian or Genoese fleet had crossed the Ocean. The discoverers would have founded factories and, after the ingenious convincing of the Indian, would have secured commerce from those lands. That is what Greeks and Phoenicians did in Spain; only Carthage and Rome conquered. The conquest and colonization were not natural fruits of the discovery. We conquered because we were drunk with warrior drive and hope of fabulous and rapid gain, after our prolonged struggle with the Moor. And we colonized because to colonize had been our task for almost eight centuries, as our frontier line advanced south. Konetzke has admitted this and also affirmed that we were the only nation prepared for the conquest.

Another man of faith and ambition, another expert and audacious navigator, could have conceived the overseas adventure. Yet no European nation but Spain was prepared for the great adventure. None could have discovered, conquered and colonized America at the beginnings of Modernity and none ever really attempted it, not even after we began the triple task; not even England. The English learned oceanic navigation from Spanish books and found a place to live as free men on this side of the sea; but not a field of action for enterprises of military and colonial expansion.

We discovered, conquered and colonized the New World, because our temperamental heritage pushed us in this way and because providence or chance, whichever one prefers, and I am not vacilating, so wanted it. The American adventure could have been delayed and have found us already inscribed in the wheels of modern life, pouring our energy and passion into seas never before sailed by us, that is: into ventures of thought or economic enterprises; or spending our vital potential in great African or European conquests. But it was a result, as in all of history, of a complex interplay of forces. Will anyone deny that the magnificent feat of the conquest and colonization of America prolonged our heroic age, contributed to the brevity of the new historical direction taken in the new times by the Peninsular peoples and affirmed the traditional Spanish style of life?

Immediately we fought in all the battlefields of the old world for the Catholic unity of Europe, urged on by our epic religiousness and our militant theology; for we were used to serving God with the lance and sword, in a multisecular «divine» war; and because we were used to putting action in the service of faith and not to subordinate the problems of faith to national interests. No European nation, even if governed by Charles of Flanders or Philip of Castile, would have been able to undertake that great religious adventure. Only Spain possessed the unique functional structure needed to undertake such an adventure. But, can anyone deny that providence or chance forced us to initiate it? The great crisis of Western Christianity could have arisen at a different time: before Spain had concluded its «divine» war of reconquest, when it could not as yet have poured its dynamism outside the area of its traditional home; after its bellicose religiosity became lethargic, its warrior drives rusty and its spirit bourgeois; or while it was governed by a national dynasty, without family or political interests in the countries where the heretical fire was lit at an unfortunate moment for Spain. The magic touch of divine design or that of the wand of chance on the rock of our vital make-up thrust us into the adventure.

The reciprocal projections of the two landings, of Christopher Columbus and of Charles V, interfered with each other in a very complex and very polemic manner. Ballesteros, in his day, affirmed that without our hegemony in Europe our adventure in America would have been impossible. It has been maintained that the former was made possible by American gold and silver. I cannot subscribe to either of the two theories.

I do not want to fantasize on the historical consequences that the Spanish imperial action might have had on natural fields of expansion —the Mediterranean, Africa and America— that geopolitics offered us at the beginnings of Modernity, before Charles of Ghent set foot in Asturias. Can anyone nevertheless doubt that, if such an event had not occurred, our history would have been different? It is not licit to pretend to guess its frustrated routes; yet it is certain that, without the unfortunate enthroning of the Austrian Habsburgs in Spain, we would have likewise conquered the Indies: I cannot see what influence the lordship of the king of Spain

over the lands of the Habsburg and Burgundy could have had on this conquest. Furthermore it is just as certain that, without such enthronement, our adventure on the new continent would have followed quite different routes than those registered by history; routes that, in any case, would have been more favorable for our historical life.

It seems certain to me that our adventures in the old world hurt our task of colonizing. Almost in its beginnings, in 1529, due to one of his serious fiscal problems, Charles V sold to the king of Portugal that marvelous oceanic emporium of spices, the Moluccas, for a few thousand of ducats. After that, the constant straits that the Spanish public treasury had to bear, as a result of our European policy, centered the State's attention on this side of the sea on the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the Indies, with clumsy disdain for the other essential tasks necessary for the rational exploitation of America. Our total dedication to the adventure in Europe presented many other problems for our work on this side of the Atlantic. One of the most pernicious was our neglect of the naval problem. An adequate marine to maintain our control of those coasts and their intense and lasting commercial exploitation was not created. Spain's total effort was poured into continental wars, most of the time purely and obstinately fought on land. If forests were lacking in Spain, they were overabundant in America and we could have built powerful fleets here if the central courts of the State had worried themselves with non-European matters and if we had considered the Spanish ships not merely as a support for our armies.

And even if I deem that American gold and silver contributed in a very important way to the financing of the European policy of the Austrias, the enormous fiscal and economic contribution of Castile, both human and spiritual, to our achievements in Europe should not be underestimated. The contribution was so great that, for centuries, the towns which formed part of the Crown of Castile were to be exhausted.

It is certain that Spain did what it did in the sixteenth-century because she was what she was when the new times began, after the slow and sluggish hours, yet pregnant with decisive historical corollaries, of the multisecular antibiosis of the reconquest. And because the two transcendental landings of San Salvador and Villaviciosa, on the most propitious dates and occasions to provoke fertile historical germinations, put Spain into forced action and compelled it to put its inherited temperamental potential in movement. But it is just as certain that the projection of that electrical potential, accumulated in the multisecular antibiosis, provoked an apocalyptic short circuit, by blocking the normal flow of its vital strength along the paths of the logical future offered by Modernity. And it is certain that in that wondrous short circuit the possibilities of a change of the radical Spanish make-up were burned. No functional structure is eternal and changeless; all change and are more or less slowly transformed;

and promissory trends and changes in the style of life of the Peninsular peoples seemed to be in the future during the medieval autumn and the dawn of Modern Times.

3. The Enterprise of America and Spain

Nobody argues with the fact that the enterprise of America has been the great historical feat of the Peninsular peoples. None of the other contributions of Hispania to the history of mankind can be compared with it. It is enough to compensate all the debts we might have with Europe and it equals all the contributions of other nations to Western culture. We set the landmarks of the home itself of the Occident, which today comprises the Atlantic as the interior sea, and we provoked the greatest historical challenge ever known by the old world, for milleniums a Mediterranean world, till then constricted by the waves of the Atlantic Ocean. Neither the spiritual revolutions of the Renaissance and the Reformation, the work of Italy and Germany, nor the scientific creations of the other nations beyond the Pyrenees, have more fertile corollaries than the great Hispanic enterprise. For we incorporated America into Western culture; something which allowed the science and technology of the new times to quickly mature —later I will insist on this point— and also enabled modern capitalism to take root —it triumphed thanks to the gold coming from the other side of the Atlantic. It pushed science, technology and capitalism whose explosion permitted the otherwise impossible industrial transformation of Europe.

If we had rendered no other service to the world, by breaking the barriers which imprisoned Western culture and by creating the great vital force which has made the world of today possible, we would have already earned a lasting place in the sun of history. When some great Hispanic historian studies in detail the scarcely imagined consequences of the Spanish discovery and conquest of America —without the conquest, the historical projections of our enterprise would have been cut off—, all other high sounding names or the great cultural creations which each of the nations of the West could put forth, all would not equal the contribution of Spain to European history. Yet fools still exist who see in our American acts no more than the brutal subjugation of some virginal and paradisic civilizations and who, by reaching ecstasy before men of science or thought of other nations, throw their scientific and philosophical works in our face and are ashamed to belong to our historical stock. Other great cultural feats of the new times will be forgotten; in two thousand years what will be known of many names which today seem to us to be the lighthouses of the philosophy, science or technology of yesterday? Yet the Peninsular enterprise across the sea will never be forgotten; it will have

left permanent tracks, the only way of perpetuating the historical life throughout the centuries.

Since I feel this way, nobody can accuse me of disdain for our marvelous American adventure. Nor can anyone place me among the infirm who are pained by the material and spiritual harm it caused Spain. Even though it might have provoked the apocalyptical destruction of the Peninsula in an apocalyptical telluric and historic tragedy, it would not be licit for any Hispano —and I repeat that I make no distinction between Spaniards and Portuguese, national terms, chronologically dead, which today are applied to nations with common greatness and misery—, no Hispano can renounce the greatest legacy of our past. However, my feeling regarding the astral magnitude of the Spanish enterprise in America does not force me to always favorably judge its multiple corollaries in the formation of the Hispanic nature.

Many years ago, with a both daring and timid gesture, I put forth the theory that the Spanish enterprise in America had been a projection of the Hispanic Middle Ages in space and in time, and I ventured the thesis that it had prolonged the medieval routes of Spain. I wrote in 1930: «How can it not be seen as the most gigantic result of the Peninsular activism, which the secular struggle with Islam created and developed —today I would not write "created"— to the limits of human possibility within the Hispanic kingdoms? How can one not see in the discovery and conquest of America the last heroic age of the Western world, the last period of the epic Middle Ages? If our action beyond the sea —today I must write "on this side of the sea"— is compared with that of other European nations, is not the medieval nature of crusade and adventure clearly revealed in ours?»

«Different from the conquest of the Occident by Rome, planned, directed and carried out by the State, who has not seen in the feat of America the disperse and unconnected action of the Castilian nation, lacking the efficient direction of its ruling minorities and abandoned by the Hispanic State, pushed by a foreign dynasty into adventures foreign to our interests? And how would a similar enterprise have been realized, in such conditions, by a non-medieval nation, submitted to the rigid articulations of an ancient State or of a modern State? And how can we not see in this strikingly individualistic action the traces of a medieval society and life, in which the champion and personal and isolated effort moved about with maximum liberty and produced the most fruitful results in peace and in war?» «In contrast with the more modern bourgeois and heterodox atmosphere, of post-Renaissance and post-Luther times, which governs the English colonization of America, who has not been able to see the religious and warlike spirit, both mystical and greedy, of our movements on the other side, that is, on this side of the Atlantic? And can anyone deny the medieval nature of such sentiments?»

Already in 1930, in the Congress of History, of Seville, I affirmed that

no European nation was as ready as Castile to take on the American enterprise. Twelve years later, attention was called to three poems of Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino (1407), Fray Diego de Valencia de León and Gómez Manrique (1468) which reveal the Castilian hopes and desires to conquer foreign lands:

ca sy esta gente fuese concordada
e fuesen juntados de vn coraçon,
non sé en el mundo vn solo rrencon
que non conquistassen, con toda Granada... (71)

wrote Fray Diego de Valencia of the Castilian people. And referring to the *Fi de Santa Maria,* Gómez Manrique wrote some «*etrenas*» to Prince don Alfonso, proclaimed king by the nobility after the farce of Ávila:

Este vos faga reynar
con paz en vuestras regiones;
él vos dexe conquistar
Cítara et Vltramar
A las barbaras nasciones (72).

These verses have been called messianic and imperialist prophecies and the imperial idea of Charles V has been rooted in them. No, this has nothing to do with that illusion and dream of the Castile of the quattrocento to pour its warlike impetus across the sea, and there is nothing in such poems of the hopeful confidence in the action of a saving Messiah of the kingdom. In the hours of discord and national crisis of the reigns of John II and Henry IV, three Castilian poets were conscious of the aggressiveness and the energy of their fellow countrymen and argued that the waves surrounding the Peninsula could not contain them. The prolonged stagnancy of the Reconquest had not smothered the dynamism of Castile. Three men of the first half of the fifteenth-century felt the violent beat of the pulse of their countrymen and, without being able to predict the future, foretold the Hispanic feats of America.

«Other people as adept at arms as these exist not in the world», said the knight Fernando de la Torre to Henry IV in 1455 upon his return

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(71) For if these people were one
And if they were joined at heart
I know not in the world of one part,
With all Granada, they could not win...

(72) He makes you reign
With peace in your regions
To conquer he lets you deign
Citara and Ultramaine
From the barbarian nations.

to Castile from France. «That such are the peoples of Castile in the arts of war and ships and in the battlefields, you have already heard say and from experience have seen», he had already said quite truly to the French. Truly, for France had been able to see the magnificent courage and untamable vigor of the Spanish captains like Rodrigo de Villandrando, Pero Niño, Juan de Salazar, Rodrigo de Salcedo, Martín Enríquez, Alonso Barrera, Ochoa Barba, Sotomayor, Fonseca... and of many Castilian soldiers who amazed the French with their feats. Like in the days of Trogo Pompeyus, the Spaniards «preferred war to rest», and since they had no foreign enemy, because the Reconquest languished, they sought it at home and in their neighbor's home, whose fate they decided.

The chronicler Hernando del Pulgar addressed the Catholic Queen in this way: «I certainly did not see in my times, nor did I read that in the past so many knights came from other kingdoms and foreign lands to your kingdoms of Castile and of León to fight at all times, as I saw when the knights of Castile went to search for it in other parts of Christendom. I met Count don Gonzalo de Guzmán, and Juan de Merlo: I met Juan de Torres, and Juan de Polanco, Alfarán de Biuero, and Mosén Pero Vázquez de Sayauedra, Gutierre Quixada, and Mosén Diego de Valera; and I heard about other Castilians who went throughout foreign kingdoms to fight with any knight who wanted to fight with them, and with them they earned honor for themselves, and the reputation of valiant and vigorous knights for the *fijosdalgo* of Castile. Furthermore I found out about a war in France, and in Naples and in other places, where peoples of many nations attended, and I was informed that the French or the Italian captain thought to possess at the time a very well-equipped group of peoples, whenever there might be among them some Castilian warriors, because he knew of their vigor and constancy in dangers which were greater than those of other nations. I also saw wars in Castile, which lasted some time; but I never saw warriors from other places attend them: for just as nobody dreams of taking iron to the land of Vizcaya, where it is born, thus the foreigners think it foolish to come and show their valor in the land of Castile, where they know that there is such an abundance of forces and effort among the men of Castile, and that their effort would not be well-considered.»

The most famous of all those adventurers was he who became the Count of Ribadeo. The thundering attacks of Rodrigo de Villandrando, «in all directions», «had accredited the opinion that neither time nor distance counted for him». He forced the flight in Anthou (1430) of three captains «who had never turned their backs»: the prince of Orange and the Swiss lords of Friburg and of Neufchatel «*Sa contenance sur le champ de bataille fut celle d'un lion. Il promenait devant lui l'épouvante et la mort*», says Quicherat of him. The Spanish conquistador who amazed and who still amazes the world was not born by spontaneous generation. He is prefigured in those and in other captains of that less glorious epoch of

Castilian history. The cosmic energy of the *homo hispanus* torrentially overflowed all the barriers which blocked his way, a century before he was to find in America a marvelous theater for his feats.

As on land, so on sea, did the men of Castile show their audacity and valor, in naval campaigns, in commerce and in piracy. Castilian vessels participated in the siege of Alguer by Catalans and Venetians. In the «Hundred Years War» they attained great victories over the English and Portuguese at the orders of admirals like Bocanegra, Tovar and Mendoza; and for long decades they dominated the Atlantic: refer to the recent book of Suárez Fernández. They participated in the Lusitanian conquests of Arcila, Ceuta and Tangiers. The Hanse even contracted a Castilian fleet for the Baltic. In peace and in war the Basque-Cantabrian sailors navigated without rest, facing all risks. Of the Castilian corsairs on the coasts of Flanders, Gascogne, England, the Canaries and Barbary speak Nicollao Teijeiro and Mathorez: «that they were the most audacious and frightful for maritime commerce». And their bravery and their credit were so great that, when adversity punished them with captivity, they would reach in it the highest posts of government. Tafur found Pedro de Randa, prisoner of the Sultan, leading his mercenary Christians; and the high constable don Pedro de Portugal found another Castilian captive, from Villanueva de la Serena, port of departure for Valdivia on his conquest of Chile, ruling in Egypt as a «*Soldán*».

A prophetic spirit was not necessary to say to the Catholic Queen, as Hernando de Talavera did when presenting her with the Castilian grammar of Nebrija before the discovery of America: «After Your Highness places many barbarian peoples and nations of wandering tongues under her yoke and with their defeat they might have to receive the laws which the victor imposes on the vanquished and with them our tongue, then, by means of this grammatical art, they will be able to come in contact with it.»

Sailors did not even have to be improvised. Apart from their bellicose and pirate enterprises, long before the inhabitants of the Northern and Meridional coasts of the kingdom of Castile had already been crossing the seas. The sailors of the North traded with English, French and Flemish ports, and those of the South with Barbary and with the Atlantic coasts of Africa. From the fourteenth-century they frequented the Canaries, in the fifteenth-century they touched African lands up to Cape Bojador, and during the war between Castile and Portugal, upon the coming of the Catholic Monarchs, they realized frequent private expeditions, and two officers went to Guinea in search of gold and slaves: Pérez Embid has studied them. They were able to exploit a gold mine, they brought numerous captives with them —once they brought a black king with many of his subjects— and only the Peace of Alcaçovas, in 1480, put an end to these maritime adventures in Africa, but not to their raiding trips to the Canary Islands.

The great Belgian historian, Verlinden, has hypertrophied the influence in the Hispanic colonization of the colonizing tradition of the Italian principalities in the Mediterranean. The relative unity of the Atlantic civilization of today, the European nature of its institutional and economic structures and its contrasts with those of the Arab or Chinese world do not hand on the filiation in common medieval systems, Genoese or Venetian, of the modern tasks of the Western nations of Europe. The national differences in the methods of colonization of those nations were very diverse. The closeness of their Atlantic creations is tied to the general integration into the culture of the West of the colonizing metropolis and to the fertile unifying activity of the last century. An even then, the differences which separate the nations of Hispanic origin from those of Anglo-Saxon stock are still great.

I cannot follow Verlinden when he affirms that the Genoese establishments —merchant neighborhoods, factories, concessions...— prefigured those created by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Some relationship may be established between the colonizing systems of Portugal —and of Holland, which later followed in Lusitanian steps— with those in use in the Mediterranean during the late Middle Ages. However, between the medieval colonization of the Genoese Republic, with economic goals above all others, and the Spanish one, both warlike and evangelizing, we find enormous differences. The conquests of the great American empires, populated with idolatrous peoples of barbaric customs; the spreading of the faith, of culture, of law, of the Spanish forms of life throughout an immense continent and the juridical articulation of the Castilian state mechanism of the lands won at the point of the sword have no possible comparison with the traditional colonizing methods of the Lordship. The presence in Andalusia of a group of navigators, bankers and merchants from Genoa who only knew of mercantile and banking enterprises, and the exceptional crossing of some of them to the Indies did not influence in any way worth noticing the imperial colonizations of the Spaniards. The mercantile spirit, the appetite for business, and the lure of commercial gain weighed very little in these colonizations. Castilians neither learned nor attempted to learn anything fundamental in the colonial systems of Genoa; a possibly damaging fact for their own tasks of a lordly and religious nature.

Verlinden recognizes the roots in the purest medieval Castilian tradition of the Colombian capitulations and of the privileges obtained by Columbus after the discovery. If the Genoese did exercise any action —that action was really less than minimal— in the first days of the exploitation of the Antilles, soon the Hispanic adventure took directions without any possible connection with the secular ones of medieval Italian colonization. There are much greater differences between this Italian one and the Hispanic techniques than those shown by me, years ago, and by Verlinden, today, between the Spanish colonizing methods of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and the European colonizing enterprises of the nine-

teenth and the twentieth centuries —a result of economic imperialism, itself a fruit of the contemporary industrial revolution—; enterprises which the great Belgian historian separates from the Hispano-Atlantic tradition.

The American colonizing creations of the Spaniards —they founded organs of power and not economic centers— find their roots in medieval Peninsular history. In 1930 I said: «Each day the idea gains strength that all the medieval Castilian history is summed up and cristalized in one uninterrupted and gigantic enterprise of colonization.» Today I continue to feel the same. Even when the Reconquest slowed down and the frontiers ceased to expand, the repopulation was continued behind them. There were many cases of new villages in lands which had still not been colonized. In the hours of the «great haste» spoken of by Alfonso X, when the frontier line advanced from the Tagus to the mountains of Granada many lands of the zones of Extremadura, of La Mancha and even of Andalusia itself became barren. And those zones were populated little by little during the following reigns. An example comes to mind: the Lordship of Valdepusa.

From the eighth-century on —I wrote this in 1930 and I write it again today— the history of Hispanic Christendom was, in effect, the history of the slow and continuous restoration of European Spain; and the history of Castile was that of the lasting advance of a minuscule kingdom, that of Oviedo, which from the craggy mountains and the sharp gorges of Asturias grew, and continued to do so, until it reached the blue and luminous sea of the South; the history of the difficult expansion of a nation toward the lands bathed in the sun of Andalusia. After harsh battles it spread out over the lowlands, slithered amidst the hills and climbed the peaks which were there before it; and it continued to struggle and to populate through time and space. For eight centuries, as later in America, the entire history of the Castilian monarchy was that of a complex succession of conquests, of the founding of cities, or erections of sees and monasteries; of the creation of institutions for war and for government; of vital and cultural admixtures: the transplant of a race, of a tongue, of a faith and of a civilization.

«With diverse characteristics, according to the period in which each advance was realized, from the first ones of the kingdom of Oviedo up till the latter ones of the Castilian and Aragonese crowns together, always in permanent colonizing activity, always carrying toward the South the romance born in the upper valleys of Castile, always propagating the doctrines of Christ in the lands won by the sword, always establishing in their new dominions the singular forms of life which its peculiar history had coined, always extending toward the South the municipal freedoms born in the Duero Valley, and always incorporating new kingdoms to the one, itself an inheritor of classical antiquity and of Visigothic traditions, it was slowly being carved on in the secular struggle with Islam.»

When the Reconquest was finished it seemed as though the colonizing activity of Castile, faced with the maritime barrier of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, was going to reach an end. Then, on this side of the sea, the same medieval history is repeated, and the destiny of Castile is once again fulfilled.

The stage was not the same, nor were the new needs of colonization, just as they had not been the same in Spain over the centuries. The plains which extend North of the Duero were peopled by small free peasants, by *infanzones* and by monasteries from the year 850 on; great *concejos* returned the zone between the Duero and the Tagus back to life after the conquest of Toledo (1085); the Military Orders took on the repopulation of Extremadura and of La Mancha after the victory of the Navas of Tolosa (1212); municipalities and magnates colonized lower Andalusia after the conquest of Seville (1248)... In each advance of the frontier line new modules of colonization were applied, but the enterprise was always carried out with the same spirit of crusade and plunder, with the cross on high and purse empty, with the greed for riches and of souls and with Western civilization and freedom on the point of the swords and of the pikes. Spain, vanguard of the West against clumsy and barbaric Africa during the Middle Ages, was later the front line of Europe in the new world of the lands of America.

Just as the villeins, greedy for freedoms and riches, and the miserable *infanzones*, thirsty for betterment and fortune, had come down from the mountains of Asturias and Cantabria to the plains of the Duero; so the penniless *hidalgos* and the adventurers without noble rank embarked for America seven centuries later. Just as the monastic foundations returned great zones of León and Castile to life, so the missions of the Castilian clerics contributed to the colonization of the American continent. Just as the colonists obtained lands and freedoms in far-flung territories and on the frontiers near Muslim fortresses, so were lands and districts given out to the vanguard of Spain on the new continent.

The policy of assimilation but equality of Castile, unique in the history of universal colonization, was rooted in the oldest Castilian tradition. This policy did not convert the conquered lands into colonies but considered them as the mere prolongation of the national homeland. The kings of Asturias, of León and of Castile, upon the conquest of the different Muslim kingdoms, century after century, had incorporated and assimilated them into their own kingdom as equals, from Toledo to Granada. And how can we not see, in the recognition of the Indians as subjects, the logical projection of the juridical doctrines of Castile in its Peninsular enterprises; of a Castile which had also turned the defeated Moors into vassals.

We discovered, conquered and colonized America following the multisecular trajectory of our Middle Ages. We did not have to improvise a policy of expansion and of colonization beyond the national frontiers at the beginning of Modern Times. We continued, on this side of the Atlantic,

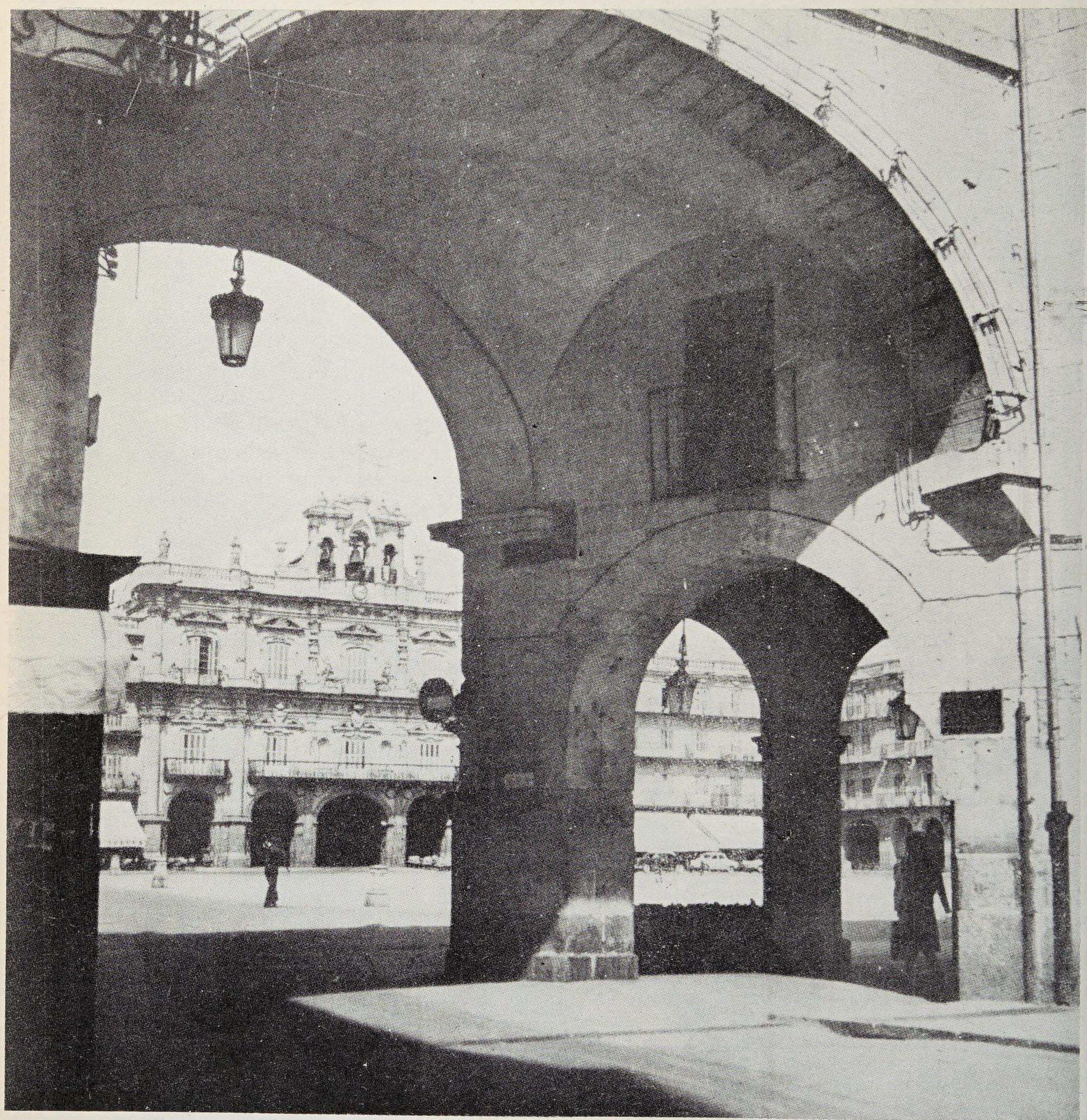
the Peninsular history of seven centuries. It did so behind the amazing pikes of the explorations, the titanic labor of the conquest and the fertile ways of the organization of the colonization. A new Spain arose between the two new seas which were to be the future ties of culture. Thus we overcame the multimillenary tradition which tied the development of the ancient civilization to the shores of the Mediterranean, and the already millenary one which limited the seat of Western culture to the already restricted European soil. Neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation equal the load of decisive consequence, for the future of man, shown to us today by the Hispanic feat of America. The collaboration of Spain in the generation of Modernity was not inferior to that of any other nation of the West. Yet without incurring in a paradox one can affirm that upon the birth on this side of the sea of a new world and a new Spain, and as a result of this birth itself, the new Spain which had been born in Europe shortly before was weakened and stiffened.

The enterprise of America affirmed the providentialist conception of life, something traditional among the Spaniards. They held the discovery of the Indies to be the greatest event since the creation of the world, apart from the incarnation and the death of the Son of God, our redeemer. Las Casas considered Columbus to be one chosen by Providence, designated by it to realize the great prodigy. «The conquest of Indians began as soon as those of the Moors were finished», writes López de Gómara, «because the Spaniards always fought the infidels.» They were the instrument of the Most High so that these could be incorporated into the Mystical Body of Christ, upon the reception of the bible from Hispanic lips. The discovery and the conquest were carried out thanks to the Lord so that Spain, called on to be the champion of the faith in Europe, could grow in power and wealth. And even men of science like Acosta, precursor of Humboldt and whose doctrines prepared the way for the philosophy of indefinite progress, believed in the providentialism of the great adventure.

These ideas, recorded by Bataillon in his critique of the book of O'Gorman, affirmed in the Spaniards their old concepts regarding the continuous interference of the Divinity in life here below and regarding the continuous action of the Eternal One in their favor, as a recompense for the bellicose divine enterprises. And they also contributed to maintain alive their vassal-like religiosity. Those who fought against the idolatrous Indians of America continued to think: «I serve, therefore, you owe me protection», when addressing God, in a both haughty and confident supplication. And the echo of their hushed thoughts resounded in the hearts and colored the faith of the Peninsular people.

When in Hispanic lands the frontiers were closed to the possible expansion and enrichment of the clergy amid the lands taken from the Moors, on this side of the Atlantic a virgin world was opened to the spread and aggrandizement of the Church. It found the way to substitute the necessity

171.—*Children Eating Fruit,* by Murillo (Munich). Murillo (1618-1682) also shows the traditional dichotomy of the literary and artistic sensitivity of the Spaniards. The painter of the Immaculates is also the painter of the misery of the people. It was imposible to open one's eyes to the life of Spain without coming across it. Lazaro of Salamanca who, to kill the ancestral hunger of his race, resorted to the most clever and malicious tricks, could have been the grandfather of these poor children who are savoring some fruit.



172.—*Plaza Mayor of Salamanca.* The history of the central plazas of the Spanish cities has yet to be written. When was their construction begun? Were they the center of the old town or were they the market place or at the gate of the village? In any case there they stand, after centuries still the vital nuclei of the urban community as places of meeting, criticism, galantry... Imagine Unamuno strolling around this one of Salamanca, showing that the Hispanic verbalism is not always a pure waste of intellectual energy.

173.—*Charles II*, by Carreño de Miranda. Hispanic Society (New York). Charles II the Bewitched, the doleful image of a defeated Spain, without mystics, without thinkers, without men of science, without politicians and even without captains. Weakness, infantilism, foolishness in the prince; the nation in the depths of its crisis –defeats and humiliations beyond its borders and within them triumphalists, coups and intrigues– and Europe profitably dividing up the spoils.

174.—*Philip V*, by Van Ranc. Prado Museum (Madrid). Against the well-known affirmation of Louis XIV, the Pyrenees continued to stand. Yet from the coming of Philip V (1700-1746) so many ideas, practices, forms of life... crossed them that any other country than Spain would have ceased being what it was. We accepted the foreign innovations, renewed our cultural stock and our political superstructure, but our vital make-up did not change. We changed our attire but not our mien.

and the importance of its mission with the Islamites by the vital and imperious one of its works in America. And its action on this side of the sea helped it to conserve its traditional economic power and to safeguard its great influence within the Hispanic society and State.

The expansion of the Spanish Empire throughout America, far from altering the equilibrium of the Hispanic political forces, affirmed them for many centuries to come. If the medieval monarchy, with the successive advances and repeated colonization of Hispanic soil could periodically replace its incomes, which were exhausted little by little in the periods of frontier stagnation, Spanish royalty achieved similar restorations in its exchequer with the funds from America which the galleons and the fleets brought from the Indies. If the kings of Castile, when conquering and colonizing the zones won from the caliphate or the *taifas* (party kingdoms), from the Almohads or from Granada, were able to acquire a plentiful booty of lands and of offices with which to attract and submit the nobles and the villains, the Spanish sovereigns found, on this side of the sea, in the viceroyalties, captaincies, chancelleries, *corregimientos* (73), *alguacilazgos* (74), auditorships, etc., etc., veritable treasures of different bureaucratic favors —from the highest to the lowest— with which to make the craving cosmos of our aristocratic minorities and the stellar masses of our people continue to dance to their tune.

The conquest and the colonization of Spain decisively contributed to the juridical power of the medieval Castilian monarchy; our enterprise of America was no less useful, in modern times, to the omnipotence of Spanish royalty.

Long dead were the ancient Castilian liberties and only the legalist spirit of Philip II kept the ancient cortes still alive, but it was the American gold which cooperated in their death and in burying and blocking the resurrection of either of them. If Hispanic royalty had not been able to count on the important resources of America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, would it have been able to maintain itself so firmly? Would it not have stumbled on difficulties similar to those which led to revolutions in England and France? Would not tributary pressure have caused the masses to rise against it if the fiscal necessities had not been satisfied, in part, by the fleets from America?

This affirmation of the political power of the monarchy, the work of the American adventure, contributed to make lasting the traditional equation of power, wealth and service. The oak tree of the national bureaucracy found in America a magnificent land to take root in and to grow fabulously. Shiploads of Spaniards crossed the Atlantic with royal appointments or in the service of viceroys, governors, captain generals... Thousands of

(73) Territory and office of *corregidor's* jurisdiction.
(74) Jurisdiction of *alguacil.*

Peninsular citizens dreamed of a comfortable position on this side of the Atlantic. In the end even the Catalans, absent at the beginning, due more to their bourgeois spiritual development, at the time little inclined toward adventure, than to legal restrictions, participated in the enterprise. Many of these functionaries fulfilled their dreams. Members of the older families came —in Peru many of the Borjas live— as did a great many penniless *hidalgos* and unfortunate soldiers. When the central bureaucracy of the Indies rejected the request of Cervantes for a position on this side of the ocean, they permitted the marvelous birth of the *Quijote*, which would have never been born in Guatemala. Gutierre de Cetina, whose madrigal «Ojos claros, serenos...», displayed the sweet poetic promises of the Castilian tongue, died while still young in Mexico. How many sharp spirits, how many businessmen, how many human values were lost to the multiform life of the Spanish nation in the security of bureaucratic life in the Indies!

For Spanish economic life, the conquest and the colonization of America also notoriously accentuated the fatal corollaries which the reconquest and the repopulation of Spain brought with them in the Middle Ages. The war with the Muslims and Africa throughout the centuries and the territorial gains achieved, separated the most daring and the most audacious from industrial and mercantile activity; the discovery, the conquest and the exploitation of America did much the same by separating many lively minds and many ambitious wills from economic tasks. The hope of riches which might be gained with the conquest of the infidel kingdoms inclined the people of Castile toward the exercise of arms, where one could improve his position without any great effort the day the frontiers advanced into Islamite lands; but the phantasmagoric illusion of fabulous enrichments in the wealthy regions of America, also undermined the tasks of peace and of work in the Peninsula, to launch thousands and thousands of Spaniards into an adventure across the sea. The territorial and bureaucratic booty, placed in the hands of the kings by each new thrust of Christianity in the countries of the Saracen and, by work of these very kings, placed in the hands of the conquerors, turned many laborers, tradesmen and merchants of Castile into warriors, and separated the lower nobility of Castile from the arts of peace. Likewise the enormous amount of lands and offices of every rank, which the political organization of the Indies was creating, turned the masses of active and tranquil Spaniards, who otherwise would have continued their economic work in Spain, toward the ventures beyond the sea and toward the American bureaucracy or wealth. Just as the great valleys, stumbled upon by Castile on its way toward the Straits, dried up the tamed or restless fonts of the audacious and of the laborious Castilians, who took up the sword to combat the infidels or who took up their possesions in order to move to the frontier; so the slow rivers of the workers or the overwhelming torrents of the daring, of those who emigrated to America, continued to be poured into the grey or green waters of the Atlantic. Let us remember the parallels, already pointed out,

between the cries of the Cid on the eve of the conquest of Valencia, those of Cortés before his Mexican adventure and the words of Pizarro on the Isla del Gallo.

Thus the pressure from America on the nascent Castilian industry was so great that it was unable to develop itself biologically. The increasing demands on our still fragile and immature economy impeded its logical advance. The increasing need for merchandise which reached Castile from the Indies ended up seriously damaging the textile advance of the Castilian nation. In a few decades the buying power of the Spaniards who crossed the Atlantic increased fabulously and the great indigenous masses became clients of the Peninsular tradesmen. Thus the old mortage which centuries earlier foreign industry had held on Peninsular wealth was maintained. The competition of foreign merchandise was favored by the foreign businessmen who traded in the South of the Peninsula. The tide of precious metals which arrived from America on the beaches of Spain, just at the beginning of the price revolution, altered among us, before occurring beyond the Pyrenees, the cost of living and the value of labor; and the foreign businessmen were able to sell the products urgently needed by the markets of the Indies at a lower price than those of Castile. Faced with this series of adverse circumstances, the Spanish and foreign merchants increasingly facilitated the passage to America of non-national goods. And this is how the great American enterprise ended up, in another way, blocking the economic development of Castile and thus prolonging a weak point of the Castilian social make-up: the weakness of our bourgeoisie and the absence of the bourgeois spirit among us.

By vivifying the already remote inclination of the Peninsular peoples towards bellicose tasks and by facilitating the prolongation of its old executive life, the American adventure affirmed the already millenary triumph in the *homo hispanus* of drive over calculation and of the powers of the will over those of the spirit. The facile difficulty, after the flirt with death, with which the Spaniards were able to root in the land and then live from another's work, affirmed the lordly style of life, typical of the nobility during the Middle Ages, and spread it beyond the restrictive limits of the noble class, as a sought-after archetype of existence. The possibility of obtaining sudden improvement or at least rapid ones, kept the portholes open which permitted the changing of social condition and preserved the secular fluidity of the social classes of Castile. The novelty of a recently gained social position forced the zealous guarding of the traditional rites of superior rank in which one had entered and thus heightened the dark side of our *hidalguismo*. The magnitude of the successes achieved and the amazement of changes of fortune which accompanied the victories, prolonged the old symphony of Hispanic pride. The harsh and difficult aspects of the struggle in which every step was taken at the risk of one's life and the harsh and difficult aspect of life in the new settlements, in combat with the land and the Indian, sharpened

the rough edges of the already steep-like personality of the conquerors and the colonizers. That sharpening and the lack of close ties created by lasting proximity, of fathers to sons, in the same urban center —family ties, common traditions, common miseries and hopes...— accentuated our individualism and exalted the explosive ego of the Spaniards. Furthermore the examination of the consequences of the American enterprise —illusion and adventure— on the psyche and manner or functional context of the Hispanos, could be increased to many other aspects of our way of being and could be deepened and detailed *ad infinitum.* Yet what has been pointed out is enough to prove that, as I already said 30 years ago, the similarity of the two great periods of Spanish history —reconquest and repopulation of the Peninsula and the conquest and colonization of America— which contributed to prolonging and, in reality, perpetuated all of the complex group of qualities and weaknesses of the vital Peninsular make-up, forged upon the primigenial vital inheritance of the peoples of the North of Spain, during the multisecular struggle between Spain and Islam.

That prolongation of the medieval manners of Spain due to the great American adventure coincided besides with that caused, at the same time, by the enthroning of the House of Austria in the Spanish kingdoms. Thus modern Spain forever remained on the drawing board.

4. Spain and the Greater Austrias: Charles V and Philip II

Fate or Providence caused the death of the son of the Catholic Monarchs, Prince don Juan —the portrait painted of him by Münzer is not overly happy and casts no small shadow on his posthumous illusions which his memory has made many of us imagine— and that of Prince don Miguel —at once inheritor of Portugal, of Castile and of Aragón— and brought Charles of Ghent to the Peninsula. The subject of the historical weight that the enthronment in Spain of the Austrias had on the destiny of Spain has been well-minced in the butcher shop of criticism and too beaten in the mill of fantasies and political hypotheses. I do not want to let myself be dragged along by a new attempt to examine such a complex and polemical question. Yet it is not possible to underplay, with a condescending gesture, the results of dramatic equation implied by: the vital Spanish make-up, together with ruling of the Spanish kingdoms by the first Habsburgs and confronted by the political, economic and ideological problems of Modernity.

As has been said before, the thinkers, captains or politicians, placed by Providence or fate at the head of the destinies of nations, are not able to create from nothing the vital energies of their nations, nor can they improvise their functional structures. These constants place each historical community at a certain crossroads, but the thinkers, captains or politicians

can choose the most or least favorable direction to take and they can later allow their nations to be carried away by the hurricane or the storm, or they can point out luminous paths for them.

For this reason I have also said that it would not be good to leave out an examination of the directions, either forward or backward, which exceptional individuals have given to the historical ship of the Peninsular people, especially when these directions have been decisive in the crystallization of the Hispanic style of life. It is not licit to forget the psychological-biological equation of these leaders of nations who have decided the destinies of nations, either by intelligently taking advantage of, or by wasting, their vital power. Nor is it opportune to look down on the efficient activity of the appetites, greeds, loves and fears of these men, in function of those of the choir they were chose to conduct.

Charles V was called on to assist at the definition of the great initial problems of Modernity. He was not a Spaniard by birth; his education, his customs, culture, inclinations were not Spanish; and he knew nothing nor did he understand anything; he did not even like Spain at all when he arrived here. Aurelio Viñas has studied his slow Hispanization, his slow comprehension of Spanish things and his growing attention to them. I believe that it is possible to go still further. I believe that in the attic of his psychic life the Hispanic temperamental inheritance weighed not a little. Upon contact with the Peninsular life, even though his habits of a man born and educated in Flanders were to persevere, even though he was to continue to pour his devotions and ardor into questions and interests from beyond the Pyrenees, even though he always continued to mistrust the Peninsular people, perhaps the Hispanic part of his hidden essential ego awoke in him with strength. With the passing of time he revealed many Spanish qualities. Many of his psychic reactions coincided with the traditional ones of the *miles hispanus*. I am not going to detail them, but it would be interesting to mention them. Frequently the powers of will over those of the spirit, action over discussion and impetus over calculation triumphed in him. He enjoyed words —«He vacillated greatly in writing», said Santa Cruz of him— and direct action. He was dominated by pride and passion and rested his personality on the pedestal of manliness. He was a zealous keeper of his promises, though it meant harm for his own interests. His firm faith was doubled with confidence in divine mercy, according to Peninsular tradition. His soul was tortured by intimate conflicts, impetuous euphoria and the faintness and discouragements from which the Hispanos have frequently suffered. Like them he lived in an eternal and dissatisfied restlessness. And like them he confronted death with courage more than once.

Indeed, Charles of Austria, though he did not trust the intentions of the Spaniards —something affirmed by Santa Cruz—, though he continually postponed the interests of Spain in favor of those of his extrapeninsular dominions and though he continued to live his Flemish style of life, Charles

centered, to a great extent in an Hispanic fashion, the serious business of the European politics of his time on the service of a theocentric and knightly ideal. This he did with bellicose drive, audacious decision, impassioned energy, loyal heroism, blinded pride, love of glory, disdain for riches... and with personal intervention in the military campaigns at the head of his men.

His political action did not tend towards the restoration of the imperial unity of the West, smothering the beginnings of the European nations; and much less did it tend towards the realization of a universal monarchy. It aspired to fulfill a high moral ideal, coordinating the action of the Christian princes and saving the spiritual unity of the West, in order to defend millenary Christianity against its eternal foreign enemies, the Islamite infidels, and to redeem it from its internal scabs, corruption and heresy.

In Europe the unity of Christendom was already a lifeless memory and the crusading ideal was long gone. In the fifteenth-century neither France nor Germany nor Italy felt any fervor for those two ideals. In Spain zeal for divine war had acquired new vigor with the conquest of Granada and with the campaigns of Africa. And that confrontation with the enemy of another creed had also vitalized the faith in the unitary aspect of the «Christian republic» referred to by the Cortes of 1534. In agreement with Merriman and in contrast with Braudel, the ties of the anti-Turkish policy of Charles V with the Spanish tradition are conceded. And against Karl Brandi and Peter Rassow, Menéndez Pidal is correct when centering the imperial idea of Charles in the defense of Christendom against its enemies, both internal and external, and when supposing it to be also rooted in the Spanish inheritance of the Caesar and when considering it to have been formulated by Spanish lips and pens: by Maza, Alfonso de Valdés and Fray Antonio de Guevara.

Ferdinand the Catholic had already launched the idea of the urgent coordination and unity of the Christian princes to confront and defeat together the infidel enemies. That was also the idea of the Emperor. Furthermore on the way to its realization arose the obstinate resistance of France, which aspired to occupy the hegemonic position in Europe and, to achieve its ambition, did not hesitate to break the *universitas christiana* and to ally with the Turk. Internal dissidence also arose within the Christian republic with the Lutheran Reformation, which not only divided the empire but also Christendom. Besides papal opposition arose to the acceptance of a council which might review the vital norms of the Church, as did the popes fear that the power of Charles, lord of the greatest empire the world had known for more than a thousand years, might turn the High Pontiff into the chaplain of Caesar.

The Spanish rooted theoretical policy of Charles thus had to confront great problems. Since Spain was called upon to support it almost alone, Charles V provoked a tremendous contortion in the historical trajectory

of Spain. He stopped the process of Peninsular unification, because the Spanish kingdoms were incorporated into a very complex plurality of lordships and, as director of that strange community of nations, he was not able to imagine the necessity of eliminating the differences among the Peninsular monarchies and articulating one state that would include all of them. He entangled Spain in the net of Central European affairs, thrust it into the thorny problem of the spread of Protestantism and tied Spanish destinies for centuries with these affairs. He turned Castile into the base and cement of his imperial power. He made it the rich plantation of soldiers and bubbling font of riches. He began the cruel exploitation of the economic power of the Castilian people, after seducing them with the mirage of the fleeting brilliance of military glory in the service of the faith. And he opened to the Spaniards an unlimited drain for their thirst for adventure, their warlike drive and their militant Christianity, with his military campaigns in all the battlefields of Europe and the Mediterranean.

Few sovereigns have ever bequeathed to any nation of Europe a group of external and internal problems like Charles bequeathed to Spain. His tragic legacy to the Peninsular peoples cannot be considered as a result of his caprice or of his folly. It was as much the bitter fruit of the singular balance of the trinity of moving forces of its spiritual life —reason, emotions and instincts— and of its personal hormonal make-up, as it was of the raging assault it had to resist from the tremendous and extremely complex problems which fate or Providence placed at the crossroads of its destiny. The dramatic part of the inheritance which Charles left us is rooted in the legacy which he himself had received upon inheriting the Spanish kingdoms and the dominions of the Habsburgs and of the Burgundians; and this drama comes from his attempt to resolve *more hispano* —something important to affirm in his favor— the varied, multiple, interconnected and opposing problems inherited from these kingdoms. Yet he lived so much outside of Spain and with his thought goaded by affairs tangential to Spanish life that he would not have been able to leave here the mark of his personal worth; not even if he had confronted, without hesitations, the problems of his times. This, however, he never did because these problems were not yet, if not in a period of misty imperception, at least in a moment of consolidation and definitive formation.

The force and vitality which the ideals of the Renaissance still conserved in his days, the synchronism between the initial moment of the Reformation and the first years of his long reign, his political hesitations towards it, the national nature of the majority of his military campaigns —his wars with France were national ones—, his frequent confrontation with the Papacy and the sporadic and infrequent nature of his struggles against the Turk, prevented his European policy from taking on a divine nature —which it never completely did— until very late in his reign and retarded the frightful closing of the spiritual horizons of Spain. He was neither guilty of having been compelled to defy the extremely complex questions

blocking his path; nor can we attribute to him the merit that in his days the breath of relative liberty still existed in Spanish lands. We can neither indulge in hateful accusations for the sad and dark inheritance he left to Spain; nor can we render gleeful eulogies for the moderate pressure of the machine of state on the Spanish consciences during his reign. I am not lightly exaggerating the accusations and the eulogies, because one cannot deny some luminous zones in his legacy to Spain nor the many dark parts of inquisitorial Hispanic policy as the years went by. And I do not even consider his prolonged disdain toward Spanish things as against non-Spanish —it took him many years to completely cure himself of that ill— and his continuous postponement of the interests of Spain in favor of those of his Flemish states and even those of his Genoese allies.

Yet if Charles V left us many problems unconnected with our medieval historical trajectory and the national ills derived from them, the action of Philip II in the history of Spain was much more serious. He did not resolve anything, he increased the series of international problems inherited from his father, he unnecessarily created other new ones both inside and outside of Spain and he hypertrophied the scars inflicted upon Spanish life by his father's policy. This was more because he launched the Spaniards on insane quixotic adventures pushed on by the weaknesses of his singular vital make-up, than because he confronted, in accord with the Peninsular tradition, the problems which appeared in his path.

He was born the same year in which a complex series of events occurred which seemed to liquidate the initial period of the Modern Times. In Valladolid, while he was rocking in his cradle, the Spanish Erasmists and the anti-Erasmists disputed. But in that same year Erasmus, worried about his advanced age, made his will, Machiavelli died, Rome was sacked, Henry VIII announced his desire to divorce Catherine of Aragón, the destinies of Ignatius of Loyola and Calvin matured, the Diet of Vättern declared Lutheranism to be the «religion of the state» in Sweden, the magistrates of Basel recognized the right of each person to live according to his faith...

Philip was to find the problems of Modernity already clear and well-defined. The fact that he did not confront them in the interests of Spain is an unquestioned truth. Did he focus them in the Spanish way, that is, according to the Hispanic temperamental tradition? As regent first and later as king he governed the Spaniards for more than half a century and he governed them from within the Peninsula, living among them, tied up in their most minute problems, with a great desire to be just and with a full dedication to his kingly office. But did he rule them according to the traditional Hispanic form of life?

He is normally presented as the incarnation and exponent of the Castilian nation. I consider this thesis to be erroneous and consider Philip, if not the antithesis of that which is Hispanic, at least as very little Spanish

and very little Castilian. At least he showed no inclination to follow the temperamental trajectories of Castile.

It is difficult to find Castilian antecedents for his rigid conception of royal power. His Spanish grandfathers never judged that the essence of divinity impregnated regal authority nor did they consider themselves to be justice itself. Rightfully Fidelino Figueiredo ties these principles with the political theories of John II of Portugal, ancestor of Philip.

Even less than his conception of the relation between «God and His Majesty», does his policy of reservedness and espionage find its roots in the tradition of Castile. «*Los naipes no jugallos pero de jugallos acaballos*» (Never play cards, but if so finish them), says a well-known Castilian proverb, in open and evident contradiction with the vacillations and unclear conduct of Philip when faced with many grave problems of his times: let us remember, for example, his hesitations, his advances, his retreats and his whole sinuous attitude in the affair of Antonio Pérez.

Against the traditional transhumancy of the Castilian royalty, he installed a sedentary court and a rigid political centralism. He broke the assimilating and egalitarian tradition with which his grandfathers had created the great kingdom of Castile, from the Cantabrian range to the Straits. In the affairs here below the thinnest thread of an ancient legal precept was an uncrossable barrier for him and he always stopped before the medieval privileges of the cortes, in opposition to the traditional disdain for the *fueros* by the cortes themselves and of the authority of laws by his grandfathers, the Castilian Trastamaras, and even by the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabel. In the contradiction between his conception of royal power and his respect for the constitutional norms of his kingdoms, he frequently resorted to torturous procedures, quite the opposite of the harsh and violent but straightforward conduct of the human archetype of Castile.

His lack of Spanish blood was notorious. His father was Flemish, his mother Portuguese, his paternal grandfather, Philip, half Austrian and half Burgundian, and his maternal grandfather, Manuel, of the Avis family of Portugal. Only his grandmothers, Juana and Maria, were Spanish. The Lusitanian stock triumphed in him. Though they derived from the Castilian branch of the Trastamaras —with a few drops of Hebraic blood the mother of the Catholic King also descended from them— they were granddaughters of the Portuguese doña Isabel —from whom the Mad Queen, Juana, inherited her mental illness—; and another Portuguese woman had been the wife of the Duke of Burgundy, John the Good, ancestor of the Flemish grandfather of Philip.

His physical appearance was not Spanish. He was blond, with blue eyes and had the prognathous jaw of those from Burgundy. Mary of Hungary communicated to her brother Charles V her surprise upon finding in the tomb of her grandmother, in Dijon, the same prognathous jaw which characterized both and which Philip also inherited.

The majority of his psychic traits were not Hispanic either. His mental faculties developed slowly, as one can deduce from the news his preceptor Martínez Silíceo gave to Charles V; therefore he evidently lacked Latin precocity. Hurault, in his memories, says of him that he had: «*plustoit la façon d'un flamand que d'un espagnol*». And the Venetian embassadors characterized him as phlegmatic, a strange quality in a Castilian.

His scientific and artistic devotions did not go well with those of his Peninsular subjects. He liked mathematics, a rare hobby in a Spaniard. He erected the Escorial, where the rigidly geometric architecture triumphs, in contrast with the broken lines and the adorned surfaces which have characterized the Hispanic constructions throughout the centuries and the different styles. In painting he felt a singular admiration for Titian —he had his Danae in his antechamber— and he did not like painters so close to the soul of Castile as Morales and especially El Greco. What marvelous value the cloisters of the Escorial would have if he had understood the art of El Greco!

He was an unrepentant worker, spending nine hours per day reading and writing: a virtue little pleasing to the Spaniards of his days. In him triumphed reflection over improvisation, so dear to the Hispanos, and calculation over drive, against what was normal at the time. In opposition to the bellicose traditions of the Castilians he felt repelled by war: «And my father liked this?», he exclaimed in Saint Quentin after the battle; and an Italian author viewed him in this way: «*Guerreggiatore più in camera co'l'inside e con l'oro che in campo con le forze e co'l ferro*».

He had no oratorical gifts and spoke slowly, here again confronting Spanish qualities and hobbies. He lived among papers; he wrote, he always wrote, even to the secretaries with whom he dealt daily and even in the latter days of his life. He liked the pen so much that, according to his own statements, if he had not been king he would have made his fortune with it. He wrote for the pure pleasure and caprice of it, for Quevedo said of him: «He had a quick, diligent and justified understanding, such a good memory that he acted as the memory for the courts and he was the alleviation, but at times the punishment, of the secretaries». No trait and no anecdote reveal in him the Hispanic verbalism.

He felt a lively nostalgia for his Castilian home, as a boy from Flanders and as an old man from Portugal, in contrast with the traditional migratory temperament of the man of the plateau of Castile, for whom all lands were homelands, according to the old and well-known proverb. And his letters to his daughters from Lisbon have revealed in him a lyricism seldom found in the austere and cold Castilian.

He was at times dominated by a grave melancholy and his greatest weakness was his perpetual mistrust of everyone and of everything —mistrust led him not to have loves with women who were not virgins— a pain and a vice uncommon in Castile. His suspicion, even of his most intimate relatives and servants —he even doubted of don John of Austria,

his brother, and of Alexander Farnese, the best of his generals—, was doubled by a naive faith in the venality of other consciences. He tried to buy all his enemies with pensions and even paid one to the future Henry IV as was shown by Aurelio Viñas in his day and was later declared by Braudel. How can this turbid faith be grouped with the habitual confidence of the Spaniard in the loyalty of others, judged to be one's own?

That distrust led him to want to intervene in all the affairs of government and justice of the kingdom, even in the most minute and insignificant. In one of the most agitated moments of his dramatic reign the *concejo* and the chapter of my city of Ávila litigated as to whether the stair of access to the chapel of San Segundo, recently constructed beside the apse or the dome of the cathedral, had to be placed in the building itself or had to occupy the street. The suit reached the Prudent King and he distracted his attention from the grave affairs of state, from which hung the fortune of Spain, to sentence the litigation just like Solomon, having three steps constructed in the temple, three in the wall and three in the street.

His tortured vacillations before accepting serious resolutions and even after when directing the operation of a determined enterprise —they were the source of a great amount of his failures— are ill-fitted with the frequently impetuous decisions of the *homo hispanus*. And his constancy and tenacity contradicted the temporal fleetingness of the impassioned drive and of the heroic vehemence of the Peninsular people.

Breaking with the simplicity, traditionally triumphant in Hispanic royalty and nobility, he paid homage to etiquette. Well-known is his expression «Now you may don your hat, Cardinal», with which, as a boy, he gave a lesson of respect toward his minuscule person to a prince of the Church. He reserved for himself the title of Majesty, he was miserly in granting that of Highness —he never allowed it to be granted to his brother don John— and always called the pope father and not lord. In a Spain, where even the grandees used vile expressions, he never said an impolite word; yet remember those of the Duke of Alba, the elder, and those of the Count of Benavente and I dare not reproduce some of the Princess of Eboli.

When Cabrera de Córdoba says that: «His laugh and his knife were the limits», he reveals to us his arts of deceit, infrequent in a Castilian knight who has never been a defensive man. He controlled the showing of his sentiments so well that no gesture betrayed the movements of his soul, to the great amazement of the extroverted and gesticulating Spaniards and of the foreigners used to them. The Venetian embassador Francisco de Soranzo, wrote of Philip: he has not allowed himself to be dominated by his affections, he has shown himself to be always unalterable and immutable. The Florentine embassador Giangigliazi said of him: his gestures

of joy, sorrow or ire were never noted. And his correspondence reveals his duplicity, which displeased his Castilian collaborators.

When, after taking away all defense from Prince don Carlos, he armed himself with a coat of mail under his habitual clothes when going to arrest him, he accredited, as on many other occasions —he could never joust with vigor and valor—, a clear fear of death, something normally confronted with indifference by the majority of the Hispanic people. Unsure of the justice of some of his decisions —a rare attitude in the proud and decided Spaniards— he trembled not only for his life but also for his fame. In that fear lies the key of his vacillations and slowness in the case of Antonio Pérez and the reason for some of his duplicity. «His fear was very costly and he seldom knew how to reply to his suspicions», said Quevedo of him, recording his cowardliness, infrequent in the Spain of his epoch.

Against the violent but passing exaltation, like the fire of dry wheat, habitual among the vehement and at times ferocious, but in the end generous and forgetting Spaniards, was constrasted his severe, merciless and vengeful coldness. The words of Quevedo are known: «by a glance he many times decreed punishment, reproaching with his look, because his visage was executional in noting mistakes». Soranzo wrote: «*Ha simulato e dissimulato l'ingiurie ma non ha perduto ocassione de vendicarle*».

His purified and deep faith lacked the confidence, at times impious, of the Hispanic *homo*, in divine mercy; against the «you give me so much hope» of «Don Juan», archetype of the Spaniard, even though he wore priestly habits like Lope de Vega, he lived in fear before the last rendering of accounts with an implacable God who judged in his own image and style. Few Spaniards, near to the moment of the passing on to supreme life, would have stopped to say to their confessor these words which he addressed to his, according to don Cristóbal de Moura: «Father, you are the representative of God, I protest that I will do whatever you show me as necessary for my salvation. You have then the responsibility for my salvation on your soul. Take note that I am about to do everything necessary to expiate my sins.»

Many of these habits, inclinations, qualities, weaknesses or defects can be rooted in his Germanic or Portuguese heritage. Others cannot be explained except as a result of his singular endocrinological make-up and of the singular equation of the three moving forces of his psychic life. His cowardliness, his mistrust of everyone and everything, his arts of deceit, his extreme vacillations, his merciless rigidity and his sickly fear of the last rendering of accounts on his journey without return can only be attributed to these singularities. All these weaknesses are tied to some psychophysical flaw which doctors and psychologists can research. Extreme caution, pejorative opinions regarding others, torturous vacillations, suspicion, mistrust and anguish are frequent in weak men. Men who suffer from a sliding

will, from a decrease in their capacity for confidence, from an evil fear and from a clear impotence for an impetuous action, when destiny hands them the rule of a historical community, not infrequently do they procure the affirmation of their authority with more zeal than those who feel strong and confident. His lyricism, his nostalgia, his melancholy, his academicism, his devotion for etiquette, his renunciation of verbal direct action to hole up behind the parapets of paper and the written word, his preference for the sinuous roads with the rejection of the straight ones, his repressed ire which accumulates explosive pressure behind the well-closed valves of his deceit, his depressions of fear or his explosions of anger before nonexistent but imagined dangers of death —the case of Escobedo— or before authentic sparks of revolt —the cases of Lanuza in Saragossa or of Bracamonte in Ávila—, all are traits of weakness more than of firmness. Behind the traditional image of a Spanish tyrant, might there in reality be an image of a man *a natura* soft, weak, sentimental, half German and half Portuguese, adulterated by a rigid education of a prince called upon to govern a great empire and obliged by adverse destiny to confront the whirlpool of many very grave problems —both national and international—, worsened by the serious tempests of his conscience? Must we perhaps imagine him forced to live under an iron mask in an eternal defensive position and ending up transmuting the truth of his life as a man in the fiction of his historial role?

One thing seems sure to me: the clash between his psycho-physical temperament and his mission as king of Spain. He could not renounce *ab intestato* his paternal historical inheritance nor the Hispanic temperamental pressure. The first one pushed him toward the summit of religious and political questions of Europe, backed by the military and economic forces of Castile. The Spanish vital make-up gave him directions for his volition and actions through the labyrinth in which he found himself imprisoned. Between both historical forces moved the man of flesh and blood that was Philip. Being born and educated in Castile, he was immersed in the motor ideas of Hispanic thought of the epoch. The world created for man could not imprison him, it was beneath him; only to God did he owe total dedication. In accord with this conception, which through the pen of Saint John of the Cross sixteenth-century Spain appears to us, Philip confronted in a Spanish manner, the disunity of the West shaken by the Renaissance and the Reformation. Yet he confronted it with his qualities and weaknesses and deviated the Peninsular tradition to the harm of the historical existence itself of Spain.

Some of his tastes, inclinations, habits and defects might not have affected to any great degree the urgent task of ruling his kingdoms, during one of the most turbulent and critical periods for the old Europe. But, can anyone deny that other aspects held an enormous weight on the destinies of Spain which he governed for over a half century?

Nobody can argue that many of his qualities and weaknesses were

doleful for the future of Spain. First they caused grave and difficult national and international problems —that of Antonio Pérez and its Aragonese corollary was the fault: first of his suspicions which led him to fall into the trap his secretary had laid for him; and later of his vacillations and fears when, convinced of his treason, he initiated the trial; and after, of the explosions of vengeful ire which escaped from the valves of his reserve and of his weakness. And second, they caused the failures of projects of national interest, accepted in accord with Hispanic modules of life, but clumsily carried out. Those failures naturally damaged the historic vitality of the Spanish nation by weakening its faith in the divine nature of its mission and by ruining it economically. They also sucked the spritual and material power necessary to bear its mighty burden.

Yet one cannot argue either with the fact that the gravest consequence of the normal projection of his own psycho-physical make-up on Spanish history, was having taken on his European adventures in the defense of Catholicism with a quixotic gesture as admirable and magnificent at is was insane; a gesture in which the limits between the possible and the impossible vanished in the darkness of madness. More than moved, he was dragged along by his fears and terrors of the implacable God which his sickly anxiety about life beyond this one had made him conceive. Philip II desfigured and hypertrophied the directional lines marked out for the historical trajectory of Spain by the temperamental inheritance of the Peninsular peoples. Many negative aspects of this inheritance, forged in our Middle Ages on the base of the functional structure of the Northern peoples of Spain, were accentuated by Philip's policy.

The comparison between the Hispanic style of life on the eve of the great Spanish adventure of Modernity and the directions of Philip's policy, clearly reveal the essential differences which separate and even confront them.

The Christian Peninsular kings had fought for many centuries in the name of God and for their kingdoms, because divine war, in the service of the Most High, and the interests of the community had coincided. Yet they had never sacrificed the existence or the security, not even the prosperity or the greatness of the nations they had ruled, in the name of quixotic religious ideals. Moreover they had never fought outside of «Spain», that is, the Peninsula, to submit heretics to the yoke of the Church.

It was a «divine» war against the Islamite from beyond the frontier, but always within the limits of the feasible; a «divine» war with courageous drive and with magnificent heroism, but which did not exclude living together, pacting and even collaborating to safeguard general interests. In national Christendom, there was unity of faith, achieved at times even by violence, but never the decision to impose that unity beyond the frontier line. And if some of the foreign heretics or infidels were vassals or allies they were helped against their religious or political enemies. Peter II of

Aragón did that in Muret wth the Albigensians from beyond the Pyrenees and that was also done at times by the kings of Castile with the Muslim party kingdoms: one who has been raised to the altars by the Church, Saint Ferdinand, did so.

That practice probably influenced the Spanish theologians consulted by Philip II in 1566 about the events of Flanders. They counselled him: «That, keeping in mind the state of those provinces and the ills that could occur to the universal Church if a rebellion were provoked, they believed that His Majesty could very well, without any offense to God, allow them freedom of cult without any burden on his own conscience.» Through their pen we find the Spanish tradition of living together with peoples of different religious creeds, within and beyond the frontiers. Philip II protested before a notary public that he preferred to lose a thousand lives than to allow himself to be called lord of those who so greatly offended God. He wrote to Requesens, his ambassador in Rome: «And so you may assure His Holiness that before admiting the slightest schism in the world of religion and in the service of God, I will lose all my states and a hundred lives if I had them, for I do not plan nor do I wish to be the lord of heretics, and if it were possible I would try to settle the religious question of those States without resorting to arms, because I see that using them will spell their total ruin; but if it is not possible to remedy all as I wish without resorting to them, I am determined to take them up and go myself in person to preside over the execution of all; and no danger, nor the ruin of all those countries, not that of all the rest left to me, can keep me from doing what a Christian prince who is fearful of God must do in his service.»

With these words Philip II portrays himself in the light of his fervors and his fears. He betrays in them the most hidden movements of his subconscious. He reveals his spiritual fear and his physical dread. He always demonstrated the fear of losing the only life he had, but he writes that he would prefer to lose a hundred that he might have before consenting the disservice of God. Danger will not hold me back, he says, but it did; it held him so strongly that he did not go to Flanders and by thus hiding his person from the religious flames he contributed to their growing and growing until they consumed Spain. And he declares his disdain for the interest of his kingdoms, which he reveals ready to sacrifice in the holocaust of a divinity, for him closer to the Hebrew Jehovah than to the «Our Father» of the New Testament. And protected by the derisive helmet and the mocking armor of paper and pen, the visor of deceit lowered, with his heart fainting of suspicion, his soul vacillating from the fear of falling into an artful trick and, more than wounded by the fury of impetus, confident in the optimism of his calculations, the «knight of detail and scruple» attacked, using bright and vigorous pure Hispanic blood, the giant of the Protestantism of his Flemish subjects, with a giant that, by the

magical arts of the hateful bewitchers of history, was going to be transformed into the great windmill of all of Europe beyond the Pyrenees.

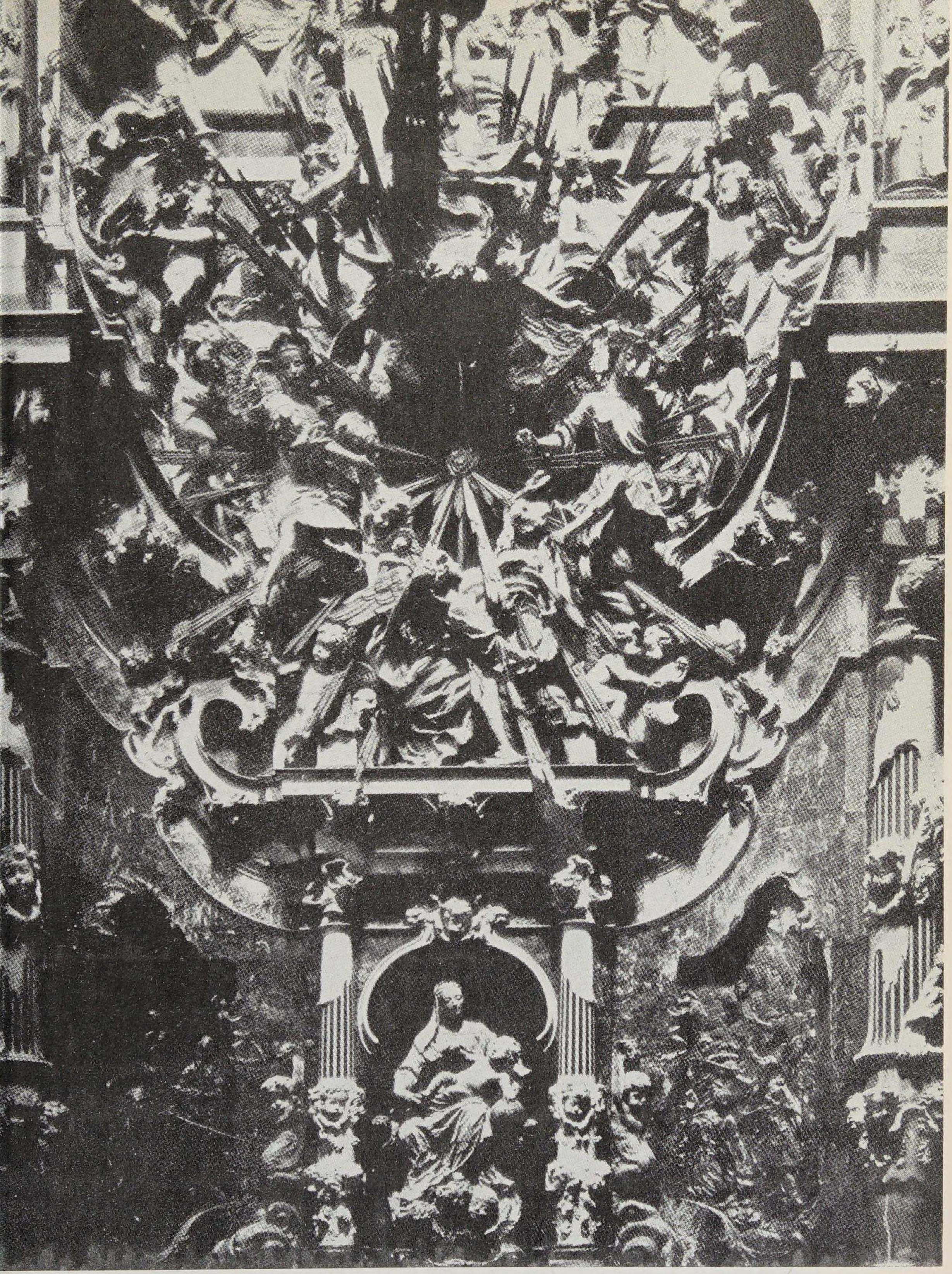
Yes, Spain was pushed by Philip into the most insane quixotic adventure that Cervantes could imagine. It was an adventure which was only going to end a century later, when, fallen and beaten, Spain was going to feel on her face, not the lance of her victor like the Knight of the Doleful Figure, but the many lances of the gang of her enemies. With a quixotic gesture, not even then was she going to renounce her magnificent faith. Going beyond Don Quixote, not even on her death bed was she to be cured of her madness.

After many years of mad battle the «Knight of detail and scruple» —I wish to call him this— listened to the sensible words of the many Castilian *hidalgos*, turned into Sanchos thanks to the blows received upon their hurting backs from those of Yanguas —the enemies and money-lenders of their king.

In the Cortes of 1593 Jerónimo de Salamanca, representative of Burgos declared: «The need of His Majesty and of these kingdoms being caused by the just and continuous wars which he has been forced to carry on in different places, he is humbly requested to end them if it is possible; because if ended, their great costs which place him in the straits he is in will also cease, and he will be able to tend to the protection and defense of the coasts of Spain and of Italy with his galleys, and to that of the Ocean with enough armament for its defense and the rooting out of the corsairs and pirates, and the safeguard of his armadas of the Indies, and from all this will come a great alleviation for these kingdoms and they will breathe freely away from the straits they are in.»

The representative of Seville, don Pedro Tello, who had spent the greater part of his life as a soldier, enlarged on the thesis of Jerónimo de Salamanca. «It is clear, and the world knows, that His Majesty acts in these just wars with holy zeal, as the sole defender and protector of the faith; but it is also clear that, since his enemies are so numerous and their tenacity in error and infidelity so great that, in as many years that have been used to reduce them to a better state, nothing has been achieved, and that God Our Lord has seen that in trying to reduce them His Majesty has used his ultimate effort, and that he has no obligation to do more, especially if to continue means running the risk and danger which has been mentioned...»

Don Francisco de Monzón, sharing the same thesis, requested: «That His Majesty, if possible, to ease up with the armies he has in Flanders and France, for with this so far the rebels who wish not to follow the holy faith have been well and rigorously punished, and that His Majesty bring back home the natives of these kingdoms who are serving him and here favor and shelter the Catholics who wish to come in some good way, and that His Majesty be pleased to try to fortify these kingdoms and coasts and seaports and to arm and reinforce his galleys, in as great a



175.—«*Transparency*» *of the Cathedral of Toledo,* by Narciso Tomé (1732). This is the *delirium tremens* of the traditional Hispanic baroque: decorative exuberance, action, movement and even twisted lines. In this work of Narciso Tomé a long process which can be followed through all of Spanish art, especially in the retables of our churches, is culminated.

Remember, for example, the retable of Gil de Siloé, in the Cartuja de Miraflores.

176.—*Ferdinand VI*, by Van Loo. Collection of Pérez Asensio. Jerez (Cádiz). With the insignificant Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) Spain recovers and takes new directions. Feijoo sets them out for Hispanic thought Ensenada begins the creation of the fleet that the Spanish power was needing. With the limitations that our past imposed on it, the cultural movement went uninterrupted for the whole century. «Now they will not be building any more ships», wrote the English ambassador to London, when he had provoked the fall of the renovator of our fleet.

177.—*Still-life*, by Meléndez. Prado Museum (Madrid). The taste for the description of minute objects which had already called the attention of Martial and survives in our literary works –from the «Cid», the «Milagros» of Berceo and the «Buen Amor» to the «Pícaro Guzmán» and the «Buscón»– and which exists in our works of sculpture and painting –from the capitals and sepulchers of our churches to Velázquez and Goya– triumphs in the still-lifes like this one of Meléndez (1716-1780).

178.—*Charles III*, by Mengs. Prado Museum (Madrid). Charles III (1759-1788), the king who allowed his ministers to operate freely. Aranda, Floridablanca, Campomanes attempted to renovate the spirit and functional structure of Spain; Campomanes declared that what was needed was more factories and fewer commentaries on Aristotle and he confronted the agrarian problem. Enlightened despotism achieved its greatest successes but, despite the erroneous and unjust expulsion of the Society of Jesus, it was unable to defeat the static Hispanic forces.

number as is necessary, and to defend the pass of the Straits of Gibraltar, and to assure the navigation of the Indies so that the fleets are secure and the wealth carried in them might enter Spain...»

These were not the first *hidalgos* of Castile to raise their voices against the quixotic adventure of Philip. In 1576 those who governed the *concejos* of Ávila, Toro and other Castilian cities had refused to vote the king new tributes for his military ventures. It was increasingly difficult for Philip II to gain the assistance of the municipalities and of the Cortes. The municipalities obliged their representatives to swear that they would grant no new taxes wthout their consent; and the same sovereign who dared to order the death of Montigny and the assasination of Escobedo, had to resort to manipulations worthy of the clever politics of today, to assure himself the *concejo* authorization in each case. Don Francisco de Guillamas, field marshall of Philip and councilman of Ávila, in August of 1576 wrote to the monarch and to his secretary Vázquez de Salazar, that from his death-bed he had been able to get the *concejo* to order its representative to vote for the *millones* tax in the Cortes. The king had had to send my dying grandfather through the Guadarrama Mountains, in order to obtain the favorable vote of the knights of Ávila.

The theologians in 1566, when there was still time left not to begin the Flemish adventure, and the representatives in the Cortes of 1593, when the country was well on its way to definitive bankruptcy, counselled Philip II to abide by the medieval Hispanic traditions. He had achieved an honorable agreement with the Turk —shown by Braudel—; he had counselled don Sebastián of Portugal against the African campaign, something we have always known; and he had lived in such good harmony with the sultan of Morocco that the Spanish soldiers had helped him in the expansion of his empire into the center of Africa —accredited by the mysterious history of Timbuctoo—. Why did one, who had thus lived with the infidels, secular enemies of Hispanic Christendom, and who for thirty years did not break with the heretic queen of England, why did he topple head over heels into the adventure of Flanders first and that of France later? Was it the intimate personal conviction, first of his own responsibility before the Most High for the faith of his subjects; and later, in his old age, of his own responsibility before God for the Catholicism of the neighboring nations to assure that of his own? Errors of calculation? No matter what, it meant an immense personal responsibility to Spain.

5. The Cultural Creations of the Spaniards

Another of the historical realities which burned in the formidable short circuit caused by the juxtaposition of the three landings of Tariq, Columbus and Charles V, was the new inclination of the Spaniards to confront philosophical and scientific problems which concerned and concern the study of nature and of man as part of it.

From the first pages of *Spain in Its History,* its author declares that the Spanish Christians have been incapable of objectifying themselves in things or in thoughts and he paragons the immutability and sterility of the Spanish spiritual life with the creative and changing force of the other nations of the West. Again and again he insists, repeats and hammers on the same subject throughout his work, which finally leads him to write of the Spaniard: «He perceived himself and the world around him as already definitive and immutable, without any possibility of varying the circumstances surrounding him. Without the invasion of "things" from outside, the Spaniard would have continued to light his dwelling with oil lamps, with wax candles and with torches.»

If I did not know his exaggerated passion, his ignorance of Spanish history, his ease at spewing the most outrageous theories and his lack of scientific scruples, I would not be able to explain his affirmation that we have not been capable of giving birth to ideas or of creating things neither during the medieval centuries nor in modern times; and that while Western Europe advanced in thought, invented techniques, renewed its institutions, transformed its economy, created a science and a philosophy..., Spain remained static and sterile, in a receptive position, desiring from time to time the novelties from beyond its frontiers and adopting them, willfully or not, as mere changes of decoration in the scenery of its life, without any transcendence whatsoever for the vital Hispanic style.

His injustice is enormous. He commits it many times while confronting during the Middle Ages, the human possibilities of a scarce human population, installed in a corner of Spain, with the creations of all the nations of Europe together. Remember that until the beginnings of the thirteenth-century the frontier of Spanish Christendom did not extend South of the valleys of the Ebro and the Tagus. He recognize the philosophic magnitude of the archdeacon of Segovia, Domingo González, and his influence on William of Auvergne, Saint Bonaventure and Albert the Great. He cannot deny the greatness of Ramón Llull and his effect on Western thought. Yet, he says, we lacked men like Saint Anselm, Saint Thomas, Eckhart, Duns Scotus or Ockham, with which he enumerates all the great figures born in medieval Europe from Naples to Scotland and from the Pyrenees to beyond the Elbe. He should have compared the philosophical-scientific production of those two corners of Spain with that of some region of France, Italy or Germany, for example.

Nor is it just to deny the worth of the Spanish thinkers of the latter medieval centuries, from the three Peninsular groups presided by Álvaro Pelayo, Sánchez de Arévalo and Eximenis. They coined original political and philosophic theories. They do not deserve the total disdain cast upon them when the author affirms that we entered Modernity lacking objective thought. Non-Spanish scholars are more just with them; they recognize that in their works key ideas of the modern state and national and urban life appear.

He later falls into the injustice of eliminating from the list of the spiritual creations of the Spaniards all the works of our Catholic philosophers and theologians of the «Siglo de Oro», as if the orthodox thinkers were unable to «objectify» original ideas. «The purpose of the thinking act», he writes, «is the achievement of a truth which will later be commonly possessed by those who know it.» But, of course, he thinks, only as long as it does not try to explain the problems of life and the world except in opposition to the doctrines of the Church. The theologians, the philosophers, the Catholic thinkers cannot segregate thoughts nor achieve truths. Nevertheless Weissbach writes when studying the Baroque: «The substantive of the ideas of the Counter-Reformation had to be defined from Spain in its essential roots.» And Kaegi, in his study *Spain and the Counter-Reformation in the Work of Jacob Burckhardt,* has just pointed out that, according to unedited notes of the great historian, he felt that the Spanish spirit had directed that period of European cultural history. The new Hispanic scholasticism cannot be disdained as the generator of pure foolishness. It moved in a Renaissance atmosphere of exaltation of the human person, showed confidence in the forces of reason to reach absolute truths and made man, in his double earthly and angelical condition, an important subject in its meditations.

No one can deny, nor does so today, the historical value for Western thought of the natural law doctrines of the Dominicans Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto. In what country of Europe were similar voices raised, or could they possibly have been raised, in the first half of the sixteenth-century, in defense of international law, that is, of human rights? In the same century in which Machiavelli and Bodin theorized on unscrupulous «state reason», Vitoria and Soto created a Christian humanism. The work of the latter, *De justitia et jure* was edited 27 times before the year 1600.

The *Loci Theologici* of Melchor Cano exercised a great influence on the Catholic thought of Europe during the century and he still continues to be considered valuable for his critical synthesis of the sources of theological knowledge and for his contributions to the founding of some sciences of the spirit. Lang, when studying *Die Methode des dogmatischen Beweiss* of the great Spanish theologian, in 1925, wrote: «Cano touches the most essential points of the criticism of historical sources... If to this we add his historical-philosophical considerations regarding historical certainty, we find the foundations of the methodology of this science, with a clarity and precision which assure Cano a place of honor in its history.»

The *Disputationes Metaphisicae* of Suárez form a systematic exposition which touched both modern subjects and renovated the old Aristotelian-Thomistic doctrines. They constitute an undeniable advance in the philosophic thought of the sixteenth-century. Appearing in 1597, between 1605 and 1620 they were re-edited more than ten times in Germany, France and

Italy. In them the dignity of man is rigorously proclaimed. Leibniz and Schopenhauer recognized the philosophical stature of Suárez. His influence on the philosophy of Modernity, duly recognized today, according to Ferrater Mora: «Is above all due to his elaboration of some of the themes which precisely for the Modern Age were, though under different tenets, fundamental.» In his work *Suárez y la filosofía moderna,* Ferrater not only underlines the «modernity» of Spanish scholasticism; he affirms that it reached conclusions substantially similar to those of the Cartesians and especially the Leibnizians.

Nor do modern scholars disdain the other Hispanic neo-scholastics, behind whose polemic regarding determinism and free will there was something more than a dispute among clerics: there was a singular Spanish conception of the integral autonomy of man and of his dignity and natural freedom. Furthermore the Spanish pre-Cartesians and pre-Kantians are still studied and valued outside of Spain and attention is still paid to their philosophic thought. The novelty and anticipation of the first is today recognized by the specialists. Ferrater Mora has written: «Spanish thought... anticipates European thought and clearly says what Europe had not even dared to formulate. We find an example of these magnificent anticipations among others, in our Renaissance thinkers, in a Luis Vives or in a Francisco Sánchez. Without believing, like Menéndez Pelayo, that in them was to be found the direct origin of all modern thought, the truth is that one is surprised to find in them, imprecisely, bubblingly and at times exaggeratedly expressed, the same ideas which would later inform what we have called European idealism. The deafness of Europe towards those words, towards those genial anticipations of its own intellectual destiny, is not able to erase the fact that they were, in effect, said, written and shouted. When, in Renaissance Europe, consciousness is born of the necessity of a new method to understand things, of a new science, and, after it, of a new technology, there exists in Spain, living inside and outside of it, some luminaries who say, either in common language or in clear and biting Latin prose, what must be done to make this method and science possible.»

The essayist we are discussing here throws overboard all the juridical doctrines of the Spaniards who in public law, international law, criminal law, commercial law and legal philosophy surpassed the contemporary creations of other nations, with original ideas illuminated by names such as Vitoria, Soto, Alfonso de Castro, Vázquez Menchaca, Diego de Covarrubias and Suárez. He looks down on the doctrines of the Spanish pre-mercantilists Luis Ortiz, Fray Tomás de Mercado, Martínez Cellorigo, Fray Juan Márquez, Sancho de Moncada and Martínez de la Mata. And he is unjust with political writers as incisive as Ginés de Sepúlveda, P. Rivadeneyra, Mariana, Gracián, Saavedra Fajardo...

Grice-Hutchinson has just studied, for example, how the theologians of Salamanca, Vitoria, Soto, Azpilcueta, Covarrubias, Bañés and Molina, and

those of the satellite school of Valencia, contributed new ideas to Western monetary theory. The author has especially pointed out the doctrine of Fray Martín de Azpilcueta which, by substituting the concept of the valuation of money with the price level, anticipated many modern theories. The influence of this and other theories of those aforementioned authors on later European scholars, who followed our authors without citing them, has also been underlined.

According to the essayist-turned-historian the Spaniards were prisoners of their faith, they believed in God according to the Hispanic Catholic tradition, and their thoughts were invalid, mere candid, naive and crazy secretions. Fernández Navarrete, who at the beginning of the seventeenth-century discourses like a man of the Enlightenment, yet limited by the religious ideals of his epoch, «seems like the madman of the House of Nuncio» of the cute story of Cervantes. And Saavedra Fajardo, in whom the traditional line of Hispanic thought is broken, something admitted today, seems to him to be a fool because he believed in the miraculous intervention of Saint James in Hispanic history. It is notorious, nevertheless, that Descartes, his contemporary, affirmed that he needed some extraordinary help from heaven to submit the revealed truths to the weakness of his reason and went to Loreto to thank the Virgin for the inspiration she had given him to help him conceive his theories. The religious sentiment of Leibniz was also very lively.

Beyond the Pyrenees men rolled out projects of new structures of «politics or whatever». The Hispanic man lived in a fixed position. Any innovation of any importance for the history of Spain was always originated outside the Peninsula. When writing such words it is forgotten that the corner of Europe occupied by Peninsular Christendom witnessed the birth, with no foreign influence, of two such important institutions for the political mechanism of nations as the municipality, whose embryo appears in Castile in the tenth-century, and the parliaments, of which we have testimonies in Castile, León and Aragón of the second half of the twelfth-century. He forgets that León and Castile on the one hand and Aragón on the other created at a very early date what we might call their national constitutions, and they created them without taking ideas or juridical formulas from beyond the Pyrenees: that of León is earlier than the Magna Carta and that of Aragón crossed the frontiers and was imitated in Hungary. He forgets our pastoral organizations, as audacious as they were peculiar, and the doctrine, favorable to the freedom of work and commerce, maintained by the Castilian sovereigns against the guild system generalized beyond the Pyrenees; a policy which ended up triumphing outside the Peninsula. He forgets that in the creation of the modern State, Castile owes nothing to Europe, but rather was the creditor of the other countries of the West. He forgets the singularities of our civil law which, in contradiction at the same time with the Roman doctrines, developed, especially in matters of contract, special ideas based on the respect of human freedom; ideas only

triumphant later on in the world. He forgets that Francisco de Vitoria in the first half of the sixteenth-century already ventured doctrines that took a long time to be admitted outside the Peninsula and some which still make up unreacheable ideals. He conceived the idea that the *totus orbis* —here I am following Camilo Barcia— constitutes a moral unity which encompasses all nations, whose relations should be governed by natural law, thus leading into international law; for him the universal international community is above the sovereignty of each state and the wars which might damage that community are unjust; when applying the notion of the common good to the group of nations he prefigures the contemporary thesis of collective security based on justice; as a sequel of these theories he defends the freedom of the seas, something that the governments of Europe and America have ended up accepting; and he sustains the legitimacy of what we call today conscientious objections: «If the subject is convinced of the injustice of a war», he writes, «he should not serve in it even though the prince orders him to...», and: «If the subjects whose conscience are contrary to war, may not participate in it, whether or not they are right to think so.» Our essayist forgets that the Spanish theologians and jurists continued the tradition of Vitoria and perfected his thesis regarding the ruling of an international community by juridical egalitarian norms; they ventured many noble political conceptions, some like the right to depose an unjust sovereign —Vitoria and Soto— and the right to regicide —Mariana—, transformation of old scholastic doctrines but others which prefigured the system of representative monarchy of more recent times; and they created a philosophy of power, which raised strong doctrinal barriers against caesarism, just when it was triumphing in Europe. He forgets that the Spanish jurists recognized first, at least theoretically, the right of the «inferior nations» and formulated, concerning the work day and the salary of the Indians, precepts which only 400 years later have ended up being accepted by modern social law of the free nations for the white workers. And he forgets many other ideas and doctrines in the realm of the sciences of the spirit which Spaniards have formulated before they were born beyond the Pyrenees.

Even in science and technology he commits an injustice to the period before our great crisis of the seventeenth-century. He traces a statistic of the number of pages in the *Bibliotheca* of Nicolás Antonio dedicated to religion, history, law, literature, humanities, medicine, natural science, philosophy, mathematicas, astronomy... In that statistic he underlines, naturally, the disproportion between the abundance of works on religion, history and law and the scarcity of those relating to the different sciences and technologies. His bibliographical record of the *Bibliotheca Hispana* is not complete. It has been greatly amplified converting to Spanish science not only Menéndez Pelayo y Picatoste but dozens of scholars, whose monographic studies are recorded in the very accessible works of Ballesteros and of Sánchez Alonso and in *La ciencia y la técnica en el descubrimiento de*

América by Rey Pastor. This record is very detailed insofar as it concerns the works of the Spanish geographers and cosmographers in the *Ensayo de bibliografía marítima española,* published on the occasion of the «Exposición Nacional del Libro del Mar» and will be even more so when García Miranda publishes his study on them. But I dare challenge him to construct a similar statistic of the English, French or German production before 1640. I am sure that it will reveal the same imbalance that the Spanish statistic does among the different branches of knowledge. The weakness of his argument is so great that one might attribute it to a disdainful subconscious inclination to belittle the value of Peninsular science and technology.

Truly our contribution to Western science and technology from 1500 to 1600 cannot be disdained as insignificant. It is true that the *homo hispanus* has always felt attracted by the consideration and analysis of questions with direct bearing on his daily life. But the numerous and original contributions of the Spaniards to those disciplines opened roads for European technology.

Deep-sea navigation across the Atlantic obliged the Spaniards and Portuguese to surpass their astronomical knowledge, toward a more exact determination of geographic coordinates, toward the resolution of many different problems related with navigation and toward the perfection of measuring instruments The magnetic variations of the compass and thus terrestrial magnetism supplied the occasion for a series of studies and inventions. Those variations were known before the discovery of America, but when this abnormal phenomenon —more observable in the Atlantic— was noted by Columbus and later by Fernández de Oviedo, it supplied the occasion for a series of tests and approximations. It worried Felipe Guillén, Santa Cruz, Falero and Diego Gutiérrez. Some invented mechanisms to attempt to correct the error of the needle and others drew maps, in which they tried to translate its oscillations. To explain them, Martín Cortés in 1551 ventured the hypothesis that the magnetic meridians do not go through the terrestrial pole; and Andrés García de Céspedes invented an instrument by which the pilots could know at night the variation of the needle and another to know the variation at sunrise.

The nautical charts with equidistant parallels did not resolve the capital problem of navigation. According to Rey Pastor, after this there were two problems: What curve does the vessel traveling in a straight direction describe on the globe? How to draw the chart in such a way that this curve is represented by a straight line? The first problem was resolved by the great Portuguese cosmographer Pedro Núñez, who taught and worked in Spain: he established the spiral nature of the loxodrome curve, which he called *bearing.* The second problem demanded a series of conjectures and approximations. Among those who realized them is García Torreño (1522) who prepared the maps for Magellan's mission. Alonso de Santa

Cruz discovered the inequality between the circles of the equator and the parallels comprised between the meridians themselves and attempted to save the defects of the nautical charts, constructing one which paved the way for the making of spherical ones; Alejo de Venegas tells us of his work in a study appearing in 1540. Martín Cortés also conceived shortly thereafter the idea of the progressive separation of the parallels on the maps. Fernández Enciso invented the table which marked the degrees according to the inclination of the bearing with respect to the meridian. And García de Céspedes, in 1606, was able to draw the beginnings of a spherical chart without knowing of Mercator's, perfected by Wright.

It was an arduous problem to determine the longitude; the Peninsulars confronted the problem with decision and partial success. The Portuguese Francisco Falero and the Spaniard Andrés de San Martín struggled to resolve it. Santa Cruz invented an instrument similar to an azimuthal needle to find the meridian line by two highs of the sun. In 1580, Sarmiento de Gamboa, lost in a storm, thought of a new type of forestaff and a new method for calculating the longitude. Andrés de Poza thought of another based on the observation of the distances of the Moon and stars of the Zodiac. Our most important contributions to the attempt to clear up the question were, however, the *Libro de longitudes* of Santa Cruz, the *Instrucciones* of López de Velasco, the apparatus given by Juan de Herrera to Álvarez de Toledo, cosmographer of the armada of Menéndez de Avilés and the first international contest, opened in 1598, to try to find its definitive solution.

In cosmography, navigation, geodesy and physics of the globe, the Spaniards and the Portuguese have contributed many studies and inventions. Nebrija published in Alcalá in 1527 his lessons of 1511: *De ponderibus, de mesuris, de numeris,* and in Paris in 1533: *In cosmographiae libros introductorium.* Correcting the measurement carried out in France by Oroncio Fineo he established at 62,500 paces the longitude of the terrestrial degree and determined that of the Spanish foot. His hourly tables of the duration of the day in the cities of Spain and of Europe according to their longitude and latitude are famous. And he wrote about watches and about their corrections. Pedro Núñez solved the problem of minimum dusk and invented the *nonius* for the measurement of fractions. In the *Art of navigation* of Pedro de Medina, and in that of Martín Cortés, and in that of Zamorano the sailors of the West learned the technique of pilotage. Blasco de Garay thought of a system of wheels and blades to replace oars in the propulsion of vessels. García Céspedes invented a needle with moveable edges. And Andrés de Morales studied the Gulf Stream.

The wealth of the Spanish maritime glossaries and dictionaries is enormous. The most complete collection of them is in Illinois. Among them the *Espejo de navegantes* of Alonso de Chaves stands out, but other works deserve mention like those of Pérez de Moya, Diego García del

Palacio and Tomás Cano. Spain, writes Watters, anticipated Europe by a century in the elaboration of a true nautical dictionary.

They felt interest for the most remote countries. Luarca wrote a history of China; the first known map of China was the work of Jorge de la Barbuda; and we owe to Cipriano Sánchez, collaborator of Céspedes, the first map of Ceylon.

We had excellent cartographers: Jerónimo de Chaves, Diego Méndez, Álvaro Seco, Ojea... The rough drafts of the so-called Atlas of Velasco are so exact that they were invoked and accepted as decisive proof in the arbitration between Colombia and Peru. And Lababa drew a magnificent topographic map of Aragón, spoken of by Gabriel Marcel, which was the second in Europe and surpassed the first one concerning the Bavaria of today.

The German authors of treatises were quite attached to the Spaniards, they listened to them and obtained their collaboration. Hessels has published a beautiful book about the correspondence of Ortelius with Arias Montano where the help the Spaniard gave him is evident And García Miranda has demonstrated that the map of China published by Ortelius is by Luis Jorge de la Barbuda and has discovered a long line of his Spanish collaborators: Jerónimo de Chaves, Diego Méndez, Álvaro Seco, Cipriano Sánchez.

We also possessed good geographers. The *Geografía universal de Indias* of López de Velasco stands out and the *Coreografía* of Chaves and the *Hidrografía* of Céspedes also deserve mention. The three objectives proposed by the German geographers were resolved by the Spaniards. The first was a survey of the nation. The *Relaciones Geográficas*, begun by Esquivel and continued by Diego de Guevara, were carried out with a questionnaire of surprising modernity. They were continued in the topographic map conserved in El Escorial, corrected by Velasco. They culminated with the magnificent *Carta de Aragón* (Chart of Aragón) of Labana.

They made their second attempt with the translation of the results of the nautical explorations onto a chart or map. This task was splendidly carried out by us in the so-called *Padrón Real* begun in 1508 and continued without interruption. One of its first charts must have accompanied the *Geografía* of Enciso of 1519; it is probably the one published in the *Sumario de la Generale Historia de l'Indie Occidentali* of 1534, conserved in the British Museum and studied by Skelton. The second one of Diego de Chaves from 1536, written by Oviedo, has still not been found. Another, written in such a way that it perfects the fourth system of projections of Werner and of Apiano, is conserved in the Hispanic Society and has been studied by Almagias. But the *Padrón* was a continuous creation. The informations of the pilots were translated into *marcas* (landmarks). López de Velasco created the *Libro de las Informaciones* of the Council of the

Indies and charged a cosmographer of the *Casa de Contratación* (75), Diego Ruiz, with compiling a book of the collection; later the *Ordenanzas Ovandinas* and Iberian unity facilitated the task. The *Padrón* continued to be corrected by Ondériz and Céspedes (1606), and Cedillo re-elaborated it in his still unedited «Carta de Marear geométricamente demostrada». The *Padrón Real* was accompanied by the nautical instruments which were being invented and perfected.

A third objective of the Germanic scholars consisted in the break between science and practice, which gave rise to the great cartographic productions of Mercator, Ortelius... In a Royal Decree of Valladolid of 1508 care is already taken to value theory and examination of pilots is established so that they might be more than just practicians. Another Royal Decree of 4 December 1552 creates the Chair of Cosmography of the *Casa de Contratación* of Seville. The zealous, patient and continuous efforts of the Spaniards to resolve the technical problems which deep-sea navigation and the exploration posed has been pointed out, as has the exceptional importance of the Academy of the Alcázar, created by Herrera.

Humboldt wrote: «The foundation of what is called today "Physics of the globe", apart from mathematical considerations, is found in the work of the Jesuit José Acosta entitled *Historia natural de las Indias*, as well as in the work of Fernández de Oviedo, which appeared 20 years after the death of Columbus.» Parodi has written: «Without any doubt it can be affirmed that Fernández de Oviedo was the first naturalist who methodically listed, making them known in Europe, the most useful plants of the American flora.» According to Paoli, the father of Pharmacology is Nicolás Monardes (1508-1588); he acclimated in his garden in Seville many exotic plants and studied their therapeutic virtues in different works; one of them, published in 1565, the *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias*, was translated into various languages. In Spain and at Nebrija's side the Portuguese García de Orta was formed. He studied in Goa the flora of the country and published the very famous *Coloquios* about the medicinal drugs of India. The Sevillan Francisco Hernández realized the first scientific expedition to the Indies from 1571 to 1577, studied the American plants, wrote a work about them and had 1,200 species drawn. Fray José Acosta (1539-1600) has earned the title of the Pliny of the New World for his work *De natura novi orbis libri duo;* Rey Pastor, who is preparing a monographic study on it, considers him to be a unique figure in physical-natural sciences. Doctor Andrés Laguna (1499-1560) was an eminent botanist of the first order; his *Pedatio Dioscorides Aanarzabeo* (1555) includes a study of plants, wines, minerals and poisons and a vocabulary of botanical terms in ten languages. And we find many other famous names among the scholars of the same discipline.

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(75) Clearing house for all goods and persons going to the Indies, founded in Seville in 1503.

Mining and metallurgy owe decisive strides to the Spaniards. According to what Carracido points out, they were able to create a systematic doctrine which condensed into fundamental principles the practical rules, caught first by the spirit of invention and disciplined later by reason. And completing Vallin, Carracido and Paoli, Rey Pastor has recorded the technological innovations which revolutionized the exploitation of the American and Spanish mines. Bartolomé de Medina introduced into Mexico in 1554 the metallurgical processing of silver with quicksilver and brine. The Portuguese Enrique Garcés made this method of amalgamation possible by the discovery of cinnabar in America. Mosén Boteller of Valencia used it in the Spanish mines of Guadalcanal. Bernardo Pérez de Vargas perfected the system, thus revolutionizing Peruvian mining, and in 1569 he divulged it in his book *De re metallica* (1659), soon translated into French. Torre Navarra substituted wood with esparto-grass; Pedro de Contreras invented the oven of *javecas;* Jerónimo de Ayanza invented a test balance, the dynamometer and the *hogares fumívoros* (smoke-consuming hearths); and in 1576 Juan Capellín developed a new method for the distillation of amalgam: this instrument is called a *capellina.* Juan de Cárdenas had already attempted a theoretical formulation on American metallurgy in 1591, and Álvaro Alonso Barba, in his *Arte de los metales.* sketched a veritable doctrinal treatise.

Spaniards also collaborated in the advance of medecine; Andrés Laguna discovered the ileus valve and Michael Servet (Servetus) the lesser lung circulation; Bernardino Montaña distinguished arterial from venal blood, pointed out the expanding movement of the arteries and conceived the duality of the vascular system; Gómez Pereyra studied fevers and leprosy, and Luis Mercado, croup; Pero Ximeno discovered the incus bone of the ear; Valver de Amusco composed the first treatise of anatomy after that of Vesalius; Juan Tomás Porcell performed autopsies on victims of the plague; Daza Chacón studied the theory and practice of surgery; Juan de Vigo confronted many surgical problems.

Europe owes to Huarte de San Juan an *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* in which he sought the relations between psychology and physiology; and it owes to Ponce de León and Pablo Bonet, a method of making deaf-mutes talk. Cristóbal Lechuga revolutionized positional artillery. Julio César Firufino systematized the most recent knowledge regarding the subject of the *Perfecto Artillero* (the «Perfect Gunner»). And Cristóbal de Rojas wrote the first treatise of *Fortificaciones.*

Though it might be necessary to lower to its true level the merit of the Peninsular people in pure science, some notable Hispanic contributions to Western mathematics and astronomy can be pointed out. It is unjust to consider them ignorant in those disciplines. As Moritz Cantor has not vacillated affirming, the brilliant development of Hispanic cosmography and navigation presupposed an exceptional mathematical culture. But they did something more than simply study the pure sciences. Four Spaniards:

Pedro Ciruelo, Martínez Silíceo, Gaspar Lax and Miguel Francés taught mathematics in the Sorbonne during the first decades of the sixteenth-century and brought about some estimable advances, though of secondary importance. Rey Pastor considers mistaken, for the beginning of modern Hispanic mathematics, the sending of the first pioneers in that science to France —where its study was quite backward— instead of going to Italy, where mathematics at the time had acquired great importance. He has found, nevertheless, very original ideas in the works of Fray Juan de Ortega and Álvaro Tomás. The first one studied the theory of irrational squares; in his work published in Palencia in 1512 he offers a method to express the rational results of the extraction of square roots before the discovery of continuous fractions. Álvaro Tomás —his work appears in Paris in 1509— reveals himself to be a precursor of the theory of potential series and is able to add some that depend on logarythms. Rey Pastor believes that both offer a gold mine of advances for the new generations of scholars and that the calculations of Ortega «represent an advance of centuries over the knowledge of the epoch». His *Aritmética* achieved a deserved fame all over Europe, his contemporaries praised it highly and within a half a century it was re-edited ten times both inside and outside of Spain. And the *Liber de triplici motu* of Álvaro Tomás has even gained the attention of some contemporary mathematicians. In 1567 Pedro Núñez published in Castilian a treatise on algebra. In it this science appears with full autonomy, we find «a complete study of the algebraic operations, almost identical to the present-day study..., and algebra is applied to the resolution of a multiple of geometric problems».

Moritz Cantor pointed out the exceptional mathematical culture that many Spanish authors of the sixteenth-century showed and García Miranda strengthens this opinion with the Hispanic commentaries, footnotes and rectifications to the German geographers of the Renaissance, who were good mathematicians themselves.

The Spaniards also took on astronomical investigation of some importance Jerónimo Muñoz observed the star Peregrina, of the constellation of Cassiopea, and measured its course and positions; López de Velasco wrote the instructions for the systematic observations of lunar eclipses; Vasco de Tena calculated in Santo Domingo the declinations of the Sun, Suárez Argüello thought up some tables to study the three greater planets. And Zamorano corrected the theory of Werner regarding the precession and movements of the polar star...

The Academy founded by Juan de Herrera in 1582 grouped a series of technologists in the service of the king and was like a poly-technical school of applied sciences. It made up the most original, oldest and most important center in Europe. In it maps were drawn, topographic studies were realized (Luis Jorge, Labaña...), the revision of the *Padrón Real de Indias* was taken on (Ondériz, García de Céspedes...), the first treatises on the

fortification of artillery appeared (Rojas, Firufino...)... In it worked people as extraordinary as Ovando, López de Velasco...

Can anyone, especially a Spaniard, be ignorant of the volume of this collaboration with the science of the Renaissance? Can one help but be angered at the unjustifiable words of Castro regarding the incapacity of the Spaniards for objectifying themselves in ideas and in «things» and regarding our certain barbarism if it had not been for the continuous interruption of «things» from abroad?

We did not have a Leonardo, a Copernicus, a Vesalius or a Galileo; it is impossible for the creative energy of a nation to give birth to exceptional individuals in all the fields of human activity; but indeed we had comparable figures to those who worked outside of Spain at the time; figures who honor the dawn of Spanish science. Until the great night began, when our historical collapse occured, Catholic Spain played a strong role in comparison with the scientific and technical creations of the other countries of the West, especially in applied sciences; we anticipated the creations of some and many learned from our new methods and findings.

The «Aritmética» of Ortega was edited many times outside of Spain; in Lyon, 1515; Rome, 1515; Messina, 1522; Cambrai, 1612. The *Art of navigation* of Pedro de Medina was translated into French in 1554, 1561, 1576, 1615, and 1628; into Italian in 1555 and 1609; into English many times after 1581; and into German in 1556, 1577, 1580, 1581, 1628, and 1633. The work of Martín Cortés, appearing in 1551, achieved great fame especially in England; both Edenn in 1561 and Bourne in 1577 translated it and its new translator declared in 1596: «There is no book in the English language which, with such a brief and simple method, explains so many and such rare secrets». The «Arte de navegar» of Zamorano is contained in the famous book of Wright (1610) as a model. Rightfully Julio Guillén has said that: «Europe learned to navigate in Spanish books».

Furthermore, a series of geographical works of Hispanic authors were used and translated. The *Suma de Geografía* of the bachelor Enciso (1519) was poured into English by Roger Barlow (1541) and by Frampton (1578). It was plagiarized in the «Cosmographie» of Alphonse de Saintonge and inspired the «Discurse de Ofir» of John Dee. The book of Bernadino de Escalante on China was translated by Frampton (1579). The one of Francisco Thamara de Cadiz, *Descubrimiento de Tartaria* (1580), was recompiled by Boemus. And the work of Jerónimo Muñoz was also translated, into French.

In England, where mathematics where much more backward still than in France —remember that in the first half of the sixteenth-century four Spanish mathematicians who were no geniuses taught it in France— versions of Hispanic books appear in the libraries of Sir Thomas Smith, catalogue of 1556; of John Dee, reader and head tutor of Oxford, catalogue

of 1583; and in others of which the inventories of 1585 and of 1610 are still preserved.

During that century the attention of the English authorities was repeatedly directed to our technological advances. In 1562 Stephen Bourougth solicited the creation of the position of Chief Pilot, in imitation of Spain. In the *Epitre dedicatorium of diverse voyages* of 1582 praise was given to the mathematical knowledge of Alonso and Jerónimo Chaves, of Pedro de Medina, etc, and the establishment of an educational center for navigation, inspired by that of Seville, was requested. In 1598 Hakluit reiterated this request to the Head Lord of the Board of Admiralty, praising Zamorano. And the English translation of the work of Martín Cortés was stimulated by the Moscovia Company.

The editions, the praise, the requests, the stimulation were obligatory. Eva Taylor writes: «England possessed no cartographers nor instruments... and even fewer schools for nautical instruction.» Nor did England possess, at the time, books comparable to those published by our cosmographers, cartographers and sailors. The «*Boke*» *of Idrography* of Rotz was able to appear because its author had navigated in Spanish ships and had later gone to the service of England.

Rightfully the French ambassador in London, Odet de Selve, and the High Constable, Anne de Montmorency, requested Rotz to serve France. The reduced size of the French production between 1519 and 1600 and the abundance of translations can be found in the *Littérature géographique française de la Renaissance.* That explains the true *Laudatio Hispaniae* with which De Nicolay, the most illustrious of the geographers of Henry II, heads in 1557 his French version of the book of Pedro de Medina. And that also explains the presence in the catalogue of Clemens, of the Royal Library, of the works of our cosmographers.

Paoli has shown how in 1588 Juan de Córdoba introduced in Germany the method of silver amalgamation by means of quicksilver. And it has been said how the medicinal work of Monardes was translated into various European languages, as was the *De re metallica* of Pérez de Vargas (1569) into French.

Fray Juan de Ortega preceded Harwitz when studying the theory of the irrational squares. Martín Cortés confronted the cause of the magnetic variations before Norman and Gilbert. According to Humboldt, Alonso de Santa Cruz was a century and a half ahead of Halley when conceiving and sketching a map of these variations. Santa Cruz himself, Martín Cortés and Enciso preceded Mercator and Wright in the attempt to draw spherical charts. Some scholars even feel that Mercator plagiarized the system thought up by Pedro Núñez. Zamorano corrected Werner. Pires was inspired by Enciso. Jerónimo Núñez rectified the great Tartaglia. The botanical garden of Aranjuez created by Laguna was prior to those of Paris and Montpellier. And in his studies as in those of Monardes, Orta, Hernandez and Acosta, the Europeans learned botany and pharmacology.

Servetus, by discovering lung circulation, and Bernardino Montaña, when showing the movement of arterial expansion, were both precursors of Harvey (d. 1658); Gómez Pereira preceded Sydenham (d. 1689) in fever theory; Juan Valero Tobar was ahead of Ruysck (d. 1731) and Vaucanson (d. 1782) in the fabrication of artificial skeletons; Juan de Vigo studied before Paré (d. 1590) two serious problems in surgery: that of epidermic syphillis and that of gunshot wounds; in his *Examen de ingenios* Huarte de San Juan prefigured Lavater (d. 1623), Cabanis (d. 1828) and Gall (d. 1828); and the method of Ponce de León and of Bonet to teach deaf-mutes to talk was the first known in Europe.

The study of the works of the geographers of the sixteenth-century amazes García Miranda because of their extraordinary insights and of their surprising anticipations. The structure of the «Historia natural de las Indias» of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, says García Miranda, responds to the subject matter and the methods of the *Human Geography* of Bruhnes, or of the *Historical Geography* of Gordon East; his interpretation of history and geography in his conception of time and space is amazing. The questionnaires of Santa Cruz, López de Velasco and the Count of Lemos might have been written by the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1935, or they might serve as models for the study of Beker *Balance of Power*, or for Goltman in his book *L'aménagement de L'espace.* The inventories of Esquivel, Ambrosio de Morales or Diego de Guevara anticipated the *Dîme Royal* of Vauban or the *Géographie politique* of Turgot.

And whenever a scientific personality or a novel theory arose beyond the frontiers of Spain, the Spaniards studied, with no prejudices, the discussed doctrine or attempted to bring the famous man of science to Spain. Melanchton said of Copernicus: «Admire that imbecile who wants to reform astronomical science»; his theory was normally rejected due to his opposition to the biblical passage about the order to stop given to the sun by Josuah; and it also carried to his death, on the night of Saint Bartholomew's day (1572), the Spaniard Pablo Ramos who had dared to expound the theory in the Collège de France. In our Spain, it was defended by the theological and scientific pens of Fray Diego de Estúñiga and Pablo de Alea; mathematicians and astronomers gave it entry into their calculations and investigations; and from before 1559 it was taught in Salamanca, a fact deduced from the reform of Covarrubias. Vesalius was the doctor of Philip II, and Philip III repeatedly invited Galileo to come to Spain, and if he never ended up working among us it was because the Duke Cosimo de Medici refused him permission to abandon his estates.

The essayist-turned-historian, who eagerly gathers the item of Voltaire regarding the surprise of the Spanish ambassador in London when some English scientists spoke to him of their project to weigh air, forgets the well-known stupidity which English, French and other politicians and even scholars have said at a more recent date about many surprising creations and many rare findings of modern science and technology, vaccinations,

the railroad, microbes, the phonograph, etc., etc. And he forgets two facts which are very well-known today: Fray Domingo de Soto was a century ahead of Galileo in formulating the law of accelerated movement; and the list of discoverers of metals in the Modern Age is headed by the Spaniards. Before 1735 Antonio de Ulloa had news of the finding of platinum by Hispanic miners of America; the Elhuyar brothers discovered wolfram or tungsten in 1783 and Del Río discovered vanadium in 1801. Only later would other nations of the West collaborate in that enterprise.

«It was not possible in Spain to discourse with the sole arms of reason, not to decide to die and to relive», writes the daring essayist. Once more he is carried away by a pre-conceived notion. What opposed the expansion of the rational power of the Peninsular peoples? In the last decades, in frequent essays and speeches and in these very pages, I have tied the personality of the Spaniard which appears in Modernity —with his essential vital traits, with his qualities and with his weaknesses— to the multisecular national and religious struggle of Spain and Islam. With different traits his silhouette has been drawn also by other scholars. It is not doubtful that this Spaniard would have always felt a greater attraction for the problems concerning the origin of the human being, his historical past, his behavior on the way to going beyond the frontier and on his way to that ultraterrestrial beyond, following the silhouette of God. It is clear that the *homo hispanus*, formed by the action of the multisecular struggle with Islam on top of the functional structure of the Peninsular peoples prior to the Muslim invasion —a people already worried about the integration of man into the mystery of life and of death and thus in his relations with the divinity— would have been interested above and before all in securing his post in the eternal future, more than in scrutinizing the secrets of nature. That appetite for salvation was not however, and it has never been, incompatible with the appetite for knowledge and with the profitable use of reason. As has been proven, our sixteenth-century is filled with the optimal results of these appetites. That is how it had to happen. Why were the Spaniards destined to be incapable of scientific discourse? One can cite among the Muslims of Al-Andalus, at the side of authentic philosophers, cultivators of pure science, as the Arabists well know. And if, as is notorious, the Spaniards taken up in the forms of thought of the Arabic-Islamic culture were capable of objectifying themselves in things and ideas —we owe to Lévi-Provençal the news that by the ninth-century they had already invented glass and had attempted flight—, it cannot be doubted that the Spanish Christians would have been able to triumph in philosophical, scientific or technical speculation when entering the new style of life of the new times. For it is important not to forget the pure Hispanic stock of the great majority of the Peninsular Islamites and the saturation with Hispanic blood of those who had a distant African or Oriental grandfather. Besides, nobody will dare to suspect that the religious dome of Islam was more fruitful than that of Christianity to

179.—*Isabel Cobos de Guzmán*, by Goya. National Gallery (London). When painting her Goya painted the impassioned but beautiful and magnificent Spanish women, to whom Spain owes more than is normally supposed. Both in the background and out in front they have been the effective and at times decisive actrices of our historical past and of our vital present. It is not licit to charge to them the responsibility of our present-day temperamental faults. That must be ours.

180.—*The Nude Maja*, by Goya. Prado Museum (Madrid). In the «Nude Maja» Goya dared to paint the body of a woman. Only Velázquez had previously dared to do so. Was the passport given by genius necessary to be able to place a feminine nude on the canvas? Many have attempted to identify the woman painted. A duchess? She might have been. Among us very old was the trouble current which saturated the people with knightly sentiments and made villains of the grandees.

facilitate the free flight of thought around the problem of the world and of man, or to incite scientific experimentation or technical creations.

Having snuffed the thunder of arms, the Spaniard made ready to fruitfully and successfully learn: he sought masters, he assimilated the new technical and scientific creations and soon he gave birth to ideas and created things on the base of what he had assimilated and learned. All the creditor nations of civilizations have not done, nor do they, nor will they do, anything different at the crossroads of the collaborating currents and ways that is history. The English learned the technicque of weaving in Flanders, banking from the Italians, printing from the Germans, and so on for all the arts and knowledge which they were later to excel in. And like them, the same thing happened with all the other nations which have caused, by means of successive and intermingled contributions, the religious, philosophical, political, economic and scientific mutations of Europe, before Charlemagne and from Charlemagne to this day. The collaborations of each one to the common task have undergone eclipses and re-births and have come from many different fields of human activity. They have come as much from philosophy, science, law, art, the letters or technology as from the vital power itself of man.

Rey Pastor has pointed out that the Peninsular peoples, as a result of their American discoveries and colonizations, lost faith in the infallibility of ancient science and felt the palpitations in themselves of the objective spirit which, disrespectful of the criterion of authority, thrusts itself into the direct observation of the world and bases its theoretical constructions on it. Down that road traveled the Pinzones when confronting the error of Columbus; and, despite the fact that Columbus had been mad enough to threaten to cut off the tongue of anyone who denied his assertions, Juan de la Cosa audaciously contested him in 1500 and scientifically undid his mistake. The bachelor Fernández Enciso declares in his treatise of 1519 that he had been inspired not so much by the ancient authors «as by the experience of our times, which is the mother of all things». And the Jesuit Acosta explains the climatic differences of lands according to their altitude, the tides and another series of natural phenomena: «by the certain experience that has been done».

Reality contradicts the silly words of Wells. «It was a shame for science that the first Europeans arriving in America were the Spaniards without scientific curiosity, who... made very few interesting observations about the customs of the primitive peoples». Rey Pastor, against this mistaken and hateful opinion, has contrasted the observation of Humboldt: «When the works of the first historians of the conquest are seriously studied, we are surprised to find in the Spanish writers of the sixteenth-century the germ of so many important physical truths... The impatient curiosity of the first travelers and of those who compiled their narrations clearly originated the greater part of the serious questions which still preoccupy us in our own days. They questioned the unity of the human race, the emigrations

of nations and the affinities of the most dissimilar tongues... They inquired about the emigration of the animal and vegetable species; about the cause of the trade winds and the pelagic currents; about the progressive decrease of heat when going up the slope of the mountain ranges or when sorting through the superimposed layers of water in the depths of the ocean; and finally, about the reciprocal action of the chains of volcanoes and about their influence on earthquakes and on the spread of the circles of rupture».

Men as ready to observe the nature around them, as open to experience and reflection, as curious about any phenomenon which appeared in their way, were admirably equipped to pour their vitality along the paths of scientific investigation and technical creation; to confront the world, not with a willful whim, but with an authentic scientific spirit. And the vital Hispanic drive would not have contradicted this dedication since research requires no less passion than reason.

The debt of Western philosophy, science and technology with the Spanish «precursors», is beginning to be recognized outside of Spain although it is still not sufficiently so. Only when won over by the unjust and corrosive disdain toward that which is Hispanic can any Spaniard continue to ignore this fact.

Without exaggerating the importance of our cultural creations, they are still sufficient to show that no organic tick and no morbid frame of mind, nor any determinist temperamental inheritance weighed on the Peninsular people which might have kept them from philosophical meditation, scientific research or technical creation; that no racial flaw blocked the path of Hispanic philosophy, technology or science. The vital Hispanic drive began to be poured into the channels of philosophical reflection, of classical studies or of scientific and technical creations, as soon as the Spaniards stepped into Modernity. Our drive itself that carried some to the American adventure or to European war campaigns, pushed others toward intellectual ventures or tasks. But if no other European nation equaled in the sixteenth-century the magnitude of our cisatlantic and transatlantic epopee, then our initial contribution to philosophy, science and technology of the West, by its condition of the tasty fruit of the recently planted orchard, should cause greater amazement both inside and outside of Spain.

The still fragile fruit trees could not resist the bad years they were soon called on to live. The majority of the men of science and of the Spanish technicians mentioned before —they were not the only ones— lived or were formed during the reign of Charles V, a period of relative spiritual freedom and of free contacts with the sister nations of the West, or at least they matured during the reign of Philip II, before his politics of isolation and intolerance had begun to shape new generations.

Culture has been, is and will be the work of the collaboration among nations. None can by itself, alone and solitary, follow the direction of the

supranational creations. Philip II understood the necessity of favoring the development of Spanish science and technology and gave a home and a hearth to the Academy of Herrera, in which he was surrounded by old Christians and *conversos*. Yet he feared the consequences that the propagation of heresy on the Peninsula might cause him: before God as responsible for the salvation of his vassals and in earthly life by the political discord it could cause —the example of France was terrifying— and he cut the umbilical cord which attached us to Europe. He raised walls around Spain and shut up the cultured in what was to become a type of great prison. In the name of no Catholic or nationalist devotion can the Prudent King be vindicated from the harm he rendered to the spiritual life of our country with his terrible pragmatic, whose knowledge today is usually out of the reach of our scholars. It says: «We order that from now on none of our subjects and natives, no matter what state, condition and quality they might be, ecclesiastics or secular clergy, monks or clerics or any others, may leave these kingdoms to study, nor to teach, nor to learn, nor to stay or reside in universities, nor schools nor colleges outside these kingdoms; and that those who have up till now and at present studied and resided in these universities, schools or colleges: may they leave and not remain in them any more within four months after the date and publication of this letter; and may the persons who, against the contents of our letter, were to go and leave to study and learn, teach, read, reside or stay in the said universities, schools or colleges outside of these kingdoms; or those who, being already in them, and who do not leave, go out or part within the said period, without returning or coming back to them, being ecclesiastics, monks or clerics, of any state, dignity and condition, may they be considered strangers and foreigners in these kingdoms, and may they lose and may they have taken from them all temporalities they might have; and may the laymen fall and incur the punishment of the loss of all their goods, and the perpetual banishment from these kingdoms...»

Generations reflect the spiritual climate in which their personality has been formed and they project in time the echoes of the initial period of their collective life, when confronting the problems of their maturity according to their own singular style. Only at a late date do the reflections of the changes in direction of the new men appear in the political and spiritual life of nations, for they are only able to provoke decisive historical changes when they politically or culturally replace the older generation. For that reason, Spanish science and technology continued to flourish during the reign of Philip II before they were to burn, along with many of the promises and hopes of modern Spain, in the gigantic short circuit studied here. The Academy of the Alcázar did not survive Philip II and soon scientific works ceased to be published and the harvest of findings and inventions dried up.

The sixteenth-century did not witness the triumph of reason nor the triumph of science, neither inside of Spain nor outside of it; Luther even

termed reason a whore. It was a century of discoveries and conquests: of new continents over the face of the earth and of new spiritual horizons toward which human intelligence could be oriented. In proportion, logically unequal, Spain contributed to that double magnificent adventure of the fifteen hundreds. It could not continue to collaborate in the same fashion in the two adventures of the sixteen hundreds. In them European reason and science matured. But when modern scientific and philosophical thought was going to attain the point of its unstoppable explosion, the Spaniards had entered into the darkest hole of their history. Clumsy politics, initiated by Charles V, and later exaggerated by his son, acting upon the temperamental heritage of our Middle Ages, threw the Peninsular people into the confrontation of the great tempest in which Spanish Modernity went under. Spain reached the point of exhaustion and was on the verge of collapse from the effort she had been forced to yield. And the Spaniards could not follow their European brothers on the second and decisive navigation of the new times. They did not follow them in the realm of the creations of reason, and not even in that of those of the spirit, whose flag they had defended during the initial period of modern history. Still some generations were to turn towards the horizons of literary and artistic life, within the trajectory initiated during the Counter-Reformation and along the paths set out at the time for Hispanic life, the last vital drives of the Spanish historic community. But, by the middle of the seventeenth-century, the Spanish scholastic philosophy was also agonizing and, from then on, could count on no Vitoria, no Molina, no Suárez. All the great Spanish literary figures died before Westphalia or soon thereafter, with the sole exception of Calderón; and among the great Spanish painters only Murillo was able to live until the last third of the seventeenth-century. Later not even that voice was heard nor did that light shine. The night came and with it silence —we did not even have good captains—; and Spain did not part from Europe to live its own life, as is usually said; rather, it did not live, it merely existed; it existed in an insommia and an almost unconscious lethargy, for long and seemingly unending decades. During them, Spain was not even able to live in dignified isolation, but with a gesture of mimicry it copied anything foreign, like a sleep-walking ghost of what it once was. For foreign forms clashed with its national tradition and that harsh contradiction —the two Spains— kept the Spaniards from changing their way.

The folly of the persons who directed the central bureaucracy of the State in the seventeenth-century and the stupidity of the ecclesiastical minorities, who governed at the time the spiritual life of Spain, reached proportions which would be incredible if they were not true. The Augustinian Miguel de la Pinta Llorente refers —in terms almost as strong as mine— to the fact that Philip IV, having projected the canalization of the Manzanares and of the Tagus, confided the idea to a committee of theologians(!) which, in turn, rejected the project with these words: «If

God had wanted both rivers to be navigable, with one sole *fiat* he would have realized it and it would be an assault on the rights of Providence to better that which, for inscrutable motives, had wanted to remain imperfect»!! Could Spanish science and thought, which took off in the sixteenth-century, have matured in an atmosphere reflected by the gesture of Philip IV and the reply of his theologians?

When those obstacles were removed by the men of the eighteenth-century, coinciding with a recuperation of the doleful and prostrate body of Spain, Hispanic science and technology slowly but surely flourished once again. And in the same way as in the sixteenth-century the effort of the first Caroline generations was projected in the contemporary generations of Philip II, formed by them, in the eighteenth-century the action of the men of the second creative period, which culminated during the reign of Charles III, reached the already less luminous days of Charles IV.

The lights of that intense renovation of Spanish scientific and technological life shone brightly in America, as everyone knows: remember the names of Antonio de Ulloa, Jorge Juan, Félix de Azara, Martín Sessé and José Celestino Mutis, among others. But since history is made from within and from without each nation, in our second navigation we were surprised by the great tempest of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic invasion. Once again we rendered a great service to Europe, but the new storm and its nineteenth-century consequences once again burned the boat of our budding science and technology. Our doleful history of the nineteenth-century justifies the new rut. The renaissance of the first third of the twentieth-century, and still alive today, justifies all our hopes.

A racial impossibility to objectify ourselves in thoughts and in things? Let us do away with that sad inferiority complex, which López Ibor has just called the Hispanic preoccupation about the supposed incapacity for science and technology of the Spaniards from the seventeenth-century on to our days. It was accidentally provoked, as were many other flaws of our temperamental structure. Thus they are not congenital tricks of our nation, rather they are illnesses which can be cured. However let us not forget that the flowering of science and of technology demands a slow and dangerous gestation, a serene psychic and social climate of illuminated collective hopes, zealous attention by the state and the hard and unfaltering work of the scholars.

6. The Inquisition and the Bourgeois Spirit

I have written before that as an unfortunate corollary of the ill-omened combination of the three landings of a Berber, a Genoese (?) and a Fleming, the bourgeois spirit suffered a premature hardening of the arteries.

A great defeat it was for Spain! It was much greater than one might

imagine, *prima facie,* from this phrase which serves to consign that historical reality of the Spanish past. For the bourgeois spirit meant something more than a devoted passion for business and exchanges, prosperity and wealth, industry, banking and commerce. It meant, as it had for many centuries, a refusal to continue projecting one's vital breath solely towards problems of a world beyond, an increasingly clear dissidence with respect to the theocentric conception of human life, a renovation of the taste for the observation of nature, an increasing devotion for experimentation and technology, and a need for free play in thought and in love.

The frustration of the rising movement of the bourgeoisie was not, therefore, a mere social and economic phenomenon. Life and culture are interdependent processes. The projections of thought strongly influence the economic conjunctures and material crises affect the course of the spiritual currents of nations. With the frustration of the bourgeoisie and the defeat of the bourgeois spirit in Castile, the initial movement of scientific creation and of a taste for technology was stopped.

As has been proven, the crisis of Spanish philosophy, science, and technology is evident in the first half of the seventeenth-century and our later philosophic, scientific and technical sterility is notorious. That crisis and that sterility have caused bitter polemics of the Spaniards with their foreign detractors and among the Spaniards themselves. Quevedo, at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, and Forner, with Charles III on the throne, already were confronting foreign accusations. Later the subject has arisen twice within Spain, on two occasions, if not identical, at least joined by some political and ideological coincidences. The polemic regarding Spanish science which Menéndez y Pelayo held with Azcárate y Perojo coincided chronologically with the first years of the Restoration. And now, in the first years of the new somber crawl of Spain along the spiral of its history, the preoccupation with the problem of our philosophical, scientific technological inferiority in relation with the other nations of the West has been renewed, and has been dealt with by: Marañón, Laín Entralgo, López Ibor, among others.

Neither Roman blood nor Semitic blood, which abundantly run through the veins of the Hispanos, are enough to explain this singularity. For the modern Italians and contemporary Jews have revealed great capacity for philosophical meditation, scientific research and technical creations; and the Spanish Muslims did not reveal themselves to be impotent for the cultivation of philosophy and science.

I have maintained before that not all lands and climates are equally propitious for the different activities of the spirit. The majority of them require an overflow of vital energy, not always obtained by historical communities in their struggle with their environment. And they demand other conditions of life which are not always possible to find in every place on the globe either. I doubted before that, having been born in Málaga, Kant would have written on «Pure Reason» and, according to Marañón, Madame

Curie, upon returning from a springtime trip to Andalusia, told him that in Andalusian lands she would have never discovered radium. But neither the Spanish soil is so poor —although it is to a great degree— as to refuse the Spaniard the vital luxury necessary for scientific research and for technical realizations, nor is the climate of Spain so sweet or so extreme as to make the dedication to work, which science and technology require, impossible. Clearly the geographic environment in which our millenary history has transpired has imposed a strong handicap on our scientific activity and thus on its practical projections. Yet without denying the importance and even the gravity of such limitations, it is not fair to dump on them the responsibility for the decline and the lethargy of Hispanic philosophy and science in different periods of our history.

If we examine the epochs in which philosophic thought and scientific creations acquired greater credit in Al-Ándalus, we will find a transparent indication that the Spanish Muslims needed freedom to develop the potential of their intelligence; freedom for the lofty flight of thought and freedom from the anguish nourished by civil strife or by unfortunate struggles abroad. Only when tolerance permeated the central machinery of the State and scholars enjoyed at least spiritual liberty; and when the thunder of war was muted and only far-off echoes of it could be heard and life flowed peacefully, impervious to the worries of war of the governing minority; only then did science and philosophy flourish in Muslim Spain. The strikes of the African jackals and the prolongation of the Christian threat did in the brilliant Hispano-Arabic culture. And from the thirteenth-century on the philosophical and scientific sterilization of the Spanish Islamites grew and grew.

That dissection we can perform, without excessive subjectivism, on the cadaver of a remote and concluded history, will help us to orient ourselves when contemplating the less distant panorama of modern Spanish history. The vital Hispanic impulse was great enough to project itself, at the same time, along the impetuous torrents of the Atlantic adventures, which permitted us to discover and win a new continent for Western culture, and along serene channels of humanism, philosophy and science. Passion and reason either cooperated with, or at least did not disturb, the spiritual life of Spain during a good part of the sixteenth-century. But, what happened later?

The inquisitional oppression has been alleged time and time again as the cause of the surprising failure of the promissory hopes offered by the first outbreaks of experimental thought and empirical knowledge of the Spaniards. Even Menéndez y Pelayo, who frequently fought the idea of the guilt of the Inquisition in the cultural crisis of Spain, recognized the harm of inquisitional action when writing: «One of the occasional causes of the partial decline of Spanish science in the seventeenth-century was intolerance; yet not of the Inquisition alone, but of the very powerful schools and systems which were much more damaging.»

In the last 50 years many monographic and general works have been published on the Inquisition. The old image that nineteenth-century erudition had painted of the Holy Office and of its projections on Spanish life have changed greatly. Today it has been proven that its procedures were less cruel than the methods of persecution outside of Spain in the furious hunt of the dissidents of the state creed of each political community; and that the number of its victims was less than that of those fallen in those bloody and terrible religious «purges» and battles beyond the Pyrenees.

Nevertheless it still deserves the most foreign and strange judgements. Francisco Ayala has written: «The subtle monstruosity of the Inquisition is not in its methods, nor in its spirit, which was pious and magnanimous. It is in the institution itself, in the fact that a cultural conception which affirms the spirit of concord and excluded violence is organized into an official organ to prevent concord by violence.» Such an affirmation is based on a double error. On the error of supposing that the Spanish Inquisition prevented concord; neither in Catholic Spain, nor in Europe of the Reformation, did anyone dream of anything other than the extermination of the adversary and only accepted living together when he could not suppress him. It is also based on the still more inexplicable error of taking the Spanish Inquisition to be a bastard product of Christian thought which, truly, must seek God along the path of reason and love and should exclude all violence.

The Holy Office was the bitter fruit of the religious sensibility which arose on the Peninsula as a result of the multisecular confrontation of Christians, Moors and Jews. Hebrew roots may be attributed to it. Yet it was engendered by passion: the passion of all; of the Christian majorities and the Muslim and Jewish minorities, for it would be unjust to suppose the Christians to be nothing but wolves and the others, but lambs. The passion of all the men of the three religions which clashed daily in that whirlpool of all kinds of violence which was the Spain of our late Middle Ages. It was the passion of all in copulation, sadly fertile, with the political interests of a zealously authoritarian state organization, which struggled to save Spanish society from the anarchy which had sterilized it for a century. Moreover the history of the Holy Office was turned from its logical course by work of the tremendous crisis provoked by the Reformation in Europe; not only a religious, but also a political crisis; a crisis of power, especially sharp in Germany, where imperial authority was ruined forever within the Empire and its international force was broken for centuries.

It is not fair to absolve the Inquisition in the name of the pure Christian spirit. Only a bastard political Catholicism could exonerate it: despite the numerous chorus of those who today try to wash the guilt of the Holy Office in a luminous Jordan of supposed historical justice; and despite the favorable balance in favor of the Spanish Inquisition resulting from the comparison of its methods and its victims with those capable of being

found in the other European states during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and in many barbarous police States of our sad and dark days, four centuries after the inquisitorial feats of Philip's epoch. Yet it is clear that authority to judge rigorously the Holy Office is lacking in those who committed crimes, superior in number and monstruosity to those committed by the hated Spanish institution and in those who still commit them. If, as in the case of the adulterous woman, Jesus authorized he who was free of any sin, similar to ours, to cast the first stone, surely the biblical scene would be repeated and Our Lord could say the words of old: «Neither do I condemn you, go and sin no more.»

Yet the reality of such a parallel does not exclude the Inquisition from responsibility in the cultural crisis of Spain. Many years ago, Bonilla published a letter of the humanist Pedro Juan Núñez to the great Aragonese historian Jerónimo Zurita, dated in 1556: «The approval that His Majesty has given me in my studies, gives me great encouragement to continue them, because if he did not I would become desperate, not having anyone here with whom to communicate a good correction or explanation, not because in this city there are no cultured people, but they follow very different studies; and the worst thing about it is that they do not want anyone to take a liking to these human letters, due to the dangers, as they say there exist, of how the humanist corrects Cicero, thus he will also correct the Scriptures and speaking ill of the commentators of Aristotle, he will do the same of the Doctors of the Church; these and other similar stupidities have me so depressed that they frequently take from me all desire to push onward.»

Even though the humanist Pedro Juan Núñez does not reveal to us the causes of those fears of his cultured fellow citizens, it is clear that they are ultimately tied up with the fear of falling into heresy and of facing inquisitorial persecution; years before the most erudite Erasmists were imprisoned and later those who slid along dangerously critical paths were also harassed.

De la Pinta Llorente, O. S. A., published not long ago the inquisitorial trials against the Hebraists Gudiel and Martínez de Cantalapiedra, and in the preliminary analyses he mentions other ones against the Helenist Sánchez de los Brozas, Fray Luis de León, Grajal...

Gudiel fell ill in jail, and as he had requested that the accusations be read to him, the inquisitor Quijano came before him, almost on his deathbed. «Upon reaching Chapter XI he requested that no more torment be given him, for the love of God, for he was very tired and answered with great difficulty...» The case continues: «And that obligation ceased and he could only say: "No more, no more".» Two days later he died on 15 April 1573.

Cantalapiedra addressed the Tribunal in this way, asking it to substantiate the trial soon: «For me, who according to the opinion of every-

one have given form to the understanding of divine scripture, the prize has been the destruction of my life, honor, health and estate» Many years later he was freed, but he never recovered his chair nor was any more heard of him.

Grajal died in prison. And the Brocense, prosecuted when he was 80 years old, decrepit and sickly, died before the sentence was passed.

In the trial of Gudiel we read: «All the substance of this business, is based on a syllable, as they say, making heresy out of a twisted word.» Martínez de Cantalapiedra pronounced these bitter words: «Definitely, it would be better to be sure and *sapere ad sobrietatem.*» And Diego de Zúñiga wrote: «It is hardly possible, without grave danger, to dedicate oneself to writing.»

No, indeed it is not possible to deny the tremendous harm produced by the fear of the Inqusition for the devotion of the Spaniards to knowledge. It rigorously prevented the free flight of philosophical meditations and of speculations which might in some way touch on the glassy questions of faith. It indirectly contributed to the bleeding of the plentiful potential of intellectual curiosity which humanism and the discoveries had created among the Peninsular peoples. And it contributed to slowing the impetuous unfolding of that promissory and even fecund potential while the relative spiritual freedom of the Caroline period lasted or while the men formed in it lived.

The Holy Office could not clearly influence the development of mathematics, cosmography, geodesy and physics of the globe, botany, pharmacopoeia, medicine, etc. But by indirect means it crippled its advance by weakening the enthusiasm for the acquisition of new truths, the confidence in the cognitive forces of man and his need to dive into the mystery of life and of nature. The anxiety brought on by the fear of a possible deviation from the royal road of orthodoxy was to frustrate vocations and snuff out enthusiasms. Moreover it did not cease to contribute to the cultural isolation of the Spaniards which fossilized the intellectual life of the country; as it contributed to the rapid decline of the Peninsular universities, which became parodies of those the humanist epoch had known.

Three Augustinian scholars have recognized in recent decades the responsibility of the Inquisition in the decadence of the spiritual life of Spain. The examination of the inquisitorial trial of the great historian Fray José de Sigüenza moved Fray Zarco to write: «The times were brittle and the educated men concealed their new thoughts and followed the broken path, not very glorious but where one could peacefully walk, under the cover of scruples and artifices.» Pedro Martínez Vélez, after serenely analyzing the trial of Fray Luis de León, in conjunction with those of other eminent men, from Nebrija on, wrote: «The Spanish Inquisition has its share of objective responsibility for our decadence...; under objective morality and

history it contributed, at times without wanting, to the decadence of thought in Spain.» And Fray Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, who has discovered and studied new inquisitorial trials, in the «conclusions» of his work *La inquisición española,* writes: «What can be said of all these things? The Holy Offices was not very fortunate in the ways of culture which it had to understand... The outrage and the error committed against the persons of the Hebraists contributed "indirectly" and "partially" to drying up that vein of intellectual freedom necessary in the man of letters for his studies and investigations. The times were difficult Thus arose the uncertainty in which an intellectual of those times was forced to live.» «The Holy Office was thus indirectly the cause of a partial decadence, when censuring opinions not consecrated by the official science; something that was to encourage the growth of fear among the learned and cultured men, of freely and candidly expressing their opinions.»

These confessions do honor to these three Augustinians of today. Can one be surprised that I am less timid in my opinions? «Twenty clerics of the Inquisition keep my kingdoms in peace», once exclaimed Philip II. Indeed, but it was a peace which ended up stagnating the philosophic and scientific life of Spain for centuries. With reason, a sipirit as lucid and caustic as Quevedo's, in the *Sueños,* placed the Prudent King in hell and filled it with swarms of inquisitors. Those bits of dust brought about this mud. We had no religious wars in the sixteenth-century: we have had them in the twentieth-century. We lived then in an enforced spiritual peace, and we have yet to sign a religious peace. Has the hour not arrived to overcome the ideals and methods of those cruel days? With the chastisement of the body the opinions of the soul cannot be twisted, wrote the Benedictine, Alonso Virués, bishop of the Canaries, way back in 1551. «Only the divine word is more alive and efficient and more penetrating than the two-edged sword», he rightfully added.

Yet it is not licit to dump on the shoulders of fear of the Inquisition all the blame for the Hispanic philosophical and scientific crisis. Not even by adding to its account the cultural isolation of the Spaniards and the rapid decline of our universities, can this be done. The first was motivated by the stupid political measures of Philip II apart from the inquisitorial activity, and the second was the result of very complex causes and not the mere corollary of the action of the Holy Office.

It is also necessary to tie the progressive paralysis of the initial Spanish scientific movement experienced in the first decades of the sixteenth-century with the crisis of the bourgeois spirit. That is, it must be tied up with the attenuation of the vital projections of the *homo hispanus* toward the problems of mankind and of nature to continue concentrating on the dramatic question of the salvation of the soul.

The crisis of the modern spirit —thus we might call the bourgeois spirit— in Spain, did not solely hang, clearly, from the ruin of the national economy and from the consequent asphyxia of the nascent Spanish bour-

geoisie. Two other contemporaneous and parallel processes collaborated to producing this crisis, both of them born in the same entrail that produced the paralysis of the Hispanic economic life and the decadence of the social class dedicated to it. These two processes were also provoked by the impact on the Spanish temperamental heritage by the great American adventure and by the great European campaigns. They affected the functional structure of the Spaniard, in his double manner of viewing earthly and heavenly life.

The Inquisition did not force Morales, Ribera, Zurbarán, Valdés Leal nor many other Spanish painters to paint as they did; nor did it make Becerra, Juni, Hernández, Montañés, Cano or any of the other Castilian or Andalusian religious image sculptors sculpt their Christs, their Virgins and their saints; nor did it oblige the architects, sculptors, and musicians, nor the jewellers, embroiderers, blacksmiths, engravers... to place their art at the service of the Catholic religion for the greater glory of God. The Inquisition did not launch the conquistadores into the bellicose American catechizing; nor did it thrust the twelve Franciscans, new apostles of Christ, to disembark in Mexico ready to conquer souls for the faith; nor the many thousands of Spaniards who enlisted, with the true crusading spirit, in the «divine» campaigns of Spain in Europe. The Inquisition did not exclude the nude from Spanish art, to the point of giving the «Venus of the Mirror» of Velázquez a clear taste of sin; nor did it decide Ambrosio de Morales to go through the barbarous self-castration to escape the temptation of the flesh, nor the great banker from Medina del Campo, Simón Ruiz, to abandon his credit affairs with the Spanish State in order to tranquilize his conscience. The Inquisition did not urge Philip IV to consult a group of theologians about the canalization of the Tagus, nor the group to declare that it was not licit to amend the map of God. The Inquisition, by means of a rigorous police policy, was able to injure the free flight of the words and the pens and even of thought —although concerning thought it is important to remember the phrase that a joyful youth said to Sancho in the *Insula Barataria:* «No one can be forced to sleep in jail»—. The Inqusition could not create the great and universal religious fervor of the Peninsular people during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even less could it forge the entire being of the Spaniard of those times. No simplistic and unilateral explanation explains anything. The tapestry of the past is made of many threads as is the mosaic of history made of little pebbles.

7. Religious Exaltation

From the fourteenth-century on a noteworthy change in the religious sensitivity of the Spaniards had begun; a turn towards an emotive, reflexive, lyric and private religiosity; a turn towards a new sense of religion

that tended to conscious and careful introspection, unimpaired by the external rites of cult. Why this change in the religious sensitivity did not win the masses has already been stated. Yet it did reach some minorities and, along with illuminism, more popular and perhaps of Moorish ancestry —Asín has related the illuminists to the *xadilies*—, and also with the popular and traditional anticlericalism, which was, at the same time, a criticism of the power, riches, weaknesses and impiety of the clergy, it prepared the way so that the new religiosity, centered on the *Philosophia Christi* of Erasmus, could take hold among us, as it did in effect.

It is licit to deduce from the magnificent book of Bataillon that Hispanic Erasmism was not, as has been alleged, a reduced and minority phenomenon of will. All ideological novelties begin in this way; but even some dissenting authors have recognized «the Erasmist ardor of the Spaniards» and «the rare passion that (Erasmus) awoke in Spain». Judging from its projections into the Peninsular spiritual life of the sixteenth-century, its vitality cannot be disputed.

It is dangerous to conjecture that it would have never defeated the resistance of the traditional religious sensitivity of the Peninsular peoples. In the history of religious movements there have been much more difficult moves and victories; incredible if they were not proven by the facts. The decided and firm attitude of the Inquisition towards Erasmism —of the Inquisition whose sharp eye for discovering the grave dangers that could threaten the modules of Christianity it had to defend, has been admitted— allows us to suspect that its eruptive potential was great.

It has been affirmed that Erasmism was not a revolutionary idea, tending towards overthrowing that which already existed; yet the same author also declares that: «It meant to place an explosive in the petrified framework of the Church.» With illuminism and anticlericalism as inflammable material on their backs, it is difficult to calculate the results of this explosion on the Spaniards. We must not forget the volume and lastingness reached in Spain by illuminism; nor can we deny the importance and diffusion of anticlericalism in Spain, in spite of the inquisitorial persecution of both. Illuminists appeared in Toledo in 1498 and still, late into the seventeenth-century, the illuminated quietism of Miguel de Molinos blossomed. And the multiple criticisms of the riches, power, sensuality and impiety of the clergy were reflected: in the theater of Torres Naharro, Gil Vicente and Sánchez de Badajoz; in devotional writings such as those by the men of Osuna; and —what others have failed to observe— in the popular tales of Pinedo. In them not only do we already find the four part satire; more than one of them alludes to the lack of charity of bishops and clerics and even the lack of faith of some preachers.

Furthermore, Bataillon has pointed out the fertile seeds that Erasmism showed in the religious sensitivity of the Peninsular people. No without reason does he compare the fruits of Erasmism with those of Lutheranism

in European spirituality. He even considers the former more fertile than the latter.

It is no less dangerous to affirm that the Spaniards would not have been able to receive the new concepts of the Reformation due to the opposition that some of the secondary ideas of Lutheranism and Calvinism found in our temperamental traditions.

The issue of why Protestantism did not take root among the Spaniards is too complex to be resolved in a few lines and with the simple affirmation of the incompatibility between the vital structure of the Hispanic species and some of the doctrines of the reformers and of their social projections. It has been written: «Luther asphixiated fantasy, cut the ties with the world beyond and prosaically said that there was no religion nor salvation outside that which was forged in daily tasks, manual work, works of social utility, commerce, industry, well-being and to calmly await the infinite sacrifice of Christ's blood to take effect in each one. There were no priests, because all Christians could be in contact with God; and holidays, except for Sundays, disappeared, because work days were also holy days. Why was the Inquisition necessary to induce the Spaniards to reject such a model of life?» With these words he leaves the great problem as though it were solved.

I doubt that those who know well what the true nature of the Reformation was —I do not dare include myself among them— could agree with such a schematic characterization and the transformation of its social aftermaths into the axis of the Lutheran doctrine. Remember the testimony of Aranguren and, through his excellent studies on Protestantism, those works of the other non-Spanish specialists.

The Reformation acquired different styles and modalities in each of the countries where it triumphed and could have projected itself in Spain to suit the Peninsular style. It is certain that Luther's doctrine, and Calvin's more so, contributed to the birth of modern capitalism, along some of the roads which have been pointed out and by a number of others. Yet this contribution was a sequel of the religious theory and nothing more. It is difficult and very risky to calculate to what extent the conversion of the Spaniards to Calvinism or Lutheranism would not have also provoked, if not the same social results as beyond the Pyrenees, at least an intense blossoming of what we could call a bourgeois spirit. I have left in writing my doubt as to the posibility that the Reformation could have matured in Spain the same fruits it had achieved beyond the Pyrenees because I am not the first to suspect —this suspicion is already very old— that there was in the Reformation much of a confrontation between the Germanic and the Latin or Mediterranean. Yet with the affirmation of such an idea we come back to the point of departure; we return to the issue of the compatibility or incompatibility of the Hispanic temperamental heritage with Protestantism. The subject is as difficult as it is tempting.

The individual exaltation of the Spaniards allied with the exalted fervor of many of them toward the solitary search of the spiritual treasures in a direct relationship with God, away from sacramental mediation and the ecclesiastical guide, might have easily taken many Hispanic souls «from the armored fortress of the Catholic Church to the vast and free common lands of religious individuality». That is what Vossler said in his day, based on his excellent knowledge of the literary creations of the Peninsular people and without taking into account their whole psychic structure. I dare not to venture an affirmative answer to that question; nor a negative one either. It seems certain to me that in Luther's doctrine, and in that of the Reformation in general, there were many points of friction with the vital Hispanic structure; but I also believe that there were many other aspects that could have taken hold South of the Pyrenees; because, far from contradicting the vital inclinations of the Spaniards of the time, it could attract their understanding.

The contradictions and contrasts between Lutheranism and the Hispanic will abound. In the eyes of many scholars, Luther apostated, having lost hope in grace, because his basic will incited him to anxiety and despair. In the late Middle Ages, as the German world tired of theological subtleties, fear of sin extended throughout it. Germany was psychically shaken and sickened by the terror of witches and of life. A diffuse and general state of anguish appeared. Luther violently suffered from this anguish. The Ockhamistic conception of an arbitrary and formidable God and the incapacity of man to fulfill his unpredictable Will, together with Luther's sorrowful hopelessnes and his extreme religious zeal, threw him to the *bottom of the abyss* from which he was only able to come out when he was able to believe in *justification by faith.* In his doctrine human forces are lowered and diminished by the Divinity until man is simple *stercus* to a divine and terribly inaccessible and distant power for poor mortals. In his doctrine the access to God on the path of human liberty is not conceivable; nor is it possible for man to save himself if he does not free himself of the impossible to fulfill commandment of living according to the precepts of the Most High.

In Spain a similar atmosphere that pushed Luther to apostasy and to the forging of the Lutheran doctrines did not exist, an atmosphere which could have favored the acceptance of the Reformation; nor did the essential theses of the Reformation go well together with the Hispanic vital context.

The Spaniards of the transitional stage between the Middle Ages and Modernity did not live in a comparable spiritual climate to that which tortured Luther's compatriots. We did not suffer from the terror of interferences of Satan in this life; nor did we endure a theological tiredness which slid toward a concept of an irrational, formidable and arbitrary God; nor from desperation before the terrible and fatal weight of sin; nor from holy scruples due to the crushing burden of guilt.

The central ideas of the Reformation confronted the essential features of the religious sentiment of the Spaniards, a normal projection of their temperament. They confronted the Spaniards' arrogant and confident conception of man's relationship with God. The boldness of their personality impeded the Spaniards from regarding themselves in such a humiliating devaluation that would make it impossible to approach the Most High. It has been said that their proud exaltation of their services to the Divinity, risking their lives, at times moved them to judge themselves as deserving a miracle. Thus they trusted in the final forgiveness of their sins and were not anguished by the torture of guilt. Their arrogance induced them to consider themselves as capable of deserving grace. Let us remember the poem of the Learned King about the besieged castle and the song of Jorge Manrique about «that life which is lasting». Those who were besieged placed between the towers an image of the Virgin, sang in this way:

Se tu es madre de Deus
Deffendend'aqueste castelo
Et a nos que somos teus (76),

and left her saying: «*Ueremol'o-que faras.*» And the Castilian poet says of eternal life:

Los buenos religiosos
gánanlo con oraciones
y con lloros;
los caballeros famosos,
con trabajos y aflicciones
contra moros (77).

The Castilians of the thirteenth-century felt that Our Lady was obliged to defend them and defied her saying: «We shall see how you behave.» And the noble *hidalgos* of the Castile of the fifteenth-century could win heaven through the personal effort of the friar or the warrior.

The confrontation with death in the divine war had awakened in them an unhesitating faith in the generous protection and generous forgiveness of the Eternal. They felt secure and proud when confronted with the world and with heaven. Only God was worthy of them. Man, who had been

(76) You who are the mother of God
Defend this castle
And us who are yours.

(77) The good religious
With tears and prayers
They earn it more;
The knights famous,
With works and sufferings
Against the Moors.

181.—*Charles IV*, by Goya. Prado Museum (Madrid). Charles IV began to reign in 1789, the same year the French Revolution began, and he was called upon to witness the triumphant period of Napoleon. Those were difficult times for Europe. Could this man painted by Goya intelligently confront the great tide? He was not even able to choose his ministers. By handing over the government to the lover of his wife, not only did he end up halting the Spanish renaissance of his times; he also precipitated the coming of a new crisis.

182.—*Jovellanos*, by Goya. Prado Museum (Madrid). Jovellanos, the Asturian and many-sided writer, joined the breath of tradition with reforming ambition. The minister of Charles IV and later persecuted by Godoy, when leaving the castle of Bellver (Mallorca) where he was prisoner, did not believe it possible to change the vital Hispanic make-up by serving the French invader, as other enlightened Spaniards, his friends, mistakenly felt. And so he joined sides with Spain in the decisive moment of 1808.

created in the image and likeness of the Eternal, did not look at the future with terror. He did, however, fear the terrestrial punishment for his sins, but he was confident in reaching the celestial beyond through his own effort.

The arbitrariness of a God who saved or condemned man by whim, whose divine decisions were not influenced by the works or services of a being who judged himself to be his son thanks to baptism, could not be welcome with the *homo hispanus*. That conception of the Divinity repulsed his extreme ethical and juridical rigor. The Spaniard, in fact, frequently broke divine and human laws. But his veneration toward the *Law* was so intimate and deep that it constituted, as archetype of his most pure devotion, the just man, capable of molding his conduct to the letter of the law. He could understand God's just anger and his generous forgiveness because, for the Spaniard, He was at the same time lord and father; but he could not understand that He would reward or punish outside the law. He could not even imagine that the Most High would not judge men according to their own merits and services and would dispense his grace arbitrarily.

Luther's ignorance of the operative virtue of repentance could not find favorable echo in the Hispanos either. They placed repentance at the axis of their relations with a God to whom, according to the words of Jesus, they should pray to by saying «forgive our trespasses». They were sure of having found proofs of his penitential forgiveness in the course of their history, when the Most High had put an end to their disasters and had smiled on them with their triumphs. And all trusted that, at the end of life, a sincere and sorrowful contrition would bring them eternal salvation. Don Juan Manuel believed so —his words are in writing—. The author of the Chronicle of don Álvaro de Luna believed so —his faith has also been recorded—. The religious who assisted Dr. Cazalla on his way to the gallows, axis and spark of the Lutheran movement in Castile and sincerely or insincerely repentant for his error, on his way to the stake, also believed so. The Spaniards believed it so much so that Saint Ignatius had to battle that dangerous security of his fellow countrymen. Don Juan believed so, hopeful in the «such rope you give me». Everyone believed it, confident in the forgiveness of Mary Magdalaine —in no country was she so venerated as she was with us— and in the words of Jesus to the good thief.

The acceptance of the essential thinking of the Reformation which implied a quiet wait for divine grace was opposed by the emphasis, of the *homo hispanus*, on will as the essential motor for his existence and his operative dynamism. That desire, as the decisive force of his life, and his exalted vital activism tended to the search of the world beyond through will and the projection of his restless living.

Could the oscillation of the psychic Protestant structure between the two poles of abstraction and emotional, but never figurative, intuition,

and to the detriment of fantasy and ceremonial exteriorization attract the sympathy of the extroverted and artistic Spaniards?

Aranguren has underlined Hegel's idea, for whom, as opposed to the «externalization» of Catholicism —«the kingdom of the Son»— full of miracles, veneration for the saints, worship of relics, *opera operata,* indulgences... the Reformation inaugurated «the kingdom of the Spirit». This rupture between the interior and the exterior, according to Aranguren, «on behalf of a false spirituality», did it not break with the lively religious tradition of the Hispanos? Their race, their land and their history themselves, the energetic overflowings of their intimate self, were torrential. Due to their holy struggle, they were used to searching the ingenuous path of ritual for help from the Highest in the harsh predicaments of life. They were also accustomed to looking daily for the intercession of God's vassals, the saints, in the world beyond, delegated by Him as their patrons or celestial lords. And because of their integral honesty, well rooted in their rough Hispanic land, they perhaps felt closer to the Son of Man than to the Father and the Holy Spirit.

Yet the Reformation also possessed aspects and ideas that did not collide with the temperamental make-up of the Hispanos.

Aranguren has pointed out that Luther's justification by faith, *fides,* had in its concept a meaning that neared the concept *fiducia,* that is, it had a sense of confidence; Melanchton ended up relating both ideas when he wrote: *fides hoc est fiducia.* The faith that justifies was therefore not the mere *simplex historiae cognitio* for the reformed, but the faith that was hope. Now this confidence and hope could have won the Spaniards, even though they would have had to somewhat twist the Lutheran conception, something which ultimately would not have been too difficult.

Would not Luther's free translation of the Bible in a popular tone with a language similar to that used by «the mother in her home, the children in the street or the common man in the market» have attracted the attention of a people such as the Spanish filled with populism, if they had possessed a similar version?

Aranguren has noted the vitality of Luther's religious knowledge; I do not know if the Spaniards would have rejected that *living* more than that *knowing* the truths of faith.

«In the Reformation, the subjective and prerational element... has been hypertrophied, has become unbridled», writes Aranguren. Maritain, in his study *Luther or the Advent of Self,* has said that Lutheranism implied the projeciton of the ego into the world of eternal truths. I do not know if Hispanic hyperindividualism would have found difficulties in projecting itself into that world. In the sixteenth-century an anonymous author already thought of that possibility. Not much later, in 1560, he wrote: «I believe that if the Inquisition... had not been in our midst, Spain would be another Germany in heresies or another France, because the Spaniards have more will and spirit and valor to carry on whatever they choose;

besides that, it is known how friendly they are to new ideas.» And the Augustinian, De la Pinta Llorente, who reproduces this passage, also believes that the Spanish temperament went well with the thought of their free will.

Could Luther's tremendous irrationalism —he even called reason «stubborn and pestilent beast», and affirmed that it was necessary «to kill reason» through faith— and his hate for philosophy, have found barriers to their spread among the Spaniards? Let us remember Celestina's question to the still honest servant of Calisto, Pármeno: «What is reason?»

Could the thought of Luther and the Lutherans, from the same psychic temple —vital, to the extreme that, according to Aramburu, it is not possible to isolate their theology from their life—; that philosophy of existence of Luther and the Lutherans could it have clashed with men so firmly anchored in their own lives that they truly did not like anythink but vital reason and for whom it was no less difficult than for Luther and the Lutherans to divorce life and reason?

Could the transition of the theological lucubrations, due to the Reformation, from the integral and exclusive study of the Divinity to the analysis of man's destiny confronting the Divinity, have found opposition in the Spaniards who were raised up on the pedestal of manliness and daring enough to haughtily raise themselves before God?

Earlier I did not dare to either accept or contradict Vossler's theory about the facility with which many Spaniards could have slipped towards the religious individualism implied by the Reformation. But I am inclined to believe that the Hispanic individualist exaltation —let us remember the answer given to the Almoravid sultan by the peoples of Salamanca: we are all generals of our own heads— did not go badly with the possibility of their adhesion to the doctrine of free examination of conscience.

Breaking with ecclesiastical tradition, Luther supported his exegesis with the Scriptures and personal experience; the Spanish illuminists were also men of experience, although not of the Scriptures —they judged themselves illuminated directly by the Holy Spirit—: A change in the position of either the illuminists or the Lutheran model —Aranguren has pointed out the separation within Lutheranism of the two elements united by Luther— would have facilitated the displacement of the illuminists towards Protestantism. Their habitual rejection of ceremonial practices and priestly mediation, a rejection coinciding with that of the Lutherans and Calvinists, even though the historical roots and the vital projections of the former and the latter were different, would have contributed to making this more possible.

There were also in Spain very numerous masses of Jewish *conversos* who, because of their psychic and vital heritage and their religious tradition, could have felt inclined towards the doctrines of the reformers. The God of their elders was closer to Luther's God than to the generous and ac-

cessible God of the old Spanish Christians. The forced and recent conversion of the Hebrews made them feel little fervor or even clear disdain towards *works*: ceremonies of worship, practice of the sacraments, devotion to the saints, veneration of relics, indulgences... whose effectiveness with the Divinity contradicted the Reformation. They were accustomed to approaching the Eternal directly, without the intervention of the hierarchy of clerics whose mission as priests for the Most High was rejected by Luther and Calvin. Because of the multisecular tradition the *fides=fiducia* triumphed among them, that is, the confidence in Jehova's promise. It was a hope that was not in direct contradiction with the Lutheran *fides=fiducia* in the free access to Grace. While confidently awaiting the kingdom of God, the Hebrews dedicated themselves to the tasks of daily life, industry, commerce, business... as the reformers recommended for the Christians while waiting, not too differently from the Jewish wait, for God to include them among the numbers of the chosen. Furthermore, due to their ancestral style of life and their singular psychology, the new Christians of Israeli stock did not offer the Reformation the points of friction that the vital and psychic make-up of the old Christians did.

Two great currents also existed: the traditional anticlericalism of the masses and the passionate Erasmism of the cultured minorities. Both groups, popular and minority, although for different reasons, equally hostile to the clergy and to what it meant, integrated other nuclei propitious to falling into the abyss of Protestantism.

Those four great sectors of Hispanic society: illuminists, *conversos*, Erasmists and anticlericals, were like a dangerous mine that could easily explode. In effect, from them the first Spanish Protestant foci appeared. It is difficult to calculate to what extent the explosion of those inflammable materials would not have been able to suppress the points of opposition between the Hispanic temperamental heritage and the ideas and tendencies of the Reformation and widened the already mentioned gaps that opened the fortress of the Spanish psyche to the Reformation. It is also risky to imagine to what extent these four spiritual currents would not have swept away all the religious structure of the Peninsular peoples. Dr. Cazalla said: «If they had waited four months to persecute us we would have been as many as they, and if six, we would have done with them what they did with us.» These hyperbolic sentences of a «kike» —that is what the bachelor Herezuela called him when seeing him abjure from the Lutheran faith for which Herezuela was going to be burned alive— cannot be taken literally. But the urgency with which Charles V, from Yuste, urged that the Lutheran germ be extirpated —he even sent his steward Luis de Quijada so as to have its quick punishment— reveals an anxiety which seems to contradict the impossibility that reigns over the Lutheran penetration into Spain. If in France some members of the Paris Parliament had become Protestant, South of the Pyrenees some confessors and preachers of the Court also fell into heresy.

By that time the Spaniards had changed faith three times —they had accepted the Greco-Roman pantheon, Christianity and Islam— and, after the adoption of each of these three religions, they had received diverse devout practices and diverse dissident or heretical doctrines; some of them like the cult of Mitra and Priscillianism were of great vitality and long duration.

Clever policies of the Germanic princes and Henry VIII gave the Reformation its initial triumph beyond the Rhine and the Channel. Another intelligent position in the State administration and Hispanic Christianity would have followed new routes. Many residues of the old formulas would have remained: the sediments of classical paganism remained and still remain active, and even the ashes of cults before it, rest underneath the religious superstructure of all the Meditterraneans. The Spaniards would have poured their passion along the channels of the new religiosity in the same way they poured it when practicing the three diverse religions they had served. And perhaps they would have again destroyed the idols and the temples of the idols, as the Christians of Hispania did in the latter idolatrous times, around the year 400. State action, three times decisive, could have been so once again.

Yet I do not want to play the amusing game of «if's». Let us forget the conjecture thrown on those frustrated historical processes. Let us keep only the reality of the success in the frustration of this problematic change of the sensitivity of the Hispanic Christians that the authentic curve of Peninsular history during the sixteenth-century had.

The life of historical communities is one and cannot be fractioned into stagnant compartments. Bataillon has pointed out the influence exerted by Charles V's imperial policy in the development and crisis of Spanish Erasmism. The court, intrepidly «Erasmitized» during the conflict between the Emperor and the Pope; afterwards, the turn of events of the political-religious matters beyond the Rhine outlined the vicissitudes of the process which led, South of the Pyrenees, to the disappearance of Erasmist illuminism which had before been favored or tolerated. Furthermore, many years ago I pointed out how I considered that Philip II, when remembering his father defeated in Germany and when contemplating imperial power in ruins due to religious discord, wanted to avoid those ills for the monarchy in Spanish lands.

Immediately after Charles V was informed in Yuste of the discovery of a Lutheran cell, he wrote letter after letter to his daughter the governing princess, doña Juana, pressuring her to the punishment of «such shamelessness and knavery... knowing what toil and expenses I have suffered and undergone because of it in Germany and how much of my health I have lost». His son learned well from his paternal experience and tightened the screws of the repressive machine of the national Inquisition.

During his reign, Philip II continued his youthful policy with no less rigor than when coming to the throne. This was because the religious dis-

cords of France, the war against the Flemish Protestants and the persecution of Catholicism in England, all increasingly affirmed him in his desire to keep from Spain the evils of discord and war and to prevent, at all cost, any possible movement of the nation in the direction of Protestantism.

He was, besides, a prisoner of his own temperament. His fears when facing the problem of the afterlife, his conception of regal authority as being directly responsible before God for the salvation of his subjects and his firm belief that it was his duty to defend the Catholic faith wherever it might be threatened, pushed him into a dual and severe policy. It was a policy of zealous, decisive, unrelenting and perpetual vigilance for the purity of the faith of his Hispanic subjects, a vigilance which the Inquisition realized with extreme harshness —without vacillations, technicalities or consideration of persons, dignities or institutions— and which he backed with all the weight of his majestic power and without hesitation or laxity. It also induced him to the permanent spying, feigning, intrigning, bribing, negotiating, forcing, threatening; in other words, what we call today a «cold war». In the end, and to his great displeasure, he was led into a long and terrible struggle, which don Alonso de Cartagena would not have doubted in calling «divine war» if he had witnessed it.

With the eyes and sensitivity of men of today we can understand Philip II much better than our parents and our grandparents. The policy of «El Escorial» prefigured that of the «White House», in the defense of ideals —today we defend what was contested yesterday— which were judged and are judged to be threatened by new idological conceptions called on to ruin them; with the difference in favor of the policy of the Escorial in that the safeguarding of economic interests did not alter its path. Moreover inquisitorial rigor did not by any means reach, four centuries ago, the monstruous police barbarism of the Nazi and Soviet states of today, nor even that of its followers and imitators of yesterday and today.

Yet it is not important now to establish bold parallels, even if it is tempting to point out as a sign, looking towards the future, that the initial ideological battle of Modernity ended up in a multisecular common life along frontiers that, perhaps not by chance, are similar to those which the Roman Empire reached in the West in its days of greatest splendor.

Charles V and Philip II violently suppressed Erasmist illuminism and the first germs of Lutheranism in Andalusia and Castile; and the latter attempted to protect Spain behind a severe curtain of incommunication and isolation. As some regimes still do today, Philip II prohibited the entry of foreign books into Spain and for the studious to attend European centers of education. He established a rigid censorship on all types of publications. And he tried every possible means of avoiding the contamination of his subjects by the dangerous ideas from beyond the frontier.

We shall not insist on these facts known by all and about which tons and tons of paper have been written. Bataillon has pointed out how, in

spite of inquisitorial persecution, the *Philosophia Christi* left clear marks on the spirituality of Juan de Ávila and Luis de Granada, on the mysticism of Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross, on the thoughts of Luis de León and even on the Christ-centered devotion of the feast of *Corpus Christi*, whose literary projections were the religious plays. Nor is the fecundity of the Tridentine Reform in the spiritual life of the Hispanic world denied by anyone today. And yet Philip's dual battle on the internal front, in Spain, and on the external front, in Europe, the double battle which his successors in the seventeenth-century continued, had decisive consequences for the permanence of the traditional religious sensitivity of the Peninsular people.

So many decades of rectilinear affirmation of an extremely attentive and rigorous police policy and of a continuous and firm policy of propaganda in words and in writing, in sermons and pious books! So many decades of calculated exaltation of religion among a people in whose psychic equation the powers of sensitivity and instinct predominated over the powers of reason! So many decades of a continual call to the militant Catholicism and the bellicose religiosity of the Spaniards through the permanent invocation of the danger that heresy meant for faith and the obligation to fight for it! How could the Spanish soul remain insensitive to that total, firm, enveloping, zealous, vigilant enclosure, from which it was attacked with the most varied arms: persuasion and reasoning, beauty and emotion, exaltation of the bellicose sentiment, earthly fear of inquisitional persecution, fear of the beyond and infernal torture, and the future promise of the luminous enjoyment of the Highest? The hailstorm of spiritual darts, in a nation whose millenary religious fanaticism had been reinforced and vivified by the singular nature of its medieval life, quickly took all inconstancy from its new resistance. In that garrison, so besieged and combatted, there was no drive left to be spent around on luxurious and intranscendental earthly tasks, nor were there eyes other than those raised toward heaven in a continual invocation of the Divinity.

The traditional Hispanic religiosity which, like the rest of the West during the Middle Ages, was anchored in ritual and gesture, in «works» as was said at that time, was affirmed for centuries with a redoubled vigor; lacking any opposition which might contain it, even it became hypertrophied. Moreover the peculiar impassioned fervor of the *homo hispanus* for relations with the mysterious powers of the beyond, already two centuries old and never challenged, was also fortified for centuries and it blocked any possibility that Hispanic attention and curiosity might turn to the scrutiny of life here below.

The harsh foreign battle for the faith also contributed to the triumph and the permanence of the traditional Spanish religious sensitivity. Since the end of the Reconquest, the «divine» war against Islam had been interrupted. The conquest of Naples, the intervention in the struggles which

confronted the Pope, France, Venice and the Empire, during the regency of the Catholic King, and the wars of Charles I against Francis I and against the Papacy, were not divine wars and did not injure the secular bellicose-religious sentiment of the sons of Hispania. People have even talked of the pacifism of the generation of 1498; illustrious Spanish pens of the first period of Charles —Vives, Ginés de Sepúlveda, Vitoria and Silíceo— insistently desired an end to such fraternal disputes; the cortes requested the Emperor to procure peace among the Christian princes; and even the not at all pacific magnates voted for it. Yet soon Spanish history returned to its old ways and the «divine» war against the Moors was continued in the «divine» battle against the idolatrous pagan, the Islamite Turk and the Lutheran heretic. Spain found itself and, its mistrust having been transformed into enthusiasm, not only did it follow Charles V in his quixotic crusade, it also incited him to realize it without vacillation. And later it followed Philip II in the exalted and overflowing continuation of the same policy. That prolongation over decades and decades, which seemed never-ending, of the traditional battle for the faith, could it have helped but influence the vital Hispanic make-up? Could it have helped but affect the religious sensitivity of the Peninsular peoples? Faith exalted drive and passion vivified faith. The new life of action, centered on bellicose action in the service of God, renewed the Hispanic tradition which had taken root more in the will than in the spirit. The Spaniard continued not to search for God in himself; his relations with the Divinity continued to be extroverted, projected more into actions and gestures than in meditation within the intimacy of the soul. When fighting decade after decade both for his country and his faith, the frontiers between religion and politics diminished in him. A sentiment of violence when confronting the man of the other creed or the dissident of his own creed triumphed in the Spaniard and he acquired the habit of backing the catechesis with the sword. He tried to win divine grace by means of his pike and continued to conquer the celestial city with warlike impetus, just as he expected to win earthly riches and improvements. He militarily organized his new religions, he used military images to express his mystic fantasies and he overwhelmed the most ardent lovers of hushed and quiet introspection with his basic activism. His continual confrontation with death in the service of God affirmed in him his old vassal-like conception of his relations with the celestial powers. He continued thinking as he had in the thirteenth-century: I serve, and thus you owe me protection. Never was the devotion in Spain greater to Saint James, the *miles Christi.* And when the Almighty seemed to abandon the Spaniards and, despite the «divine» nature of the battle, the disasters occurred and ruin, corruption and misery increased in Spain: either the Spaniards lost their drive and felt themselves die or they lost faith and blasphemed against the Most High who had abandoned them.

8. From One War to Another

As has been said many times, the vital Spanish make-up had been forged in the barbarous struggle against the Moor of the peoples of the North of Spain, still anchored in a steel-like primitive style of life at the beginning of the Reconquest. The medieval autumn and the dawn of the new times had not been able to radically change the temperamental heritage of the Peninsular peoples. The fifteenth-century had witnessed in Spain great civil discords and not only among the kings and nobles of Castile, or among the kings and the people of Catalonia. The factions also bloodied the Castilian, Andalusian and Aragonese cities, and even entire regions like Galicia and Navarre. The harsh nature of the traditional life of the Spaniards had been kept vividly alive, even among the urban masses. Yet the restoration of internal peace, thanks to the firm policy of the Catholic Kings, and the conclusion of the Reconquest, coinciding with the inundation of the country with Renaissance forms of culture and vital modules, should have been able to mute the impetus and soften the temperament of the Peninsular people. If they had been able to enjoy some decades of peace or at least some decades only stained by distant and marginal wars, which would not have touched the fancy, the emotions, the ideals, the dreams, the instincts and the habits of the people, their nature might have changed. We can deduce this from the position of the masses vis-a-vis the wars of Charles V against France, from a few words of Ginés de Sepúlveda which reveal a less heroic beat in the pulse of the Spaniards, and also from the parsimoniousness of the cortes when dealing with the fiscal demands of the Emperor for his fight with Francis I. Moreover it is probable that if we carefully dissect the projections of the thought of our grandparents from those first decades of the sixteenth-century, we could find other evidence of a softening of the ancient epic passion of the Spaniards.

The great American adventure and the great European campaigns, though they may not have seriously injured Hispanic sensibility, by their volume and by their duration they were enough to affirm the traditional personality of the Spaniards, There were decades and decades of continuous battle against Indians, French, Africans, Turks, Moriscos, Flemings, English, Germans...in all the lands of the old and the new continent; just as in the waters of the millenary Mediterranean, in those of the Atlantic which they had been the first to cross and in those still almost unexplored waters of the Pacific. They fought in the Andes and at the foot of the Alps; in the flatlands of the Po and on the Mexican plateau; on the banks of the Tiber, against the Pope, and beside the Mapocho, across the Arauco; on the shores of the Río de la Plata and of the Danube, of the Elbe and of the Tagus, of the Orinoco and of the Escalda; in Pavia and in Cuzco; in the Alpujarra and in the jungles of

the Amazon; in Tunis and in Antwerp; in the gulf of Lepanto and off the coasts of England; in Navarino and in the Terceras; in Goletta or in Havana; in Algiers and in the Philippines; in Lombardy, in Naples, at the four cardinal points of France —from Provence to Brittany, from the banks of the Bidasoa to those of the Marne, and from Rousillon to Normandy— and in Low Countries, in Portugal, in Africa, in Germany and in Ireland... There were decades and decades of harsh combat in the most varied and distant theaters of battle, against the most diverse nations and in all climates, altitudes and seas of the world.

Everyone fought, from the Duke of Alba, grandee of Spain, to Pizarro, a pig keeper. *Hidalgos* and laborers fought, as did shepherds and bourgeois, bachelors and magnates, clerics and rogues, scribes and knights. The sons of all the regions of Spain fought. Garcilaso fought, as did Ercilla, Gutierre de Cetina, Baltasar de Alcázar, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderón... The whole nation fought without any distinction as to class, homeland, work, profession or wealth. It fought with the spirit of crusade or with a sporting euphoria, for booty or for glory, to escape poverty or for greed for honors or for fame, to imitate the feats of others or to forget one's own dissappointments or sadness, for hate of the heretic or the infidels or for the pure love of combat. The Spaniard fought for hate or for love, a fugitive from himself or pushed on by his torrential vitality, to escape from justice or in its search, to serve God or the king. The whole nation fought and it fought year after year and then again for more than a century.

That continuous battle of many during the many decades and the echoes of that battle which thundered all the way to the Hispanic cities and fields from the Andes to the Pyrenees, prolonged the epic atmosphere in which the Spaniards had found themselves immersed for centuries. In other nations the heroic songs disappeared with the agony of the Middle Ages, but in Spain they survived in the historic ballads which resisted the Renaissance influences and conserved a great part of the old warrior and knightly thematic and spread throughout all the lands and seas reached by the breath of the Spanish nation.

That continuous battle and its echoes in Spanish life made lasting the climate of violence in which the Spaniards had lived for centuries; Peribáñez, mayor of Zalamea, and Fuenteovejuna used violence to revenge dishonor. The villages of La Mancha, whose mayors reaked of extreme propriety, made ready to combat for a «*quítame allá esas pajas*» (any old reason), which Cervantes mentions to us. Even labores and friars took up arms, as did sacristans and scribes and, more than once, the women themselves. The popular tales, the «*avisos*», the exemplary and the picaresque novels, the plays and books of devotion, all accredit it.

That continuous battle of thousands and thousands of Spaniards for decades and decades, and the thundering echoes of that lasting battle among

the masses of the nation weighed decisively on the temperamental heritage of the Spaniards.

In those long decades of struggle the Spaniards sharpened the edges of their manliness with a violent exaltation of their explosive and overflowing ego. They perpetuated their bimillenary passion, their pride and their drive to the point of causing their willful and aggressive hiperindividualism. They prolonged their traditional executive life where the gifts of will triumphed over those of the spirit, action triumphed over discourse, wanting over thinking, and courage over knowledge. Those decades maintained their multisecular algebraic formula of balance between intelligence, emotions and instincts, in which the last two psychic powers triumphed. Their reasoning capacity napped, when they once again felt shaken by great and prolonged energetic storms. The generating impulse for action was exalted in them, to the point of not always being easy for them to dominate their dynamism. They proved the old Peninsular conception which appears in the words of Pero Bermúdez: «Tongue without hands, how can you speak?» Those decades accentuated the traditional roughness of the men of arms and their ancestral desire to clear up their chancy future with the help of magic and of astrology. They prevented their definitive seduction by the loving devotion to the land, by affording them an attractive geographical beyond, crowned by brilliant promises of wealth. They cooled off their budding taste for work, by offering them their possible liberation from the anguished uncertainty of a miserable tomorrow, by means of new prospects of rapid and sudden gains and with the hopes of participating once again in the bubbling booty of royal favors. And by affirming in them the psyche of the warrior, who, after the impetuous attack of combat, is won over by nihilistic fatigue, those decades sharpened the variations of the Spaniards' vital drive which went from the frenzy of exaggerated action to the abandonment of oneself to the waves of destiny.

Once again the traditional personality of the *homo hispanus* was affirmed; it was affirmed and was even hypertrophied. That hypertrophy ended up making him a man capable of standing before the world and doing it battle. A man who, if not fighting with forces beyond him —of another nation or of his own— declared war on himself and exploded in intimate struggles between his opposing passionate inclinations. He was a man who, when projecting his exalted and torrential ego, was able to blind his understanding and open chasms between the thoughts, devotions, theories or appetites of others and of his own. And when he was forced to remain in the vital atmosphere of his own person, he thrust it in fury against he who, because of the sole sin of not being himself, he might have as an enemy.

In those passionate dynamic projections of ego is rooted the tortured explosion of proud competition in action, which is usually called Hispanic

envy, and the confrontation, at times ferocious, which transformed the pure opposition of appetites into raging and barbarous battles.

Envy is the child of inferiority and of impotence, and the Hispanic inclination considered as envy was not the sting of another's triumph but the high desire to surpass the triumphant one. It did not torture the coward or the poor man or the fool when confronting the valient, rich or clever man. It shook, loftily, the strong against the strong, the brave against the brave, the genial writer against the genial writer. It was the bitter fruit of the steel-like personality of the complete man the Spaniard came to be.

That whole man felt shaken by pride, spurred on by dignity, pushed by honor. That trinity of qualities could not be lacking in he who felt himself to be above the whole world and thrust his will along the roads of vehement desire. Pride, honor and dignity are at the same time spurs and springs of conduct, the vital projection of the volitional powers of the human being. Forged again and again in battle with his harsh destiny, with his harsh native land and with the harsh brothers of his country and his history —a tremendous and barbarous battle—, the Spaniard went along simultaneously creating and listening to the triple symphony of honor, of dignity and of pride until falling drunk from his own creation.

Drive, passion, exaggeration, faith in himself, pride, honor, diginity, desire to surpass the work of another... a long chain of impulses for the Spaniard to later compete, in the joyful game of reason, with he who stepped in the way of his ideas or of his interests; and for him to dedicate himself to the care of his estate and the reposed study of nature.

But since no man, and less still any nation, can remain in prolonged energetic exaltation, the Spaniard, the whole man who has been sketched went from electric upheavals to sleep-walking and to lethargy, from the brusque ascents to the vertical falls, from challenging the world to inert fatalism, and from crushing action, like an arrow shot toward the target, to leisure, to repose, to laziness and to dream, from which he often delayed in awakening or he awoke late. It was the life of the soldier who gambles with his destiny and who later rests, exhausted from the struggle. It was the life of a nation which had once again fought lastingly, without class, professional or land distinctions. It was a people which many times had combatted as much for God as for their country. The Spaniard grew wings and, flying, got lost in the heavens; he climbed high, very high and continued to climb, to climb until falling back to earth, fatigued and exhausted.

9. The Whole Man before Himself and before God

It has been said that the decline of speculative thought, of scientific curiosity and of interest in technology had very profound and complex

roots and motivations. The intuition and at times the opening of the roads which were to carry to future philosophic formulations —translatable into cultural realities— and to the future scientific findings —projectable into practical realizations—, but to stay in the role of precursors, was the result of a series of mingled processes which have been summed up. It was a series of cultural and vital processes which situated the human person above everything else on earth and tied him with the Divinity in a fleeting flight of the soul.

In his *Dichos de luz y de amor* Saint John of the Cross sums up, in this way, the state of mind of the Spanish nation: «One sole thought of man is worth more than the whole world; therefore, only God is worthy of it». God and man, here are the only poles of the sharp, tense, dramatic, exclusive attention of the *homo hispanus* after the short circuit of Modernity.

In the Christian city, an earthly reflection of the «city of God», which the Spain of the Catholic Reformation was, or aspired to be —I have just said it—, could not pour out its vital drive into luxurious and unimportant earthly tasks. «One sole thought of man was worth more than the whole world»; nature was pure landscape on the road which had to lead to the «dwelling without pain», a mere side stage for the great human duel of existence. A man different from the *homo hispanus*, having conceived life in this way, might have bowed submissively before Providence and might have allowed himself to be carried along by destiny, in the quiet expectancy of an eternal tomorrow. That disdain for worldly values, rooted in the center of the human conception of existence, did contribute to the creation of a tragic sense of life by the Spaniards of the Counter-Reformation. But the temperamental tradition of the Spaniard —quick to energetic explosions, sustained by steel-like springs of vitality, of an explosive and haughty ego, used to divine war— rose in violence on the road to its dissolution and annihilation before the Divinity, after renouncing the seductive honors of the world. Far from becoming devitalized in a soft, tame and submissive delivery of himself over to the will of God, or in a tortured and anguished ascesis, the Spaniard rose above the earth, raised his brow toward heaven and proudly navigated among the storms of life. Besides, the historical conjuncture he was called on to live forced him, to fight in the service of the faith. The Spaniards became the terrestrial champions of the Most High. And they once again lived a new existence, both heroic and theocentric. The vital energy of Spain broke the weak resistance of the cable along which it ran at the dawn of the new times. And in a blinding fire of the formidable short circuit caused by the historical current of Spain, all the initial creations of Peninsular Modernity were consumed: the idea itself of Spain, the promissory development of the national wealth, the new bourgeoisie in slow but firm evolutional growth, the bourgeois spirit with its renewed devotion for the study of

nature —and of man as part of it—, the springlike buddings of Hispanic philosophy, science and technology, the projections of a vital eagerness for worldly affairs, for tasks of civilization and culture, and as many new ideas as Spain had received or had been able to create in the new times.

In the gigantic short circuit Spanish Modernity had been consumed. Spain could not return to the Middle Ages because in the eternal river of history the return to past ventures is not possible. A quarter century ago Menéndez Pidal called attention to what he termed the late fruits of the Spanish Middle Ages: the chivalrous novel, the collection of ballads, the Society of Jesus, the new scholasticism, the new mysticism of Teresa de Avila and of John of the Cross, the theater. The burning of Spanish Modernity forced the Spanish vitality to open its way toward the future via the routes it had been using for centuries.

A magical and strange way of walking. Once again it was man and God; but not a man who moves slowly, turning his eyes to nature and to the mystery of life, as in Christian medieval Europe; nor a man who disintegrates and is annihilated in the Divinity, as in the Islamic world of yesterday and always. He was a whole man, raised over the universe with a lordly air, as a son of God and created in his image to be above him. He was a whole man who was only interested in the dialogue with the Most High and the peaceful or warlike chat with other men co-participants with him in the divine legacy and in the lordship implied by it. He was a whole man who adored God with a subtle faith, but who believed it his right to receive the Lord's thanks for his services and who lived as if awaiting a miracle. He was a whole man who defiantly strutted before other men, even more so than before the universe and before the Divinity.

As none of the rest of his contemporaries, that man conceived concisely the ecumenical articulation of humanity in the ideal unity of Christianity. Moreover beneath that unitary structure, and perhaps because he felt sheltered by it, he individually fulfilled his own and complete personality. No other European felt at the time, with similar enthusiasm, both universally and concretely human; that which tied and united all men and that which separated and differentiated each one. None fought with the same vehemence for the triumph of the spiritual unity of the community and for the vital liberty of the individual. With magnificent fury everything was rendered —even the total sacrifice of his Hispanic homeland— to the battle for the integral Catholicism of all men of the West, at the same time that, with proud zeal, he was able to defend the integral autonomy of the person, in the free projection of his will, and attempted to safeguard and increase his moral credit, caring for his honor with barbarous passion and increasing his honor or fame in the dramatic flirt with death. And he had enough iron in his blood: to prefer to break himself rather than to submit himself in the course of his magnificent Catholic adventure,

to maintain human dignity in times of tragedy and to remain faithful, even after his failure, to the causes that his ethical rigor made him support.

Naturally the whole nation did not live either heroically or in a saintly manner, but it was seduced by the human archetype of the hero or the saint and reverenced, honored, exalted, venerated and imitated those who gave signs of saintliness or of heroism; and it was proud of them as exceptional beings and gave them the encouragement of its credit.

Because one sole thought of man was worth more than the whole world and only God was worthy of it, the Spaniard allowed the other nations to enter the study of nature and to dominate it little by little with the passing of centuries, while he continued anchored in the pure problems of the Divinity and of the human person. He existed in mystical flights toward God, in eager theological analyses of the qualities and powers of God and in the formulation of political and juridical ethical norms which both propel and regulate the life of man.

That whole man continued to be, as he had been before, less inclined to be guided by the advice of reason than by the impulse of emotions and of the instincts; and more sensible to the dictates of morality, which dominate and channel the dynamic projections of the will, than to the encumbrances of philosophy in search of lay explanations of the world and of life. Thus Seneca continued to find a firm echo and a lasting attention in the Spanish minds of the new times and the Hispanic thinkers of Modernity dedicated special attention to the problems of living and of conduct. For that reason the nation gave priority to the enjoyment of life over the slow accumulation of wealth; it worked so as not to perish and did not live to save. That is why spontaneity was not eliminated in Spain in favor of rationality and why the painful European dilemma between reason and life was not reached in Spain, because among us vital reason always triumphed over pure reason.

The Spaniard continued to pour his energy torrentially —overwhelmingly or slowly at low-watermarks— and continued to be ill-equipped for the cultivation of pure science, for industry and for politics, which demand a chain of infinitesimal actions and of patient trials, in a long series of days and years which require the slow and continuous action or the limitation of one's action before the action of another; and has excelled in the activities which require brusque and violent exaltation, bow-like tension when shooting the arrow and a concentration as intense as it is passing: art, letters, mysticism or war.

From one war on to another went the Spaniard as if he were in a closed vicious circle: from the war, in whose flames the temperamental personality of the Spaniard had been forged, to the war in whose flames the Hispanic drive was fed and consumed; to the war which, up until yesterday, did not require the work of years, which was won by means

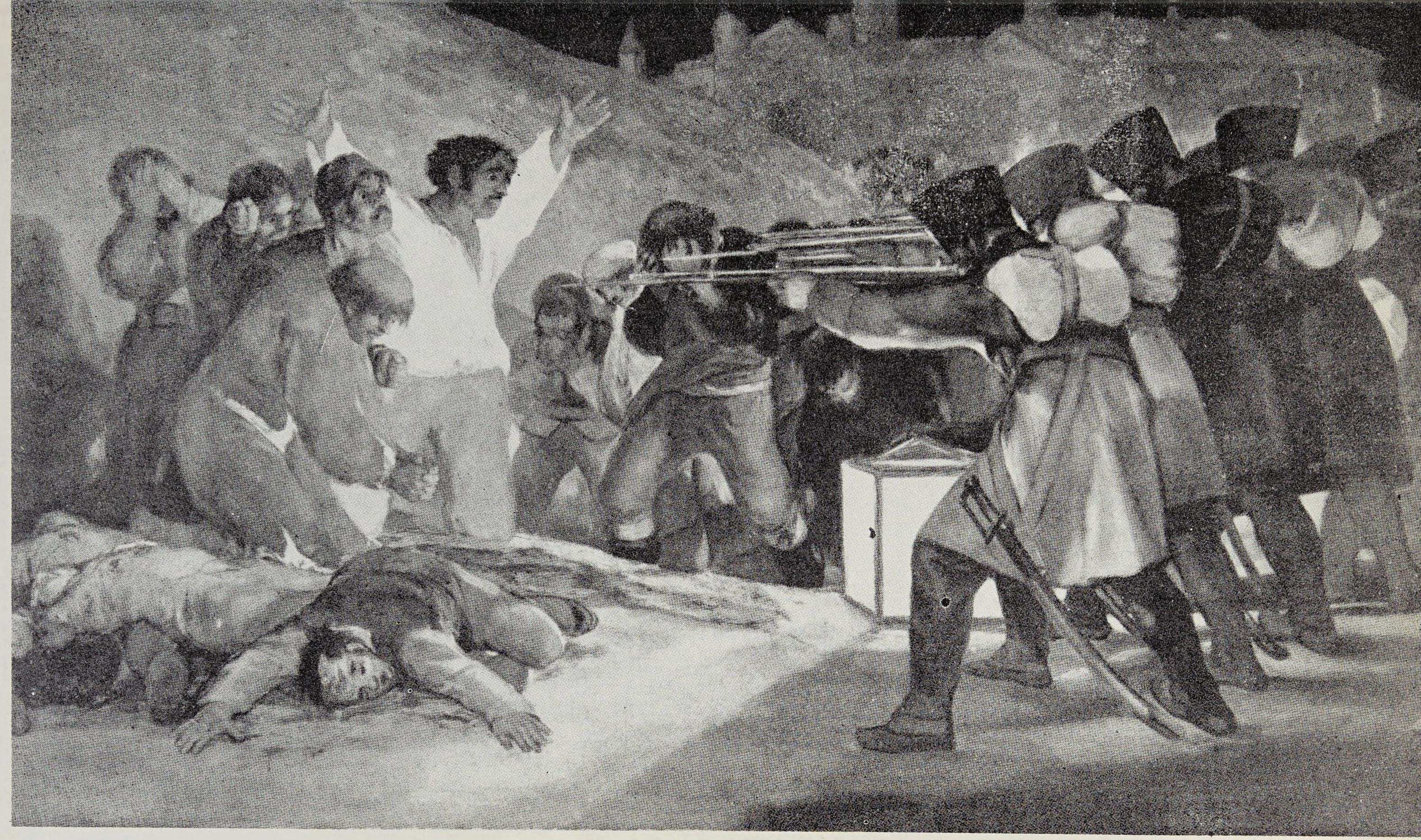
of the superhuman force during the hours of battle, by virtue of personal courage and which seemed to resolve, through a rosary of battles, a complex political problem, without the slow effort of the conquest of adverse opinion. He went from the divine war of our Middle Ages to the divine war of the first centuries of Modernity, which perpetuated in the Spaniards their conviction to serve as instruments for the Almighty and accentuated in them their haughty confidence in themselves, and thus their inflexible pride and their high concept of human dignity.

For the *homo hispanus* continued to be the whole man who was only interested in human dignity, and in whatever other wordly encouragement he found in himself, and he continued to be the whole man of torrential and intermittent action. Even in philosophy, mysticism, art and letters the projections of the traditional centering of his thought and sensibility on problems concerning God and man were clear, as were those of his willfull and overflowing activism or those of the amazing low-watermark of his vital potency in moments of strange nihilism.

The prominent historicist tendency of Spanish humanism, the rise of history to the presidency of the intellectual activities of the Hispanic humanists, the central importance of their historiographic labor in the whole of their work, the high consideration which history deserved from them, their sharp intuitions regarding the value of history in the forging of human nature —Pedro de Rúa intuited the historical sense of man, when basing his human condition on the experience given him by history— and the placing by our humanists, of the historian at the ideal peak of wisdom, can only be explained, in agreement with Maravall, because the Spaniard placed man at the highest level of human intellectual curiosity and felt a primordial interest for what happened to man as a human being; and, since in history his life unfolds, their greatest scholars focused their attention on it.

It is not by chance that the great Spanish thinker of the dawn of Modernity, Luis Vives, concentrated his attention on the different levels of the human soul. Dilthey considers him to be the initiator of modern philosophical anthropology due to his theory of the vital value of affections. Nor is it by chance that Vives discoursed on problems pertaining to the regulation of the affective life and the conduct of men.

The new Spanish scholasticism moved in an atmosphere which exalted the human personality; it made man the important subject in its meditations; it battled to safeguard its free will before God —the most prized and honorable human power conceivable—; it always defended, especially Suárez, the dignity of the human being; and by means of its audacious theory of natural law —Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto above all— when defending the *ius gentium,* and within it, the rights of inferior nations, it truly defended the rights of man.



183.—*The Executions on the Hill of Príncipe Pío,* by Goya. Prado Museum (Madrid). Madrid rose on 2 May 1808, against Napoleon, the master of Europe, and was cruelly punished. All peoples –without any exception at all– have realized barbarous repressions and all have suffered reprisals similar to the «Executions of the Hill of Príncipe Pío». None has had a Goya to perpetuate them and in none did a popular uprising have greater historical consequences. It began the war for our independence in which the star of Bonaparte began to fade.

184.—*Ferdinand VII*, by Goya Prado Museum (Madrid). While all Spaniards, from Gerona to La Coruña and from the Basque Country to Andalusia, bore witness to their superior vital and historical community and fought and died to conserve the Hispanic national independence, this treacherous king, Ferdinand VII (1808-1833), congratulated Napoleon on his victories over them. His cowardliness and double-dealing only ended with his life. He was the greatest architect of the cristalization of the two twin and enemy Spains which still exist today. Goya understood well his dark mien.

185.—*Prado Museum* (Madrid). As early as the fifteenth-century, the Catholic Kings enjoyed collecting works of art. Their successors ruled over the homelands of the three great schools of painting –Flemish, Italian and Spanish– and they had the taste and money to purchase canvases, both in and out of their European dominions. This is why Madrid was the capital of painting during the sixteenth centuries. Since we later had a Goya and other great painters like Vicente López..., the Prado Museum is unique in Europe.

186.—*Goya*, by Vicente López. Prado Museum (Madrid). Here the genius. A country of contrasts, of brusque ascents and rapid falls with the curve of its historical temperature somewhat like the profile of an intermittent fever, Spain has also known vertical falls and brusque ascents in the fields of thought, letters and art. Goya (1746-1828) is one of those high moments. Many-faceted, he was the magnificant incarnation of the ancestral Hispanic and the universal human, just as were the loftiest Spanish values. His portrait by Vicente López.

The Spaniard of the new times cultivated all the literary forms and all the arts and left on them the mark of his genius. No one can deny the beauty and the emotion of his lyric verse, nor even that of his music. Yet if we were to have to choose some aesthetic category or another to symbolize the Hispanic literary and artistic production of the Siglo de Oro, would we not lean toward novel and drama?

«An explosive dynamism... permeates all Spanish literature», writes Vossler. He adds: «This form of explosion and of flaming brusqueness is enormously extended and can be considered as characteristic... especially of the ballads, the most national and original literary genre of the Spaniards.» Ortega has said that the theater of the Siglo de Oro was «an enthusiastic matter». Others have correctly shown that the Spaniard has stood out in the epic, in drama and in the novel because in them man is focused and portrayed in the vital atmosphere which surrounds him, with him at the center of all life. And there are many critics who have pointed out the agitated and vehement rhythm which characterizes our output in the theater and the novel, to the point at times of prefiguring the scenic movement of the cinema and, on many occasions, of requiring visual as well as auditive attention.

In this way one can explain the characteristics of our lyric poetry. Our poets stood out, more than when singing of the field, tree, flower, sea, river, star, light, colors..., when touching on moral, ascetic, mystical, narrative, or heroic themes; or in the analysis of their own human sentiments: love, friendship, loyalty, nostalgia, audacity, duty, disinterest, disdain for courtly life, anguish before guilt... the Horatian poetry of satires and epistles took root because of the clear devotion of the Spanish poets «toward the viril, dispassionate measured, composure» of Horace, as Vossler has written. They conceived and realized the prodigies of spiritual composure and plastic equilibrium in which the «entire and generous heart» and «the dignity without compromise» of the authors are reflected, as Vossler has also said. Few of them dehumanized their poetry and those who did took pleasure, like Góngora, in the deformed description of beings not human and of detailed things, or in the pure game of verbal metaphors; but even these poets thrust themselves in different directions, in a strange but evident vital dualism. In the most ethereal and universal works of the Hispanic lyricists, the murmur of steps of the beating of wings perturbs the silent flow of ideas or of sentiments. And even when the poet is won over by the magical desire for solitude, rarely does he show signs of human emotion before nature; his eyes slide before it: «They empty the scenery until they can identify it with their own state of soul» —according to Vossler—; and their mind turns toward the mysterious life of God or toward the vital intimacy of man. Always man, only man or man and the Divinity.

Thus the portrait triumphed in Castilian literature, in the Middle Ages and in the new times. Dámaso Alonso has pointed out in the Poem of the Cid, its aspect of a portrait gallery. Berceo, don Juan Manuel and the Arcipreste de Hita drew no few portraits. We find portraits, admirable portraits, in Chancellor Ayala, in Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, and in Hernando del Pulgar; and also in the *Corbacho* and in the *Celestina,* in the chroniclers of the Indies, in Sigüenza and in Saint Teresa. The most varied collection of portraits appear in the picaresque novel and in Cervantes and Lope... There are magnificent portraits, not only of human archetypes, but of men of flesh and blood; portraits of bodies and of souls; portraits of beings not at all static, of beings in action and at times in exaggerated and frenetic action, of men who frequently escape the pages of books and set out along the dusty roads of Spain or along the streets and squares of its cities and villages.

Due to his own psychic and vital formula, antiheroic and without a moral and religious bridle, the hail of poverty and even of anguished misery in which destiny made him live or the turbulent social atmosphere in which the sad fortunes of life had driven him, obstructed, at times, for the man of action, the Spaniard, the routes of the saint or the hero. Thus the picaresque was born; a reaction both opposite and complementary, against the exaltation and reverence of the prototype of the *homo hispanus* in knightly and heroic tension.

Since the Spaniard continued to be, as he had been, a whole man, the great literary figures that Spain has given to universal literature have been: one, Don Juan, a paradigm of human drive and vigor, and the other, Don Quixote, the incarnation of the Castilian knight in battle for the ideal, or better, for the spirit.

For that same reason the Spaniards have created one of the great pictorial schools of Europe —none of the other fine arts permit the same integral plastic projection of the whole man— and for that reason its painting displays characteristics well-known today. It lacks the subjects born of imagination and of fantasy, those inspired in Renaissance humanism, in its allegorical and mythological aspects, are scarce, the decorative themes are fleeting, the costumbrist ones, late, and the landscapes, very rare. Naturally many religious themes were painted, for in them were reflected and intermingled the exalted devotion of man and his own integral personality. This personality might be reflected awaiting or in the midst of a miracle, but was always pictured in man's home and daily atmosphere. Like in literature, the portrait also triumphed in Hispanic painting.

In the old Castilian retables veritable portraits had already appeared —I remember some of Berruguete on the main altar of Saint Tomás de Ávila—, but Velázquez and his contemporaries «made the portrait the radical principle of painting». Their portrait reproduced bodies with an extreme exactitude, with an insuperable reality, and reveals souls without falling into

psychological interpretations, with a naturalness inherited from the psychic realism of the medieval Spaniards. In that way saints and gods were humanized. As Ortega has said, Velázquez «tears myth out at the root and forces it to retreat toward verisimilitude», thus transforming in men the figures of the classical pantheon he takes to his canvas. And the religious paintings, which also imply mythological subjects, are treated in a similar way. It has just been said of Zurbarán that he achieved an intimate fusion of the celestial and terrestrial world, drawing each figure as a masterful portrait and giving it human value; and of Ribera, that he knew how to «profoundly capture the personality of the individual».

Indeed, man himself and by himself is taken to the canvas, from the king to the pauper and, at times, the painter himself, and is portrayed with a force that makes him almost jump out of the frame, with no theatrical horizons at his back, on an innocuous and undefined background, melted into the landscape or into the interior of the house or convent. Isolated man is presented, based on his essential humanity, in pure and intimate monologue, in silent dialogue with the Divinity or chatting with other whole men, his equals. Not even the individuality of the figures disappears when on occasion they are integrated into complex compositions or «histories». The Spanish school of painting creates as an attempt not only at divine salvation —as Lafuente Ferrari has quite correctly pointed out—, but also as an attempt at earthly or terrestial salvation of the individual; of affirmation of his whole personality as a man for whom only God is worthy; a God before whom man enjoys even his own free will, in a magnificent concretization of his human autonomy. Guinard has just written: «No painting has so vigorously refused to treat man as a simple particle of a changing universe.» Since vital reason triumphed over pure reason in the whole man in action who was the Spaniard, and he himself stood in the middle of the theater of life, the cold sculpture steeped in the classical tradition —the projection of eternal reason into marble or bronze— was also defeated among us by the emotive, gesticulating, dramatic and human religious imagery. The expressive vigor and the emotional depth of the sculptors of religious images were able to transmit the world of God through the individualized and totally human bodies, which from Berruguete to Mena, seem to transparently reveal the living souls of the men more than the archetypes of celestial beings.

Frequently decorative edges have been pointed out as characteristics of our architecture. Chueca Goitia has just distinguished in it a precise series of singularities: the asymmetrical direction of broken line shown by the floors of many ecclesiastical and secular constructions; the discontinuous and jumping space, formed by «*cuantos*», compartment-like space which frequently divides the interior of the floors and breaks at times even the unity of perspective; the very rare use of the domes, rigidly geometrical, in contrast with the abundance of ceilings which can be termed *cuevi-*

formes —remember the fantastic development of star-shaped vaults of our Gothic, the panelled ones of our Renaissance, the dense vegetation of our Baroque vaults—; the peculiar manner of penetrating the simple volumes into the exteriors of our most typical constructions, forming *conjuntos máclicos;* the taste for suspended decoration without terrestrial support, like the very well-known one of the University of Salamanca; and the profuse, dense, thick and repetitive nature of the suspended decorations and of all the decorations of the Hispanic interiors and exteriors, a decoration which abandons its geometrical prisons and which does not accompany organically the tectonic elements, «but that, with the flood-gates broken, pervades everything». I dare to define those singularities of our architecture with two words: individualization and vehemence. The *homo hispanus* poured his peculiar psychic and vital characteristics into the buildings his existence was to transpire in.

That whole man whose thought was worth more than the whole world and of whom only God could be worthy, that whole man —will more than reason: will in the service of the spirit—, shaken by his driving vitality in his periods of torrential desire, desired to continue living beyond life and soon found a way to use his own in the service of his desire to live beyond this world. Not even the supreme journey could limit his appetite for action and he transformed the eternal rest of the biblical thought into a new and celestial activity. Saint Teresa of Jesús expected such a high life after death that she died because she did not die. «Oh death that gives life!», exclaimed Fray Luis de León. And «life should be cared for in such a way that life remains in death», goes the motto of a Castilian coat of arms, reflecting too, from this area, that vital ultraterrestrial yearning.

A Spaniard, Gómez Pereira, before Descartes, coined the Cartesian phrase: «I think, therefore, I am», but that discovery was to be a genial tripping in one of the periods of drought of Hispanic activism. Thought can reveal its existence to he who quietly meditates. The Spaniard knew of his own breath because life palpitated in him with such vigor that it constantly broke through and overflowed the watergates of doubt. He felt himself live with such impetus, violence, intensity, exaltation and dramatism that he did not need to think to prove that he continued to hold the reins of life. His explosive ego frequently poured itself into such agitated battles with the world or against himself, that he had no leisure left to discover, in silent reflection, the flow of blood through his veins. It was that way even with the mystics, mystics because they wanted to impetuously reach God, who were not mere contemplators of the divinity, who felt tortured by a yearn for action and who truly led executive lives, like the *Saint* of my land —the city of the Knights—, Teresa of Jesús and of Ávila.

In one of the *Proverbios y Cantares* which Machado dedicated to Ortega y Gasset, we can read:

Ya hubo quien pensó
Cogito ergo non sum
¡Qué exageración! (78).

That «he who» of Machado had to be a Spaniard; in his phrase, «I think, therefore, I am not», is portrayed all Hispanic activism.

And it had to be a Spaniard, our great Ortega, who, transforming Cartesian thought, conceived this idea: Since I am, I think.

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(78) There was already he who thought
Cogito ergo non sum
What an exaggeration!

Chapter XVIII

SPAIN AND EUROPE

In Europe, with Europe, before Europe, against Europe, marginated from Europe, in search of Europe, anguished by Europe... How have we Spaniards lived in the extreme Southwest promontory of Europe which is Spain? Against the proud and disdainful French assertion: «Africa begins at the Pyrenees», Spaniards have been for years opposing Spain to Europe. That opposition implies the tacit recognition of the injurious historical separation of Spain from European life, which our most harsh critics have postulated. Most lucid Spanish minds have deepened the supposed ditch which separates Spain from Europe or have raised onto the sky the Pyrenees, until they become an uncrossable barrier. In the last decade, Ferrater Mora, Francisco Ayala... and other both profound thinkers and excellent writers, have accentuated the contrasts between «Spain and Europe». Europe has incessantly launched new and fertile creative ideas, legitimate children of reason; Spain has only given birth to ideals, bastard secretion of passion, writes Ferrater Mora, coinciding in the long run with the hateful judgement regarding Spain of the men of the Encyclopedia. We are the result of the fatal symbiosis of Christians, Moors and Jews, as an essayist has said, thus coming close to the opinion of some furiously anti-Spanish Pope of the Renaissance.

Spain and Europe? This is only possible if we limit the vacillating and fleeting concept of Europe to the group of nations which occupy the historic home of the Carolingian Empire and the early and later historical expansions: beyond the Elbe, in the upper valley of the Danube and on the other side of the Straits of Dover; only if this is done will we be able to admit the reality not of sharp —somber and fearful— contrasts which are usually established, but of the undeniable differentiation between Spain and that restricted and limited Europe. Yet, is that Europe? Why should the many arpeggios given to Europe from beyond the frontiers of the Carolingian Empire and beyond its cultural and political projections

be suppressed from the symphony of Europe; for example, those of Spain? Is it not possible to distinguish in the great suite of the history of Europe the different harmonies with which the diverse sub-species of the *homo europeus* are represented in it?

I am not able nor do I wish to stop here to define the essence of Europe. Let us accept its most synthetic and schematic characterization around the two central ideas which singularize its past: spiritual creations of universal value and unceasing struggles to secure the freedom of man. Its creations have been of many different types —Europe is not only philosophy, sciences and technology— and its struggles have generated but slow spiral-like advances with apparent retreats into the dark past. Yet, in the end, Europe, slithering like a reptile or flying like an eagle, slowly or speedily, euphorically or in anguish, along rough paths or along the royal road, advancing toward any one of the four cardinal points of the future by the routes of reason or of passion, attempting to achieve the dominance of the world by man and the lordship of man by himself... Europe has continued, without effective retreats, its two great processes: the creation of universal values and the battle for human freedom. It is moving toward the kingdom of God on earth, even though differently have believed, believe and will still believe for centuries, many men, millions of men, perhaps the majority of men, who, naive as babies or satanically proud, have judged, judge and will judge —perhaps forever— themselves capable of measuring «the visible and the invisible» spoken of by the Nicene Creed, with the poor yardstick of the powerful and also limited human reason.

Has Spain been absent from that Europe so schematically characterized? Let us avoid simplistic replies in history, like those that usually please writers and philosophers; the writers and philosophers who do not feel the tension of history or who ignore the past. And let us avoid the facile conclusions taken, like symphonies, not unfinished but cut off in their beginnings, from the violins of the Middle Ages. We will have to go back over the course of Spanish history to its origins and tire our steed in speedy galloping to be able to reach the present, or at least the new times. But let it be said here that only blind and deaf to the light and echoes of history can anyone deny the presence of Spain in Europe and its decisive collaboration in the great European enterprises, which naturally overflow the narrow limits of the pure philosophic and scientific secretions of pure reason. All of which does not mean to say that there have not been great differences in the way of being in life of the men who have lived to the North and to the South of the Pyrenees.

1. Origins of the Differential Factor

Spain and Europe. Spain at the *Finis Terrae* of the old world; recipient for thousands of years of the vanguards of migratory movements that,

from Africa, the East, and Central Europe, advanced towards this extreme limit of the earth. Few of those who have philosophically delved into the making of Spain have failed to pass delectable and wonderful judgements concerning this quite remote Spanish past; nevertheless, they have not taken the care to observe this past with carefulness. They consider it to be innocuous and valueless in the coining of the West's historical personality. They remove her from their path with a disdainful albeit elegant gesture, asserting that to consider Spain as a cultural crossroads only gives birth to mental chaos. They dare to affirm that the violent meeting of races and cultures in the fatherland could not have changed Spain's life. They believe that this series of peoples and civilizations has triumphed in Spain much more radically than in any other country, but that this victory has not altered traditional Hispanic essences. «All the contradictory character of the history and even of the life itself in Spain is owing to this apparent opposition between the complete assimilation of foreign cultures and indifference to them. This opposition is apparent only because deep down in her indifferent self, felt by Spain concerning these strange invasions, has she been able to assimilate them and make them entirely hers.»

These opinions of Ferrater Mora show to what point a sharp thinker may err when daring to discuss the beginnings of Spanish history. The truth is that from remotest prehistory Spain has been the country where the triumph of the races and cultures that came there has been the most difficult and precarious. It is the country that has least assimilated the culture of the foreign races that have crossed its borders; the historical community least indifferent to the penetration of peoples approaching its confines. Its resistance to letting itself be historically colonized, and its creative vitality so intense that it has always fought with those who have penetrated to its harsh lands; it has not accepted strange cultural values to the letter, but rather has usually transformed, re-elaborated, and renovated those cultures brought to the Peninsula by the ethnic minorities who, either peacefully or warlike, landed on its beaches or crossed the Pyrenees. It not only transformed, renovated, and re-elaborated them, it later spread them throughout Europe, Africa and America. This has been so since before history. Spain had earlier transformed, renovated, re-elaborated, and propagated the Hispano-Mauritanian and Ibero-Saharian cultures. It also spread to the West, far beyond its native boundaries, the Bronze Age cultures: dolmens, bell-beaked and Almería zone, after transforming, renovating, and re-elaborating them according at will. This is what Spain later did from the sixteenth to the eighteenth-centuries by bringing to the New World the culture that the medieval Hispanos has transformed, created, renovated, and re-elaborated, *more hispanico;* the cultural essences received by them from eastern and western peoples.

There was neither indifference to the foreign races and cultures, nor a radical assimilation of alien blood and civilizations. In prehistory, history

and forever there was an extremely firm vital resistance to any attempt at spiritual or political invasion and late transformation of the ethnic and spiritual forces which were able to enter Spain from the north, east, or south. One of the key points of Spanish History and Spain's relations with Europe is to be found in the coming together, fight, and coordination of the dissimilar styles of life of the many peoples who arrived to the Hispanic *Finis Terrae,* from Africa, Central Europe, and the East, and in the reception, recreation, and diffusion of the cultures brought by them.

Philosophers and, following their lead, historians are not able to withdraw from the fashion; the fashion which triumphs in the philosophical interpretation of history. It would be absurd to bind oneself to the old doctrines and close oneself off to the new creations of contemporary thought. However, as I have often said throughout this book, it is no less absurd to disdain the old theories from the Mount Olympus of the recent ones, which are also doomed to become extinct. The old ones, the new ones, and those of the future as such ideas, contained, contain, and will contain always elements of truth and elements of error together.

I agree with a certain author when he states that French history would have undergone a decisive change if, at the beginning of the eighth century, the Muslims would have landed at Marseilles instead of at Gibraltar. However, the fact is that before this time, the ancestors of those Muslims had landed many times in Spain and never on a French beach. Indeed, long before Tariq crossed the Straits in 711 the grandfathers of those Africans and Easterners who later arrived to the Hispanic Peninsula under the sign of Islam, had crossed the Mediterranean and set foot on Spanish coasts, never in France.

It would be ridiculous to go on considering the past of humanity with nineteenth-century positivistic eyes, but it is grotesque to turn our backs and to proudly deem all their postulates as out-of-date with the ironic smile of informed men. It is not correct to disdain the philosophic interpretations of yesterday, as women who disdain and mock the feminine fashions and styles they have just recently praised to the heights. There is a bit of femininity in the disdain with which the old historical theories are usually spoken of.

Spain is where it is thanks to the «history of the earth», and it is useless for Spaniards to reject or forget this unequivocal reality which has weighed heavily, and continues to do so, on Hispanic history. This geographic situation of Spain, eccentric with relation to the rest of the great European peninsula, and in its proximity to the now great island of Africa, may not be disdained nor ignored whatever the routes taken today by historical theories and in spite of the overwhelming scorn, in style, for the positivism of the beginnings of this century.

Africa does not begin at the Pyrenees, but like it or not, for there is everything in the Lord's vineyard, African characteristics in combination

with Eastern-Mediterranean characteristics have contributed, since prehistory, to the coining of the Hispanic sub-especies of the greater European culture and to the forging of the peculiar Spanish style of life. All this happened with a different intensity than it did in the coining and forging of Western Europe.

To my knowledge, an elephant cemetery has not been found on the other side of the Pyrenees as it has in Spain. The Hispano-Mauritanian (?) and Ibero-Saharian (?) racial and cultural waves which inundated the Peninsula during the Neolithic, penetrated to the West from Spain only at a late date. As has already been said, the Bronze Age cultures, dolmenic, Almería, and bell-peaked, overflowed into Europe from Hispania after they had been recreated by her peoples The Phoenecian-Carthagenian culture that set the pace of southern Spain, never crossed the Pyrenees. The Byzantines never set foot in the Carolingian Empire. If the Arabic-Oriental culture which the Hispanic peoples received and helped to create influenced Europe, it was above all else through the Peninsula. During the Middle Ages the only compact masses to enter the Peninsula were Berbers and other Africans.

Furthermore, to this dissimilar effect and lastingness of the African-Oriental penetration to the north and south of the Pyrenees was added the contribution of dramatism, acquired by the obstinate resistance of the Peninsular peoples to becoming politically conquered and culturally penetrated by those peoples coming to Hispania from beyond the sea and mountains; the impetuous, vital and adventuresome vanguards of quite different ethnic and spiritual roots. This contribution, as a determining force in differentiating what is Hispanic and what is not, was decisive in the coining and forging of Hispania. First archeology, with its testimony to bellicose undertakings: acropoli, arms, proof of fires and attacks; next toponomy, with its remembrance of old fortresses (in names formed wih the Iberian word *arce* or the Celtic words *briga* and *sego)* and of abrupt ethnic movements (near Mondego *Conimbriga,* i. e., fortress of the *Conios,* was erected; they were later cornered in the Algarve); later philology, with its typical residual traces, witness the Galician *geada,* discovering the reality of a people pushed to the Atlantic coast; lastly history, with its exact and cutting notices; all affirm the reality of the dramatism of this resistance. I could write page after page to give examples of these statements. This vital and cultural resistance was required under pain of being annihilated. It was the melting pot made up by Spain, difficult to escape from and necesary to defend mile by mile. This threat was particularly important for the peoples of the Cantabrian North and the Atlantic West against all type of invaders; and for the Hispanic peoples of the Eastern coast and the South against the southern invaders. Both groups had the sea to their backs which anguishingly closed them off from any possible withdrawal. This threat could not have operated in the same way for the peoples of non-Hispanic continental Europe, for they were able to move about like waves on the sea and, as

a last resort, cross the English Channel and pour into Great Britain or Ireland, or cross the Pyrenees or the Alps and penetrate into Hispania or Italy, thus abandoning their old temporary lands. Nor could this threat have weighed heavily upon the Mediterranean coastal peoples or those from Central Africa who, like the wind, could cross the sands or the waves only to inevitably discharge in Spain the gales they brought with them.

What a quantity of singular characteristics of the *homo hispanus* have their remote roots sunk in this dramatic fight that, for millenia, almost up till modernity, the human communities successively cornered in Hispania, had to keep up in order to save their personality, threatened over and over again by new throngs of invaders landing on their beaches! If the Hispanic peoples had not successfully fought again and again to avoid being subjugated, beaten, and annihilated by the repeating waves of conquerors set foot on their native soil, would we be so harsh and passionate? Would such a haughty individual lordly manner have characterized us? Would we possess such rugged and explosive egos? Would we be so proud and secessionist? Would we have fought with each other so crudely and violently? Would our spirits be so quick to battle and death? Would we have felt the unsettled devotion of one who gambles his life before the ancient forces of the unearthly beyond? Would we have faced the world and matter with such constant proclivity more for making an empire of the earth than knowing it? Would we have been so inclined to center the axis of nature and life in the flesh and bone man? Would we have directed our attention to the normative disciplines of human existence with preference to those dedicated to the investigation of its intimate mystery? Would our volitional inclination have been so unequal to our rational activity? If the foreign peoples and cultures which again and again came to the Hispanic *Finis Terrae* would have been able to flood completely and entirely dominate and unify the peoples and cultures held by Spain, would these peculiarities of the Spanish sub-species of the European man have been able to stand out and last for very long? Do these peculiarities not derive from the ferocious and unceasing battle maintained by the successive strata of Peninsular peoples to continue being what they were? This battle went on from thousands of years before Christ up to the coining of modern Spain on the brink of the Modern Age. How much vital energy have we had to spend on this millenary struggle for wanting to be, and its logical projection of wanting too much, while the other peoples of the West, free from our adverse fate much to their fortune, could have poured this energy onto less harsh paths, disengaged from the most anguishing problem of collective life: the historical survival itself of a community?

Indifference to political and cultural invasions? Rapid and complete assimilation of foreign cultures and ways of life? To contradict such hypotheses, compare the radical nature of the Celtization of Gaul (the

invaders even gave their name to the country), to the limited and truncated nature of Celtization in Hispania. Compare the rapidity and profundity of Romanization in Gaul, conquered in one decade by Caesar, to the snail's pace advance of the Roman conquest in the Hispanic Peninsula, and the unimportance of the Romanization of the Cantabrian North, where the pristine virginity of the Hispanic Vasconia saved itself. Compare the triumph of Germanization beyond the Pyrenees (Gaul become France) to the failure of Germanization in Spain. Compare the swiftness and definitiveness of the Islamization of many non-Spanish peoples making up the Damascus or Baghdad Caliphates, to the slowness of the Islamization of Al-Ándalus, to the tenacious resistance of the northern peoples of Spain to become Islamicized, a resistance which proved to be sucessful. Compare the porosity of nations beyond the Pyrenees to the new ideas and ideals which have enlightened neighboring countries, to the impenetrability of Spain to these same non-Spanish ideas and ideals.

United, geography and history had forged and coined the Hispanic nature infected with African and Eastern virus, strong willed and furious to the penetration of anything foreign. The Hispanic sub-species of the European man had been forged and coined. I say European man because, due to the asperity and anguish of the battle among peoples and cultures face to face and joined together in the *Finis Terrae* of Europe, Spaniards usually lived thinking about the historical matrices whence they came, but mostly they were oriented towards Europe. Also, because finally the peoples and cultures of Europe triumphed in the secular struggle fought in the melting pot of Spain.

2. Forever Gazing Beyond Spain

I have just alluded to one of the keys to our history; a key that has not been emphasized by anyone to my knowledge: this continual gaze of the Spaniards beyond Spain. It is not difficult to calculate the feeling of imitative inferiority born of this projection of Spanish attention and Hispanic admiration towards the ideal goals of these cultures situated beyond the Pyrenees; a projection towards spiritual meridians passing through the historical cribs of those peoples from whose trunks their grandfathers had come, or through the nuclear centers of the civilizations they set their hopes on during the battle with other Peninsular peoples having ethnic or psychic roots different from theirs.

It is not possible to give exact proofs of the reality of this amorous attention given to those remote cultural lights by the peoples who immigrated to Spain during the prehistorical millenia. However, their role as the vanguard or advance contingent of those exceptional migratory movements, allows us to date this gaze towards the historical seats of the great human mass from whence they came at a time previous to history.

The initial reproduction in the Peninsula of the cultural values of the previous fatherlands by the human groups who came there from Africa, Asia, or Europe, shows strong indications of that devoted inclination for their remote lands of origin. The duration, in the post-Hallstadt period, among the Celtic invaders of Spain, of the triumphant cultural traditions of the non-Hispanic Celts, at the time when the Spanish Celts separated from them, may be attributed to this devotion. While the Celts from beyond the Pyrenees created the La Tène culture, the Peninsular Celts preserved the cultural complex of their place or origin, recreated, naturally, with the passing of time.

When one of these historical communities, after having taken root in the Peninsula, forgot its devotion for its old homelands, the arrival of other immigrants or conquering nuclei renovated the traditional gazing beyond Spain of the Peninsular folk. This happened because the new arrivals still kept fresh the roots they kept from their far-away ancestral home, or because of the effect that the superior, or at least singular, culture they brought caused around them.

The Roman conquest and the Romanization of the West projected the attention and admiration of the human communities subjected to the power of the great metropoli of the Tiber towards Rome. This happened not only in Spain but elsewhere as well. The Peninsular dwellers, having forgotten their original homeland after many centuries and deeply mixed together, again felt the attraction of a great political and cultural center situated beyond their geographical and historical boundaries. They once again looked towards an ideal goal beyond the Peninsula. They again lived with the absent spirit of their own creative potential, within a receptive and imitative attitude, spiritually fed from the capital of the Roman world. The meridian of their cultural life again ran through a far-away and strange city.

Gothic Spain never easily freed herself from the weight of this traditional projection which admired foreign ideal goals. This was because the Goths arrived in Spain partly drunk with Rome and continued to gaze, if not at the Rome of their times, at the old Rome they had known to be master of the world —it pleases me at this point to be able to explain, without any contradictions, an idea of Ortega's which I have refuted for other reasons. Moreover, since the Hispano-Romans who gave the kingdom its spiritual tonic, did much the same, for purposes of opposing the Gothic barbarians and out of nostalgia for the times, not only for a better past, Spaniards began to place the luminous goal of their earthly life beyond the borders with their backs to the present. They continued living with their soul inclined towards a far-away spiritual homeland and, by gazing at the past, they placed the center of gravity of their hopes beyond the earthly quarters and beyond the present.

The Hispano-Gothic chroniclers, Juan de Bíclaro, Saint Isidore, the Anonymous Mozarab, etc., intermingled Spanish history with imperial

history —in their times with its political center in Byzantium— and they set their history into its chronological frames. Their clergy travelled to strange lands for cultural formation. They warmly received those clergymen who arrived from the East —for example, Bishops Paulo and Fidel of Mérida, and Apringio of Beja—, and nobles such as Ardobasto, the father of Ervigio. Foreign ideas, institutions, and practices, from Byzantium naturally, were received and adopted. Saint Isidore, who already conceived of Hispania as one human community with an authentic historical personality, spiritually lived anchored in the Roman past without any creative impetus towards the future.

It was easier for Gaul to free itself from the dead weight of this attraction and admiration for things Roman and the past, thanks to the almost virginal barbarism of the Franks and because they did not have to undergo the Byzantine reconquest that renovated in Spain the extroversion of their attention towards the empire and the past. When the Carolingians remade the Franco-Gaulish society on bases, at least renovated if not entirely new, and even more when they came to restore the Empire of the West on their own model, they situated the center of their devotions in their historical homeland and truly made it an authentic *umbilicus* of the Europe to which they had recently given historical birth.

On the other hand, the Arab invasion and the bloody struggle which immediately ensued between both Spains, Muslim and Christian, accentuated the traditional projection of intellectual curiosity and loving attribution of Peninsular peoples for remote ideal goals. For centuries it asserted among the Christians of the North a lively devotion for the lost paradise of liberty in Spain; a devotion that illuminated the past and centered its hope on the restoration of that luminous past. They thus put the future in the Reconquest of an ever-present past which at the time they searched for cultural and vital archetypes beyond their frontiers. The former occurrence was a strange and tragic aberration of time which no other European people has experienced.

If Muslim Spain looked to the East, Christian Spain looked North. Their respective spiritual meridians passed through Aix-la-Chapelle and Baghdad. Al-Ándalus life attempted to imitate Baghdad cultural models. From beyond the Pyrenees the light first shown on Oviedo, then on León. The watchwords, themes, ideas, and forms came from afar. Both had cultural inferiority complexes towards the far-off creative centers; navels of the two worlds at whose frontiers Spain existed. They considered the nature of Hispano-Islamic and Hispano-Christian cultures to be clumsy and poor compared to the Orient and beyond the Pyrenees. They accepted the tutelage of those coming from one or the other radiant goals. They felt themselves to be illuminated before the reflection of those suns in whose orbits the two Spains revolved. With simian spirit they reproduced whatever was strange, while they were contemptuous of anything of their

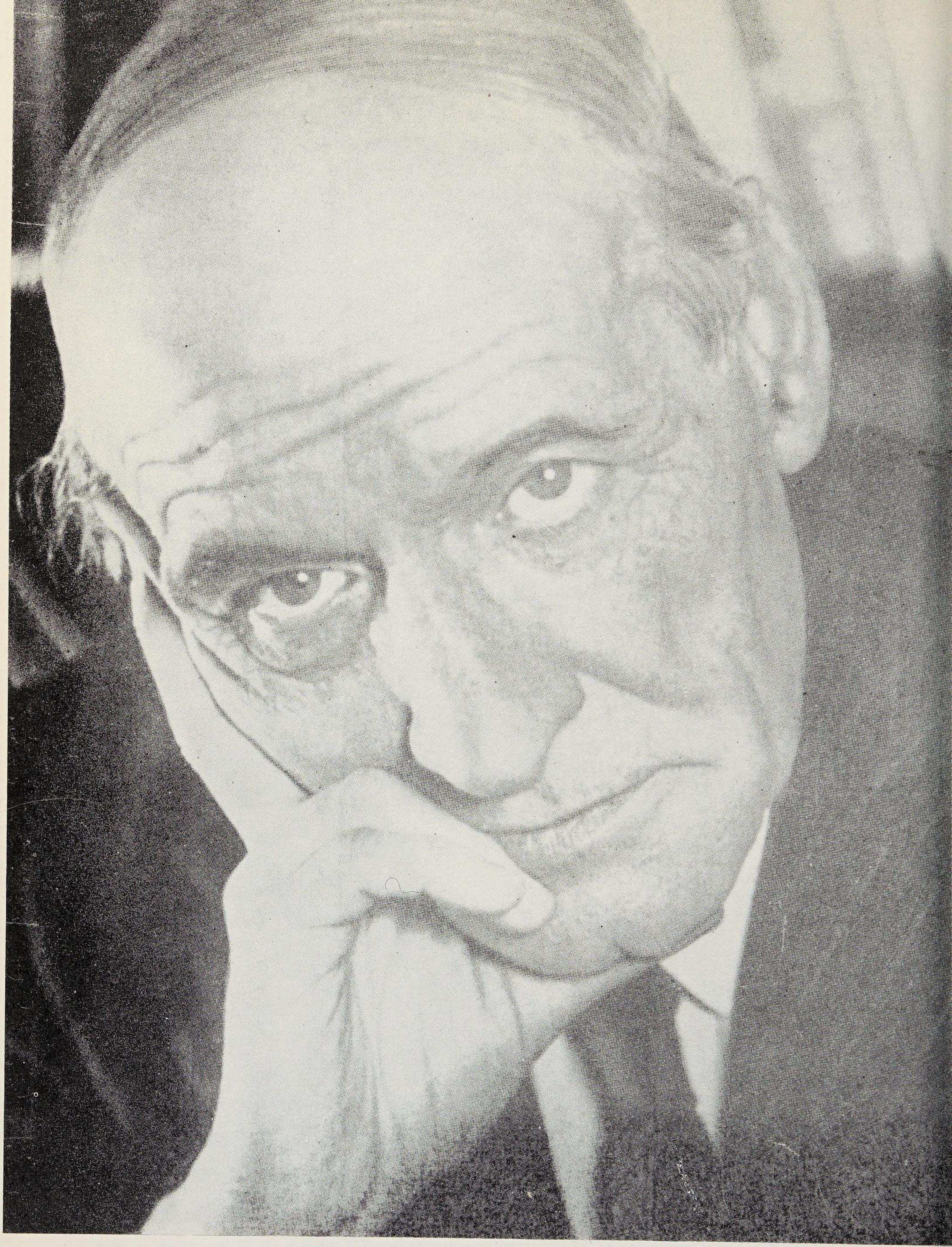
own, or they asphyxiated it. It was only among the popular masses in the South and North that Peninsular tradition ran in undercurrents, beneath the sand accumulated by erosion. Thanks to them the old cultural essences of Hispania were not completely volatilized. Thanks to their number, their active historical role, and their creative vitality could the Spanish spiritual guide retrieve her lost light. These masses were never slow or dull, neither in the North nor in the South, as they were in feudal Europe or the despotic East.

I suspect that Castile's historical ascent is owing to the personal and political liberty of the Castilians within the state structure of the country just as much as to the liberty of movement given to the Castilians, i. e., their passionate involvement with the present from which they projected an attractive future, and their centering of the meridian of their lives and hopes in their own homeland. This was the Castile that was the fruit of the coming together of Cantabrians, Goths, and Basques who were never Romanized, or very little so, and only slightly taken in by the culture of the West which was being reborn beyond the Pyrenees and less contaminated with the temporary aberration of that Neo-Gothism which made a future out of the past.

The Gothic Order was restored in Oviedo in the days of Alfonso II (791-842), according to the Albelda Chronicle, while the triumph of Gog over Magog was dreamed of (that is, of the Goths over the Mohammedans). This was in accordance with the prophetic fantasies of a Toledan clergyman writing in 833. The reconquering nature of the war against the Islamites was soon asserted. The official historiography, i. e., the Chronicle of Alfonso III and its erudite composition, already had Pelayo make before 885, allusions to the salvation of Spain. Shortly, the unclear and hesitating, but full of historical meaning, idea of the León Empire as a continuation of the Visigothic Empire sprang up. This idea was united to the preeminence of the kingdom of León over the other Christian kingdoms of Spain, and was projected towards the desired future restoration of the lost past.

In the meanwhile Castile was being born and formed; looking at the present and at herself. She was uprooted from that asphyxiating Neo-Gothic tradition and dreamed of extending her borders to the South, not to recuperate the national homeland, but to assert her historical personality. This was done only with work, and it was necessary to win with double force. There is no tie to a past trying to change into the future and no strong desire of reconquest in the epic traditions of Fernán González, Infante García, the siege of Zamora, or the Cid. They were dithyrambic songs of popular heroes or sad tales of frustrated hopes. Feats of *caudillos* serving as archetypes for the community were idealized, or examples were made of the treason that, twice in one century, had temporarily disintegrated the autonomous silhouette of Castile, putting her national existence in danger.

187.—*Portrait of Unamuno.* Unamuno, the man of flesh and blood, was involved in the anguished search for the immortality of the soul. He was the quixotic Basque who was pained by Spain, but who, proud of its character, predicted the necessity of Hispanicizing Europe. He was the marvelous embodiment of our dual secular conflict between the impetus of life and the haughtiness of reason, in continuous and reciprocal interference. Due to his integral Hspanism, he was in permanent combat against everything and everyone, even against himself. He was one of the two lighthouses of the living Spanish thought of yesterday, once again on the dynamic upswing.



188.—*Portrait of Ortega y Gasset.* Ortega y Gasset, the master of all Spanish-speaking men. In his struggle to shake up our vital spiritual life in order to incorporate it into the rhythm of Europe's life, he won for Spain a place at the table of contemporary thought by becoming one of its creators. Pushed on by the psychic heritage of his stock, he made vital reason the key to his system. Against the Cartesian «I think, therefore I am», his reason was: «Since I exist, I think.» Along with many other true Spaniards, he contradicts the somber freezing of our future that I have combatted in this book.

Castile looked towards the future, while León and Galicia looked backwards to the past. Castile had joined the Gothic impetus with Cantabrian fury and Basque restlessness, forcefully emerging into history. León and Galicia had inherited the idea and desires of the Romanizing Hispano-Gothic state. Castile, separated from the navel of the kingdom, had escaped from the complications of high international politics, which had led the court to establish contacts with the Imperial center at Aix-la-Chapelle These contacts were set down in the *Vita Karoli* and the *Vita Hludovici* and various Carolingian *Annals.* The proud hostility to anything foreign exhibited by the young Castile is reflected in the legend of the traitorous countess who attempted to blame the treason of a foreigner, Doña Ava, for the bellicose failures of Count García Fernández. It is also reflected in the myth of Bernardo del Carpio, invented to reject the boastful warrior successes which the French chansons de geste attribute to Charlemagne in Spain.

Nevertheless, ultimately neither Castile nor León could escape the admiring attraction toward what lay beyond the Pyrenees. Contagion by Islam was difficult in the social and political life of the northern Christians since there had been no slump nor vacuum in the North. Pre-Muslim institutional tradition had felt the impact of the constitutional novelties provoked by the great task of repopulation and organization of land won by the sword. However, the fruit of this union offered a closed front, lacking any holes for the penetration of Muslim institutions. The reception of the cultural essences of the South was much less avoidable because of the great crisis suffered in the spiritual life of the Peninsular Christians. This reception implied a tremendous danger: spiritual domination by the feared Saracen enemy. This domination would have weakened the means of national resistance.

Catalonia and the Pyrenean counties were nourishingly united to the Carolingian matrix whence they came and were able to serenely face this threat. León and Castile, on the other hand, felt the danger to be doubled because of their isolation in *Finis Terrae.* For this reason they were forced to search out the cultural support they needed with dramatic anxiousness from beyond the Pyrenees. This support was indispensable to defend themselves against the threatening contagion of Hispano-Muslim spiritual values.

This necessity coincided with the expansionist policy of the Carolingians and from very early there sprang up connections between Oviedo and Aix-la-Chapelle. Abadal studied the connections resulting from the Adoptionist dispute. Throughout the ninth-century the art from beyond the Pyrenees was imitated in Asturias, more than two hundred years before the invasion of Romanesque art into the Castilian-León kingdom. Bishko maintains that the Cluny colonization of the North-western Hispanic clergy, already advanced in the eleventh-century, was preceded in the tenth by Benedictine norms and practices from beyond the Pyrenees in La Rioja

and Castile. Since the intensification of the pilgrimages to Santiago and the political and ecclesiastical relations with Europe, the mimicking attitude of things foreign became accentuated in the Peninsula in an uncontrollable *in crescendo.* This occurred during the reigns of Alfonso VI and his grandson, Alfonso VII, founder of the Burgundian Castilian dynasty.

The flooding of Spain by Cluny monks, and the particular flooding of Castile by Frankish knights and bourgeoisie, who came to fight or populate the Hispanic lands —Saragossa was won and repopulated with their aid as Lacarra has shown— made the level of this cultural current rise throughout the twelfth-century. Furthermore, the Peninsular Christians had to double their efforts to approach Europe since the renovation of the old Islamite threat, now embodied by the young African empires of the Almohads and the Almoravids forced the Christians to anxiously turn to the peoples from beyond their frontiers. Moreover, they again found themselves obliged to concentrate all their activity on warfare to the disadvantage of cultural activities. Spain, therefore, was presented as a land of promise to everyone from beyond the Pyrenees: knights, clergymen, poets, artists, and merchants. Already in the twelfth-century they were saying in France: «*Avoire des châteaux en Espagne.*» Morel Fatio has found evidence of the use of this phrase at this time, and I tend to agree with him since the hope of getting rich in Spanish lands had won over many people, even though not all met with success once on the Peninsula.

In the meantime, Muslim Spain had lived for centuries pending the most recent vital and cultural developments in Baghdad. Still in the tenth-century the rhetoricians and poets from Baghdad were the guests of honor at the Cordovan court. At the beginning of the eleventh-century the young aestheticians of Córdoba, even though they were nationalists, were Arabophiles. Oriental mysticism, poetry, philosophic thought, science, and technology always merited the admiring attention of the cultivated minorities, and even of the masses, of Al-Ándalus. Nevertheless, the culmination of Hispano-Muslim civilization in the eleventh and twelfth-centuries, and the existence in Maghreb Africa of a zone of less spiritual pressure, serving the Spanish Muslims as a natural zone of influence, ended up attenuating in part the traditional disciple attitude of Moorish Spain toward the Arabic East. The great thirteenth-century crisis of Moorish Spain contributed to rekindle this tradition.

From the thirteenth-century Spain was an important factor in the political equilibrium of the West. Royal marriages with princesses of the royal families of England or France, and the German Staufen, threw Aragón and Castile into the bonfire of non-Hispanic problems. The imperial pretenses of Alfonso X the Learned, the Mediterranean expansion of the Crown of Aragón, the alliance of Castilians and French with the subsequent intervention of the White Companies and the Black Prince in the civil war between Peter I and Henry II, and Castile's participation at France's side in the

Hundred Years' War, continually caught up the diverse Hispanic kingdoms in the events of European politics. The connections and contacts brought about by this situation fortified the non-Hispanic cultural current and the gazing of the Peninsular folk beyond the Pyrenees continued to endure, even after the removal of the Muslim threat and danger after the great conquests of Ferdinand III and James I.

All the latest philosophic, religious, literary, and artistic novelties which sprang up beyond the Pyrenees came to Spain. Often these novelties had received fruitful germs from South of the Pyrenees, from Muslim Spain or Christian Spain. The birth of Romanesque sculpture in the South of France was favored by the pictorial models in some illuminations of the highly divulged *Comentarios al Apocalipsis* of Beato de Liébana and some Spanish Bibles in their ivory reproductions. The miniatures of the Beato's manuscripts were tyrants of the imagination, carrying it to grandeur and mystery, thanks to their violent colors, strange drawings, and dreamy atmosphere. The sculptors of the doorways at Moissac and Cluny probably sculpted themes deriving from these miniatures. This, in any case, is the theory of Pijoán, Neuss, Mâle, and Kingsley Porter; they point out the route this influence might have taken before reaching the aforementioned French monasteries. Ferrandis also inserts ivory work to this chain.

Gómez-Moreno, Choisy, Lambert, and Torres Balbás defended the theory that the Gothic arch, one of the essential elements of Gothic art, is of Hispano-Muslim origen. It might have travelled North from the Mosque of Córdoba (tenth-century) to the Durham Cathedral (twelfth-century). The cupola shaped vaults with jutting arches of the Córdoba Mosque would have been evolving in space and time in this way: through the already crossing vaults of the Toledo mosques, the vaults with rectangular cross-sectioned ribbing, eleventh-century Spanish Romanesque and Mudéjar churches (Sepúlveda, Oviedo, Jaca, Ayerbe...), and cupolas and vaults outfitted with ribbing, initially without keystones and later with them, that appeared on the towers and temples of the South and West of France on the pilgrimage routes to Santiago.

Hispano-Muslim musical and poetic forms and themes also influenced music and lyric poetry outside Spain. Oriental stories and story tellers probably also have crossed the Pyrenees through Christian Spain. Even the knightly and lyrical conception of love which was to triumph in Provence and make up the subject matter of the *dolce stil nuovo*, had its roots in Spain. Ribera and Asín in the field of orientalism, and Menéndez Pidal in that of romanism have defended the theory of these influences.

Through Muslim Spain and Christian Spain many philosophic and scientific works were passed on to Western Europe. Such were the works of Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolomey, Galen, etc., most of which were not known outside of Spain for a long time and were, nevertheless, translated into Arabic from the ninth-century on. There were also Arabic works on mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy. From the time of Ger-

vert de Auvergne, later Pope Silvester II, who was already in Spain in the tenth-century in order to study, and especially after the conquest of Toledo in 1085, many non-Spanish scholars crossed the Pyrenees. Among these were Hermann the German, Hermann the Dalmatian, Hugo de Santalla, Plato of Tivoli, Rudolph of Bruges, Robert of Chester, Albert and Daniel of Morlay, Gerard of Cremona, Daniel and Michael Scotus... These men picked up the philosophic and scientific thought of the Spanish Hispano-Muslims and Christians with Greco-Oriental knowledge; the thought of Domingo González, Juan of Seville, Marco of Toledo... Renan already asserted that the work of translators who came to Spain renovated the philosophic and scientific life of the West. Every day there is more proof of the importance of the Spanish contribution to the first European Renaissance of the thirteenth-century. After the conquest of Andalusia the cultural undertakings of Alfonso X continued to place new knowledge at the disposal of Europe. There is ample information on this subject in studies by Suter, Durheim, Thorndike, Haskins, Sarton, Mieli, Arnold and Guillaume, and Millás y Vallicrosa.

The effect of Hispano-Islamic culture through Christian Spain went farther and higher. It rose to the upper heights of medieval thought and philosophy in Thomas Aquinas and Dante. For many years the influence of the great thinker from Córdoba, Averroes, on the grand master, Thomas, has not been questioned. Moreover, the most exalted Dante enthusiasts now admit the Muslim eschatology in the Divine Comedy.

The similarity in essentials between the doctrines of Averroes and Thomas Aquinas, and the clear contact of various aspects of them, may not be a coincidence. They exclude the independence of the *Suma contra gentiles* compared to the *Kitab al-falsafa.* One of the ties which united them was the *Pugio fidei adversus mauros et judeos* by Raimundo Martín. Martín was a Dominican like Thomas, and though older, he was his contemporary. He belonged to the schools created by the order in Murcia and in Tunis. He had a great Islamic philosophic culture. Asín has found apparent mentions of the *Kitab al-falsafa* and the *Tahafut* by Averroes. Thomas Aquinas might have found out about the doctrines of the great philosopher from Córdoba in the *Pugio* and also in the treatises of the indirect disciple of Averroes, the Jew Maimónides, also from Córdoba.

Likewise, Asín has proved the use made by Dante of *Hadiths,* or Islamic traditions, concerning the *mirach* or night journey made by Muhammad to the regions of life beyond. He has demonstrated that the great Florentine poet is connected to the *ixhraqi,* or illuminist school of philosophy in his theory on divine light. This school was founded in Al-Ándalus by the Cordovan Ibn Masarra and later transmitted by the mystic from Murcia, Ibn Arabí. He has established a relationship between Dante's *Cancionero* and *Convite* and Ibn Arabí's *Intérprete de los Amores* and *Tesoro de los Amantes.* The discovery and publication of the Latin, French,

and Castilian versions of the *Libro de la escala de Mahoma,* ordered written by Alfonso the Learned, has shown the way in which Dante received news of Islamic eschatological legends. I refer to the studies of Muñoz Sendino and of Cerulli. Dante could have received the other Hispano-Muslim influences by means of the other paths which the great Spanish Arabist has carefully pointed out.

Moreover, the list of borrowings made by the West from Islamic Spain through Christian Spain can be extended to diverse techniques and industrial arts: paper, ivory, ceramic, silk, tapestries, and other diverse creations and great and secondary inventions. The list would not be complete if we did not mention the influence in the West of the thinking of two great Catalonian figures: Ramon Llull and Arnaldo de Vilanova.

However, after having received with greater or lesser success the philosophic, scientific, and literary creations from the Mediterranean Spain, i. e., Christian Spain received the novelties which sprang up beyond its northern border; it imitated them or adopted them according to the modalities of its temperament. In this way the monastic orders arrived to Spain: from France or Italy: Cluny, Benedictine, Franciscan, Dominican, Cartusians, etc. With them came Romanic and Gothic styles, lyrical poetry of the troubadours and erudite lyrical poetry, Roman law as renovated in Italian schools, Scholasticism. The Spaniards received these novelties from the emigrant poets, artists, jurists, and clergymen who founded rural monasteries or urban convents; they constructed Romanesque or Gothic cathedrals; they sculpted portals and sepulchers; they translated philosophic or juridical theories; they recited religious or love poems. There is a long list of French, German, Flemish, or Italian monks, architects, sculptors, troubadours, and romanists who lived South of the Pyrenees and worked, taught, and created in Spain. And when the name is lacking it is possible to establish the ultra-Pyrenean birthplace of the architectonic style, of the forms of sculpture, of the juridical doctrine or of the poetic subject matter... Yet the Peninsular people quickly learned from their foreign masters and they built, sculpted, thought, wrote... not imitating in a servile manner but transforming, renovating, re-elaborating the acquired models. In legal doctrine they broke with restrictions and formalisms and made new steps toward a clear sense of social liberty, of monarchical structuralization and of contractual simplicity. They injected action and life and dynamism into the pious or jocose tales which were the source of their poetic creations, as is easy to see when comparing the *Milagros* of Berceo, the *Cantigas* of Alfonso the Learned or the *Buen Amor* of the Arcipreste with their ultra-Pyrenean models. They also gave strength to their architectonic constructions and a harsh and masculine profile to their plastic creations; they were unable to free the structures of their works of art from a certain rustic air, and they richly and profusely decorated —at times in excess— the flat surfaces of these plastic creations. In Gothic art, for example, according to Mayer, they compensated the rigid naturalism with a severe

stylization, and the naturalist complex with an ordered and minute arrangement which resembles lace, «which produces the impression of fabulousness and subjugates and suspends the spirit.» They reached such a point of perfection, that they ended up seducing the artists of the North and influenced them though not always, to surrender themselves to the Hispanic tastes and modules.

It was always Europe, the ultra-Pyrenean Europe, which composed the luminous goal of Christian Spain and served as an effective counterweight to its penetration and inundation by the cultural currents reaching it from Al-Ándalus. There existed in that gaze beyond the Pyrenees and the Western Mediterranean an evident lack of attention, a gap, a weakness during the reigns of Alfonso XI and of Peter I in as much as the plastic arts, for the ultra-Pyrenean tendency continued to triumph: in literature —accredited by the Arcipreste and Chancellor Ayala—, in the new lyric and introverted religiosity, in Scholasticism, in law and in many other facets of the spiritual life of Castile. However with the francophile Trastamaras and with Peter IV of Aragón and his son John I our admiring adherence to things beyond reached its highest level, an admiring adherence reinforced at the time by the growing influence of Italy amid the cultured minorities of the Hispanic kingdoms.

I have not written: «amid the cultured minorities of the Hispanic kingdoms» lightly, because it is quite possible that the masses did not participate in that xenophilia; and it is even licit to suppose their accentuated xenophobia. The popular opposition to the acceptance of Roman rite is documented by the letter from Alfonso VI to Saint Hugo, abbot of Saint Victor de Marseilles; the king said to the monk: «*De romano autem officio quod jussione tua recipimus, terram nostram admodum desolatem esse.*» It is also shown by the tradition which Ximénez de Rada, now newly published by Vázquez de Parga, has conserved for us. The hatred shown by the clergy of Cluny when speaking of the Castilians in the *Historia Compostellana* allows us to presume the scant cordiality which the Castilians felt for the people from beyond the Pyrenees. The malevolent allusion to things from beyond the Pyrenees is evident in the «Cantar» of the Traitorous Countess and that of Bernardo del Carpio. I am sure that the knights of Toledo defended the Jews, their neighbors, against the ultramontanes having arrived in Spain in 1212 for the battle of Las Navas, more for nationalist xenophobia than for true Hebrewphilia. The abuses of those barbarous warriors when abandoning the crusade after having won Calatrava —they attempted to sack Toledo—, the invasion of the kingdom of León and Castile by foreign merchants during the military campaigns of Ferdinand III, the economic crisis produced by that invasion and those campaigns and which the imperial pretensions of the Learned King accentuated, and the war between Aragón and France for the dominance of Sicily and of the Mediterranean, with the French invading Catalonia, could not possibly arouse on the Peninsula the devotion of the

masses to the men and the things from beyond the sea and beyond the mountains. The help received from the White Companies by Henry the Bastard against the Cruel King, who was followed by the people, and the excesses of those Companies and their victorious noble allies against the defeated, were to fortify the old popular xenophobia in the lands of Castile. Besides the struggle between the Catalan sailors with those from the Provence and Italy will not cease to increase it.

I do not doubt that the attentive investigation of the acts of the cortes of Castile and of other narrative, juridical and documentary texts of the late Middle Ages would permit us to prove the reality of a clear antipathy with which the Castilian-León masses received foreigners and foreign things in general. Without having done this in detail, I can contribute some testimonies of that hostility. The Sevillans assalted the Genoese neighborhood of the city in 1304. It was necessary to protect with severe measures the non-Spanish merchants who traded in Castile. The sailors of the Cantabrian Sea happily and at times successfully confronted foreign fleets. The representatives in the Castilian cortes solicited many times, from the kings, drastic measures against foreign businessmen and against foreign merchants. A similar investigation into the historical sources of the Crown of Aragón would not render different results.

In contrast with the human and literary devotion of the nobility, the upper clergy and the intellectuals, to things and men from beyond the frontiers, the popular literary style of the romances lived with its back to ultra-Pyrenean Europe; and when it touched on non-Hispanic subjects it let its lack of cordial friendliness be seen.

3. Hispanic Pride and European Disdain

The kings, the nobility, the upper clergy and the businessmen and the laws continued to gaze beyond the sea and beyond the Pyrennes and they continued to enjoy the arts, the letters, the fashions, the tapestries, the silks, the cloths, the armour, and all kinds of foreign products. For centuries, French, German, Flemish or Italian architects, sculptors and painters continued to work in Spain. The ancestral devotion of the ruling classes for foreign things was so intense and so lasting that it continued to be a handicap difficult to overcome for the artistic or industrial development of the Peninsular peoples.

Yet after awhile those from among the Spanish noble or intellectual minorities who crossed the frontiers and dealt, fought or studied outside of Spain, began to mute their admiring devotion of things ultra-Pyrenean; and, upon feeling the lash of foreign disdain towards things Spanish, they began a sharp turn in weathervane of their consideration of Europe. Pushed on by the winds of pride, they went from devotion to antipathy and,

upon their return to the Peninsula, they minimized the cultural and economic superiority of the countries they had visited; only to exalt their ethical weaknesses —Gutierre Díez de Games accused France of living under the sign of Venus—, the decline amid them of the knightly spirit —they were irritated by their lack of keeping their word and promisses— and the inferiority of their bellicose instincts in comparison with those of the Spaniards. The «Discourse» pronounced by don Alonso de Cartagena in the Council of Basel, the «Crónica de Don Pero Niño», the document addressed to Henry IV by Fernando de la Torre and, at times, Mosén Diego de Valera, already reveal that change of attitude. This change was not incompatible with the recognition of their own defects. In *El Victorial*, for example, this tryptic is sketched: «The English think beforehand; they are prudent. And the French never think beforehand; they are proud and nimble... The Castilians never think until the thing is past; they are lazy and passive».

Yet soon the Spaniards inundated Europe, and not as immigrants in search of work or business, but as victorious soldiers, as captains or governors of fortresses or cities, as agents or as ambassadors of the most powerful sovereign of the world, as scholars or as artists of quick perception and of agile mind, as audacious adventurers or as picaros without scruples. Europe saw itself overwhelmed by Spaniards who up till then had lived practically outside of its history, in a receptive and frequently reverent attitude; and it saw them arrive crowned by the fame of their enterprises from beyond the sea and of their victories in Italy and in Africa. During the first decades of those new and intimate contacts with the nations of the West, the Spaniards quickly caught on to whatever beyond their frontiers attracted their admiring attention: humanism, the thought of Erasmus, Petrarchan poetry, Renaissance art and the new conception of the world and of life centered on the exaltation of the human person and of his creative possibilities. Thus the other nations changed their tutor's disdain or their disdainful ignorance for the jealous admiration or for the envious antipathy of the Spaniards. These Hispanic men hesitated in accepting with enthusiasm the new task —glories and sacrifices— which destiny unloaded on their shoulders; their struggles with Charles V, at first bloody, the Comunero Revolt, and later pacific, the Cortes of 1538. But in the end they were won over by the Caesar for his imperial adventures and the Spaniards bled themselves in magnificent combat on all the fields of battle of Europe, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

Years before the remote tradition of Western unity under the Holy See and the Empire had lost all ideological force. Europe was split into a series of sovereign states which did not tolerate any decisive political control over them. Spain had never felt attached to the unitary juridical complex ruled, more or less theoretically, by the two powers of the Pope and the Emperor. The imperial ideal of León embodied the clear conception of Hispanic life unattached to Empire of the West. And don Juan Manuel

in the «Libro de los Estados» was careful to make noted the absence of any type of ties between the emperor and the kings of Spain.

By backing the policies of Charles, Spain did not confront, as Ayala has incorrectly maintained, the first outbreaks of European nationalities, in the name of the imperial unity of the West; and neither did it cherish any aspiration toward a universal monarchy. Menéndez Pidal has demonstrated that the imperial idea of Charles V embodied a mere aspiration to the unity of Christendom: unity against its foreign enemies and internal unity with the suppression of ideological dissidences. This is manifested in the words addressed to the Cortes of La Coruña, in 1520, by doctor Mata; in the political declaration of the Emperor himself at the Diet of Worms, in 1521; in the answer of the Caesar to the Pope —on the occasion of the Sack of Rome of 1527—, the work of Alfonso de Valdés; and in the discourse read by Charles V in Madrid in 1528, written by Fray Antonio de Guevara. The imperial policy of Charles responded to that idea.

Never did the idea of restoring the political unity of the West, discarding the already settled and rooted national diversification of Europe, cross the minds of the Spanish political inspirers of Charles, nor his own mind either; in his discourse in Madrid he emphasized the fact that he had no ambition of conquering what was not his and called anyone who aspired to such enterprises a tyrant. The imperial idea of Charles, of Hispanic tradition and coined by Spaniards, only implied the fulfillment of the high moral duty of harmony among the Christian princes; and did not endeavor to submit the other kings, only to coordinate and direct the efforts of all against the infidels.

In the discourse which Charles V gave in Rome before Paul III and the pontifical court on Easter Monday, 17 April 1536, the monarch expressed himself in this way: «And some say that I want to be the monarch of the whole world and my thought and works demonstrate that it is not so... And so that Your Holiness might know my intention and also the thinking of the king of France, I have letters of his which say that if I wanted to give him the duchy of Milán, he would help me and make me lord of the rest of Italy; and his ambassador, who is here present, I offer as witness, who knows what he has spoken to me of all of this and that I have answered that I do not wish to do it, for my intention is not to make war with Christians, but with infidels; and that Italy and Christendom might be in peace, that each one might possess what belongs to him and that we might be happy and might make a confederation against the infidels I, as has been and is always my intention of doing, where there will be much land so that we might pass on without worrying about things here below.»

Somewhat later, in the cordial interview of Aigues-Mortes between Charles V and Francis I, a crusade against Constantinople was discussed.

Spanish foreign policy during the first half of the sixteenth-century only attempted to save the cultural and spiritual unity of Europe. For that purpose the soldiers and humanists of Spain fought with their swords and pens.

Thus Spain did not confront Europe in the tone of conquest and with aggressive appetites. Spanish thinkers and warriors fought in Europe for the supreme values of the spirit. In that double battle they conquered, without doubt, for Spain the political and spiritual hegemony of the West, for it was truly the Spaniards who sustained the adventures of Charles with their intelligence, their drive, their riches and their blood. In the Cortes of La Coruña of 1520, doctor Mata said, when speaking in the name of Charles: «The garden of his delights, the fortress of his defense, the strength to offend, his treasure, his sword, all must be Spain». The spokesman of the new emperor attempted to flatter the Spanish pride in order to win the good-will of the representatives and to gain their consent for the designs of the prince. Neither Charles nor his representative could guess then the prophetic value of those words. History gave them reality with the passing of the years. And since Spain was a craggy fortress, the source of vital energies, the sword and the treasure of Charles, Spain became the hegemonic power of Europe.

The preponderance of Spain in Europe lasted for a century and a half; preponderance and not lordship. It is important to reduce our role in the West until Westphalia to its precise limits. Its exaggeration and nationalist disfiguration has unluckily weighed on the exact understanding of our history. That hegemony was not the fruit of an aggresive policy of imperial conquest, similar to that which triumphed with Rome and failed with Napoleon and has failed with William II and with Hitler. It was the result of the reception by Charles V of the inheritance of his double pair of grandparents —of Aragón and of Castile, and of Austria and of Burgundy—, naturally secured by the Spanish sword and intelligence —our diplomacy was as feared as our army— and by the wealth of Castile. That supremacy, harshly disputed even by the Papacy and heroically defended against all —we defended, more than conquered, our European empire— radically changed the traditional relationship between Spain and Europe of admiring reception by Spain and tutor's mastership by Europe, already more than seven centuries old. Spaniards dominated all the roads of Europe, changed admiration for pride, exuded arrogance and daily felt themselves to be more masters of themselves and more capable of dictating to Europe the directive norms of its spiritual life. The Europeans from beyond the frontiers of Spain shook with rage, endured the Spanish superiority with hate, accumulated treasures of resentment against our hegemony, hated us as much as they feared us, fought us with cleverness, slander, calumny and treason and refused to admire the creations of our mind and our genius. It was the double and normal reaction of those who, used to devoted attitudes of disciples, became the strongest and reached

spiritual parity; and of those who, accustomed to wielding a disdainful mastership, soon found themselves defeated by the sword and their intellectual superiority lost.

Were they defeated by the Spanish sword and was their intellectual superiority over the Spaniards lost? Indeed, it is necessary to understand that double Hispanic victory in post-Renaissance Europe. Weissbach writes: «The substantive repertory of ideas of the Counter Reformation had to be defined from Spain in its fundamental characteristics». Our supremacy was never lordship, but it did not limit itself to political life, for it also reached the life of the spirit. That of the spirit, I have written, not that of science, though, as was pointed out before, there too the Spaniards excelled: They taught mathematics and medecine in different cities abroad; in the Sorbonne, Martínez Silíceo, Ciruelo, Gaspar Laz, Miguel Francés, Hernán Pérez de Oliva... were professors as was in the college de France, Pablo Ramos; and in numerous universities of France and of Italy, Jerónimo Muñoz, Francisco Sánchez... Many more occupied chairs of theology and law, as far away as in Poland. They practiced diverse professions outside of Spain; doctor Andrés Laguna was the medic of Metz and Cologne and of Pope Julius III. The Spanish works on the art of navigation were translated into the cultured languages of the time. Yet I do not wish to repeat what I have already said. It has been shown how their studies on mathematics, cosmography, cartography, metallurgy, medicine, botany, pharmacopoeia, artillery, pedagogy... contributed greatly to the progress of these sciences and technologies and anticipated those we owe to the most famous scientists of Europe. Their men of science and technology deserved the attention of the foreign scientists: the mathematician Jerónimo Muñoz was praised by Tycho-Brahe; Weidler doubted that there were astronomers as good in France as in Spain; Galileo had words of praise for his Spanish collegues; Boerhaabe spoke highly of the doctor Francisco Vallés, as did Newton of the mathematician Omerique; the book of Monardes on pharmacopoeia and that of Pérez de Vargas *De re Metallica* deserved the honors of translation, as did the *Examen de ingenios* of Huarte de San Juan; the art of making deaf-mutes speak of Ponce de León and of Bonet was soon distributed throughout England and Italy; and the list could be increased without any great effort by those who have studied the history of science.

It would also be effortless to list the great Hispanic contribution to the theological and philosophical meditations, to the juridical and historical ideas, to the political and moral thought and even to the first preoccupation for economic problems, of the Europe prior to Westphalia. There are legions of names of our theologians, philosophers, jurists, historians, moralists, political writers and even precursors of mercantilism. I have already listed the most famous and in any good and modern History of Spain one can find a complete repertory of these scholars. The rigorous investigation of their influence on the European thought of the age has

yet to be done; one more weakness of the knowledge of our past which the new generations of young Spanish historians should overcome. Yet, may nobody dare to deny it; please refer to the pages where I studied the spiritual creations of the Spaniards.

The weight of the already mentioned dual tradition: devoted Spanish admiration for things foreign and proud disdain beyond the Peninsula for things Spanish, was, nevertheless, too strong to not leave traces in the period of full Hispanic preponderance. Thus no small number of Spaniards continued to gaze beyond Spain and place beyond its frontiers, in Paris, their spiritual meridian; among them were some scholars of greater ambition than talent and of fewer scruples than authentic knowledge, like León de Castro. Kings and magnates still called foreign artists and professionals to their service; the majority of the time not because a qualified person who could do the task was lacking among the Spaniards, but for the pure taste for snobbish ostentation. The people of quality, or those who desired to demonstrate it, continued to disdain national products and preferred imported good: cloths, silks, arms, armour, and a long series of luxury items. Hispanic spiritual values took long to be esteemed beyond the Pyrenees; only the most genial Spanish creations found response in foreign lands. Along with the contempt for our philosophical, historical, juridical, political, moral, scientific, and literary works, despite their intense use, we were considered barbarians by the Europe which angrily endured our preponderance. Quevedo affirmed this in 1609.

As I have said before, the sixteenth-century was a century of discoveries and conquests: of new continents on the face of the earth and of new spiritual horizons towards which to project human reason. Even though in logically unequal proportion —the singularities of our Middle Ages made that imbalance inevitable—, Hispania contributed to that surprising dual adventure of the fifteen hundreds. Europe owes us much more than a continent. Without Hispania modern Europe would have remained stunted, even though others believe differently, including some Spaniards for whom European Modernity simply represents the triumph and the apotheosis of reason. To affirm it they must begin the great day of the new times half-way over; after the first two periods of the modern history of the West are finished; for the second hour of that luminous day was the hour of Spain.

Indeed; Europe owes Spain much more than just a continent. The discoveries and explorations of the Hispanos —Spaniards and Portuguese— decisively contributed to the birth of Modernity. They were a victorious attack on the up until then, unmovable fortress of ancient science; they destroyed forever the credit of authority of the theoretical dogmas; they made direct observation of the facts and phenomenological experience into the only criteria of truth; they impelled the authentic free examination of nature and of life; they provoked an unstoppable anxiety to discover the

new mysteries and an insatiable appetite for knowledge; they created a new sensitivity where the hope of new discoveries and the enthusiasm for the investigation of new truths triumphed; they opened a period of optimism in which imagination and curiosity, allied, flew through the skys of surprise; they affirmed the confidence of man in the seemingly unlimited cognitive possibilities of his mind; they awakened the consciousness not only of some egregious men but of all the cultured men of the century; in a word, they prepared the way for the victory of reason and of its philosophical and scientific projections.

The initial Renaissance would have not reached maturity without the profound impact received from the spiritual revolution provoked by the Hispanic discoveries and explorations. Besides, more than the Reformation —remember Melanchton calling Copernicus an imbecil because he contradicted the biblical passage regarding the stopping of the sun by Josuah with his theories—, that same spiritual revolution brought about a freedom of conscience: the breaking of the criteria of authority, the affirmation of its replacement by the direct observation of things, the anxiety for knowledge, the enthusiasm to discover the secrets of nature, the free flight of scientific curiosity and the confidence in the cognitive powers of man. That is to say, it was most likely the intellectual climate created in Europe by our enterprises on all the seas and lands of the world which permitted the victorious explosion of modern rationalism. Though it may seem paradoxical, it was probably the adventures of the Spaniards and Portuguese over the unknown seas and the unknown lands discovered and explored by them, which truly gave the fatal blow to the edifice of dogmatic religion. It is possible to imagine that their propagation of the faith throughout the new world and their defense of the faith in the old were like a mysterious and providential reparation for their unconscious undermining of the theocentric conception of nature and of life.

That spiritual revolution was also felt in Spain, and Spanish science and philisophy began to mature, as has been shown. The new sensitivity and the new spirit of the century also incited the Peninsular writers to probe the flowing process of human life, and thus the modern novel was born; and moved the painters to capture life around them without submission to the traditional aesthetic formulas —previously a slave-like adoration of beauty— with which a new style of painting arose. The resistance offered by the traditional religious exaltation of the Peninsular peoples, the fruit of their multisecular divine war, to the free flight of thought that the discoveries and explorations had given life to, made the Counter-Reformation possible; the two forces in battle arose from the same historical potential: the Spaniard of the Middle Ages. Furthermore since we also assume its ideological inspiration and its normative direction, it is not possible to deny that the second hour of European Modernity belonged to Spain. As Europe had lived before from the intellectual sacking of Italy, it now lived from the increasing exploitation of our spiritual creations.

This has already been pointed out by Henríquez Ureña and is daily more difficult to deny.

Only with Galileo and with Descartes, that is, with the seventeenth-century, does the third period of Western Modernity begin. It was intimately tied to the spiritual revolution provoked by the copulation of the Italian Renaissance with the new psychic climate created by the Spanish discoveries and explorations. However Spain could not follow Europe in this third adventure.

The Protestant doctrine of justification by faith left the way open for the earthly activity of man, quietly awaiting grace; and the Lutheran free examination, if it had not created the intellectual curiosity appropriate to the century, did not block its way either. On the other hand, the Catholic doctrine of free will and of justification by the constant search for grace centered life on the zeal for personal salvation; and the obliged submission to the dogma of the Church —without licit freedoms of interpretation—, if it did not clearly contradict intellectual audacity in the investigation of scientific truth, neither did it favor it.

Thus rationalism was born of the mating of consciousness awakened by the Renaissance and the anxiety to discover the mystery of the world and of life which our discoveries and explorations had stimulated; this rationalism found in ultra-Pyrenean Europe, rebellious to Catholicism or less saturated by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, a more fertile soil than in the Europe of profound and rooted Catholic faith.

Our hard and long battle against the Moors had created both the generating impulse of the great adventure and the hindrance capable of paralyzing its psychic projections. It had affirmed the ancient primitive Hispanic drive and had thus launched the Portuguese and Spaniards on the great enterprises which had changed the spiritual atmosphere of the West. Moreover it had sharpened the religious sensitivity of the Peninsular people to such a degree that at the crossroads of Modernity, they made the Counter-Reformation triumph and dared to battle for more than a century in defense of the millenary Catholic tradition of Europe.

Nature and history know of few cases in which two enemy and complementary forces have broken out together and simultaneously, as occurred in Spain in the first century of the Modern Age. The second of these forces could not stop, outside of the Peninsula, the electricity, both deadly and fertile, which the other had set free. Yet it was able to stop its impetus within the Hispanic national homeland. Enthusiasm for the understanding of new truths, taste for the observation of nature, anxiety of knowledge, intellectual curiosity and confidence in the cognitive forces of man, first cooled off and then dried up in Spain; at the same time all the attention of the human mind was concentrated on the transcendental problems of the other-wordly beyond and on the salvation of the individual. We ended up defeated in the defense of the Counter-Reformation and we reached

exhaustion and collapse. That defeat, that prostration and that hardening of the arteries collaborated with that deviation, of our spiritual drive, from the new path of rational probing into the mystery of the world and of life; and the vital Hispanic energy weakened until it reached temporal impotence. Thus we lost interest, due to that coincidence, in the dual philosophical and scientific explosion of the creative potential of reason, only to live sleepily or as sleepwalkers. In this way the old multisecular formula of balance between Spain and Europe was reborn: a disciple's admiration and a master's disdain.

4. The Earthly Salvation of the Individual

The *homo hispanus*, molded in the forge of the Reconquest with the iron of the primitive Spaniard, had often been obliged to confront God and men on the threshold of death, in the course of his fateful life; he had been obliged to place all the forces of his integral person in tension, to defeat the tight blockade of destiny which placed the permanence of his liberty and of his being itself in danger. In those tragic games with adverse fate his individual ego always bristly and violent, had been exalted with such vigor that, breaking his connections with other men, his equals, he ended up forming with them, not an indistinct and amorphous mass, but a nation integrated by men victorious over servileness and even over every day life.

The social and political articulation of the most vital zone of Christian Spain, based on the personal freedom of the great majority of the inhabitants of the country and on the *concejo* freedom of the great popular masses; the fluidity of its classes and social and political hierarchies, open for centuries to the entry of the most audacious and the most determined; and the singularity of our vassal-benefice organization which, not having lost its mobility, facilitated the frequent betterment of the *hidalgos* in the race of enrichment; all of these also contributed to facilitate the free unfolding and the continual potentialization of the explosive ego of the Medieval Spaniards. Since the religious theory of Islam, above all in the thought of Averroes, attenuated to the point of negation the personal responsibility of the individual, ruled, almost without freedom of choice, by divine will, and the normal reaction of the Christian against such doctrines of his secular enemies, were also to collaborate in the Hispanic affirmation of the vital and moral autonomy of man.

In the reply of those from Salamanca to the Almoravid sultan: «All of us are the generals of our own heads», there was more than just a boast. The average Spaniard had acquired such a firm personality that he ended up living beyond individualism. That strange hyper-individual, in an understandable ambivalence, poured his vital energy, with tremendous coarseness, into the earthly and heavenly projections of his life.

Precisely due to the sharpness of his religious sensitivity and the accentuated nature of his faith, inherited from the primitive Peninsular peoples and sublimated in the divine war of reconquest, he reached the confrontation with the Divinity in a haughty demand of a miracle, whenever he was in a difficult position: remember the poems of the besieged castle and of the crossbowman, gambler and sacriligious. He went so far as to confide in that God would give him time to obtain the last pardon in the instant of supreme transit, no matter what had been the laxity of his earthly conduct: Saint Ignatius combats in his *Spiritual Exercises* this excessive and senseless faith of the Spaniard in the mercy of the Most High and Don Juan offers us an example of such accentuated confidence. The *homo hispanus* felt himself deserving of the miracle and the forgiveness because of his services to heaven at the risk of his life.

Moreover, thanks to his manliness, also inherited from the pre-Roman Spaniards and affirmed in the centuries of war against the Moor, his pride was extreme, his conception of honor and of dignity was extraordinarily touchy, his relations with other men, his rivals, were violent and he even arose at times, bristling, against the public powers which ruled his country. The pride, honor, dignity, violence and haughty resistance to earthly powers affected the knights as much as it did the people; I have already offered abundant testimonies of these realities.

That man, forged in this way, had fewer occasions to exercise the power of reason than the energy of will. In his lasting life of action, he did not wander about in the chores of peace nor could he afford —such a marvelous luxury!— to dedicate his time to the tasks of culture. On the other hand, he witnessed the growth and the overflow of his operative dynamism, because when thrusting his energies into action he was placing in movement the generating turbine of his own vital electricity.

That Spaniard did not exactly respond to the archetype of the medieval *homo* coined in the other nations of the West. He possessed to a minimum degree some of his characteristics: his life was much more centered than that of his contemporanies from outside of Spain on the tight attachment of man to God, his theocentric conception of human existence was firmer and stricter and more integral was his rejection of the inquiry into the mysteries of nature and of man himself as a part of it. Yet, at the same time, his hyper-individualism and his exuberant dynamism —possessed by all, from the noble to the laborer— was not only poured into the realization of feats in favor of communal interest. Soon his arrogance, his pride, his heroism and his temerity sought personal fame and glory and the spirit of adventure took them far. The chronicles of the late Middle Ages in Spain, especially in Castille, are deafened by the thunder of the feats of many and very diverse Hispanic personalities, in impassioned search for worldly honor through great and magnificent feats, realized within and without Spain, and without the risks of the task nor the sacrifice of life

holding them back. Let us remember the long series of exceptional beings which unite the *hidalgo* defender of Jerez against the Beni Amer with the man of Villanueva de la Serena who became the sultan of Egypt, in the middle of the fifteenth-century.

That idea of man was translated into literary works: his epic poems exalted authentic human values without climbing the ladder of myth; in his poetic tales of miracles, earthly life was vigorously underlined against a background of marvelous celestial intervention; his poets vitalized their non-Hispanic models with breaths of human activity; the integral man in action, in overflowing action, smilingly paced through the pages of the *Buen Amor* and won the attention of the thoughtful mind of the Jew, Dom Sem Tob; man as an exceptional being interested the Castilian, Christian or Hebrew thinkers of the later Middle Ages; they rated the historical position of kingdoms, not according to their power or their riches, but according to the nature of their human feats... That lofty idea of man was reflected in laws and in parliamentary agreements: in the Ordinance of Alcalá, of 1348, the Castilians were auhtorized to bind themselves freely however they wanted and the Cortes of Ocaña of 1469 dared to say to the king that he was a mercenary of his subjects for he received a soldier's wage from them.

That exaltation of the individual in medieval Spain led to the valuation of the concrete and personalized man, while beyond Spain the noisy echoes of collectiveness still thundered in the spiritual atmosphere of the times. Thus, when the Castilians ventured into the writing of biographies, they effortlessly sketched the portraits of men of flesh and blood against the inclination to present human archetypes by the contemporary Italian biographers: remember Fernán Pérez de Guzmán.

The possibility that each one might reach a different condition, according to his own personality and his own doing, also distinguished the medieval Spaniard from other medieval men. These acted according to what they were while the *homo hispanus* could be what he did. And that being according to one's works, during the Middle Ages, anticipated modern man, in whom with increasing frequency his being ended up depending on his action.

Accustomed to moving up the ladder of social hierarchy with their own effort, they soon intuited and ended up clearly appreciating the authentic value of man in struggle with the forces of the world and of life; and that valuation gave birth to his lofty idea of the human person. Given the special balance which in Spain joined power, wealth and service, many Spaniards began to refine their personality and to achieve glory and fame, thanks to their talent and singular genius, in politics, letters and commerce.

The medieval Spaniard lacked many of the inducements of the new life which led to the forging of modern man. Yet, in his extreme individualism, in the explosive nature of his personality and in his intuitions regarding

the effective power of man as such, at times he surprisingly anticipated the vigorous silhouette of the human archetype of the Renaissance.

Furthermore, as the knightly spirit declined outside the Peninsula and simultaneously the upward-moving process of the bourgeoisie advanced toward its goal, the Spaniard was distinguished more and more from the types of man in the West. He kept many of the essential traits and ideals of knighthood, soon emptied of substance in Western Europe. Even though he intuited, as did the bourgeoise, the potential value of man, as a function of his own qualities, to triumph on the paths of the world, he only slowly accepted with many limitations and reservations, the forms of being in life of the bourgeois class.

Thus the crash of the *homo hispanus* against the problems which Modernity placed before him was very sharp. Inasmuch as that meant the intervention of man on the front page of life, there could not be no violent tension between the spirit of the new times and the mental make-up of the Spaniard, based on the exaltation of the human person onto the heights where he could himself mold his own destiny. Neither was there any confrontation between the Spaniard and the new inquisitive appetite for the world, peculiar to the men of the Renaissance; he quickly assimilated foreign knowledge, he enthusiastically accepted the break with ancient scientific dogma which had never attracted him greatly; and with his drive in the exploration of new seas and of a new continent, he contributed to the triumph, beyond the circle of the most exclusive minorities, of the intellectual curiosity of the new times. The encounter, the tension, the struggle of the *homo hispanus* with Modernity must have begun when, as reason reached primacy over life, it began to coin the silhouette of the abstract and generic man as against the concrete and whole man filled with vital drive, who was the Spaniard. Soon the Reformation offered to the European new routes on the path toward God, routes which advanced along the plains of faith and of grace, paralyzers of free will. Yet the temperamental heritage of the Hispanic man led him to climb along abrupt paths of action and of the use of his free will, including pressing search of the Most High and, at times, his lofty confrontation.

To these two initial processes of Modernity was added the theoretical politics of Machiavelli and Bodin, who chained man to the tyranny of the State, and the organic articulation of modern states, which implied the total submission of the citizen to the will of the prince. The integral person and the autonomous individual, founded on the concrete and whole man, was to run grave dangers in all directions until he sunk into the tempests of Modernity. Man, with a capital «m», between abstract and rational, was able to subdue and replace man with a small «m», who is born, lives, enjoys, suffers, shouts, gesticulates and dies.

As Machiavellian state reason triumphed as a norm of government and princes tightened the chains which shackled the freedom of thought and the operative liberty of their subjects, and as reason was winning new

battles against life and the social projections of the Reformation made man more bourgeois and more rational, the person became diluted in the mass. The more man rationally dominated nature and the more he theorized about himself, in an attempt, increasingly subtle and profound but never successful, to catch his own mysteries —man has always fled and continues to flee, naked and mysterious, those vexatious attempts to capture his ultimate essence—; the more the integral devaluation of the individual increased. Abstract man proudly took one step further each day in his historical ranking and concrete man —the one who laughs and cries, loves and hates, the whole one, the one of flesh and blood— silmultaneously another step each day toward his vital stiffening and toward his historical humiliation. In that double ladder of Jacob, Man and man have continued to go up and to go down until our days through the long centuries of Modernity in all of Europe beyond the Pyrenees.

Beyond the Pyrenees? Yes, for in Spain the whole man was saved from such servitude and with him the integral person and the autonomous individual: three concepts which in me take the form of one sole idea. This man was saved, and there is no paradox when affirming it, by the great historical crisis suffered by Spain.

The point of departure of the process was distinct both within the crisis and outside of it. Dilthey says of Machiavelli: «His fundamental idea is the uniformity of human nature... He totally lacks any idea of the evolution of humanity. He belongs to the group of those who, in the fourteenth-century, prepared the deduction of a system of cultural forms based on... the homogeneity of man in all epochs... Society (is for him) a mechanism of impulses, for human nature is always the same; the principle of morality, of law and of religion is only based on the mind which derives the fundamental laws of common life in the interest of the common good; there is no moral autonomy anywhere.»

Dilthey, when studying the anthropology and the government of life in the Renaissance and when examining to this end the theory of the vital value of the affections of the Spaniard Luis Vives, whom he considers to be the first systematic writer in the two fields of study mentioned, reflects in this manner his way of thinking: «The habitual states of mind are (for him) highly diverse and their diversity increases *ad infinitum* due to the differences of the human dispositions..., the movements of the human spirit are as changing and terrible as the movements of the sea...; not only do they confuse and disorder internal states, but also the perceptions of our senses... The affections are, by definition, forces we have been equipped with by nature to achieve good and avoid evils. They are always movements of the spirit...»

Against the preocupation for the State in the Florentine thinker is opposed the zeal for the operative analysis of the soul of man in the Hispanic thinker. If Machiavelli starts from his unitary conception of human nature, Vives bases himself on the infinite diversity of the mental

dispositions of man. Abstract man which reason is going to forge beyond the Pyrenees is against the concrete man of Spanish stock. And man subjected by rationalism is before man liberated by life.

Since Spanish Modernity was born in the short circuit of modern Spain, the vital make-up of the Spaniard of the Middle Ages did not fundamentally change. In the great adventure of our history throughout the two initial periods of the new times, Renaissance and Reformation, and Counter-Reformation and seventeenth-century Baroque, everything conspired to affirm the Hispanic hyper-individualism; the Spaniard was the prisoner of circumstances which historically prolonged those which had forged his temperamental heritage during his divine struggle of reconquest. No nation of Europe had realized in the course of eight centuries one single and unanimous task like the one carried out by the Spanish nation, from Covadonga to Granada; and none prolonged like Spain, through the first centuries of Modernity, from Granada to Rocroi, its unique and unanimous medieval enterprise.

The theoretical subjugation of the individual to the State by Machiavelli and by Bodin did not damage the moral autonomy of the *homo hispanus,* because the Spanish thought of the Catholic Reformation, without completely breaking with the political tradition of our Middle Ages, was centered on the anti-Machiavellian theory of the Christian prince. The sharpened claws of state absolutism were never able to strangle the operative individualism of the Peninsular peoples, because our modern State was not able to break and to forget the juridical conception of our traditional monarchy and not even Philip II judged his power to be unlimited; the most innocuous text of a legal precept stopped him on his path, and he used to have recourse to «modern» subtleties to overcome the legal resistance of his subjects.

If his firm faith, the fear of inquisitorial persecution and the fear of the infernal punishments contributed to paralyze the springs of his personality in the free projection of free thought; the vital force retained by that dyke sought to torrentially free itself in other ways, and thus compensated, along the paths of action, the decrease which the *homo hispanus* had endured, caused by those of the intellect, in the lofty imperialism of his individual ego.

The problem of salvation according to the doctrine of the Catholic Reformation by offering to the Spaniard, against the way of quiet expectancy of grace, the path of free will, accentuated his ancestral individualism; because the man of flesh and blood who was the Spaniard had to save himself by himself, by his own personal effort. The autonomous individual and the integral person thus affirmed his individuality and his personality in the free conquest of heavenly life, within the climate of exalted religiosity of the severe Spain of Philip and of the hallucinated baroque Spain. The intimate tie of man with the Divinity which Saint

John of the Cross epigraphically coined when he wrote: «One sole thought of man is worth more than the whole world. Only God is worthy of it» —in the social theory of the Reformation earthly tasks were worthy of man— raised to the peak of his opinion the dignity of the human person.

The previously studied failure of the promissory initial unfolding of Spanish science, technology and economy, in the course of a little more than a century, also collaborated in the earthly salvation of the individual. The strange equilibrium of power, wealth and work, traditional among us, a function of the sparseness of our economic texture, obliged the majority of the Spaniards to place all of their human energies along heroic paths or along those of the picaro —I use this word in its broadest meaning— and that was to favor the primordial position in life of the concrete man. In the vertical downfall of our economy that need had to be dramatically accentuated.

Our philosophical, scientific, economic... crisis of the seventeenth-century and our unavoidable isolations from the routes of Europe, from then on also contributed to the historical permanence of the *homo hispanus*, as a whole and concrete being. This was because that crisis and isolation coincided with the affirmation of the radical confidence of Western man «in the absolute power of intelligence as the sole and universal instrument to find the solution to the problem of life» —these are words of Ortega. And that confidence made the value of the spontaneity of the integral man in the flow of life itself decline outside of Spain; while, due to our non-rationalist spiritual position, on this side of the Pyrenees the willful ego of the medieval Spaniard remained intact until our days It was at times potentially smothered under the weight of adverse historical circumstances —for example, after our terrible vital exhaustion, synchronous with the high tide of Western rationalism— but was never extinct and was one again of eruptive and vigorous, as soon as the Hispanic social context was radicalized —let us remember our War of Independence.

Since in the course of the unique and unanimous history of Spain the whole man was saved from the successive crisis he suffered in Western Europe, it is possible to discover a lasting historical constant which approximates and ties, in the exaltation of human values and in the overflowings of his unstoppable ego —pen in hand and lance in holder and from Seneca to Unamuno—, the most noteworthy personality of all the Spains of yesterday and in the single Spain of today, from Creus to Finisterre and from Irún to Tarifa, throughout their distinct unions in very diverse cultures and even though they may have lived under different religious domes.

Thus, in Spain, as has been said in another part of this book, the concrete and individualized man —not the static and meditative or reasoning man, but the man in action who enjoys life— centered around himself the categories of art and of letters which best accompanied his con-

dition as a man: the epic poem, the drama, the novel and painting; in him triumphed the literary and artistic portrait; lyric poetry and mysticism sprinkled him with the crest of its wave; he preferred illogical spontaneity of baroque and romantic tendency, product of the sensitivity engendered by instincts and emotions, to rational reflection which leads to classicism; and he elevated history and law to the presidency of the lay intellectual activities of man, for if law regulated the life of the whole and concrete man, history sketched his biography.

Thus the Spaniard cared for his honor, in the most ample meaning of the word, with barbarous passion because, not the moral value of man as a product of reason, but his own and personal credit submitted to the judgement of other men, his equals and his emulators, was at stake. He has not fervently felt the problems affecting man as a generic unity; he has not felt the problem of the freedom of the citizen, for example; and he has violently and brutally stood up and has not vacillated in risking his life for questions, often small, but which blocked the path of the free exercise of his human and personal caprice. He has reached direct action on different historical occasions —from the Comunero War to the last Civil War, both in Spain an in lands of America— motivated by the personal hopes or hatreds of the man of flesh and blood which breathed in him, more than by the service of social or political ideals. He has not liked to obey, whether he was among the upper social hierarchies or in the ranks of the people —the history of the conquistadors of America is enough to accredit it— and he has not felt sympathy for institutions based on a rigorous discipline. This last fact in part explains the initial hostility the Society of Jesus found in Spain before the devitalization of the Hispanos in the seventeenth-century. He has been a magnificent soldier when his private and free personal struggle decided the outcome of the war, doubtlessly better than when he was organically articulated for battle. Finally his hyper-individualism has engendered, in the matrix of Hispanic personal ambition, the Hispanic imitation and the Hispanic pride; sentiments which have led him to prefer, at times, the equality in subjugation to the hierarchical articulation in freedom.

Thus in contemporary Spain the most vehement and profound words the world has ever heard have been spoken, not against the lordship of pure reason but against its tyranny and deification. These words have not come from the ranks of the clergy or of the Catholic writers, but from poets and thinkers truly raised on nineteenth-century rationalism. Two authentically great personages of European thought of our century, of such diverse temperaments as Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, have coincided in the quixotic defense of the rights of life against the excesses of pure reason. Upon the furious existentialist thrusts of the first have followed the knightly combats of the second for the rational-vitalism, which ended up taking form in historical reason.

Thus these not at all surprising coincidences can be pointed out:

Unamuno tried to find the concrete man, the man of flesh and blood, and deafened the subtle air of the Castilian steppes with impassioned shouts of his theoretical exaltation of this man. Antonio Machado wrote: «We are only interested in man...»; he rejected the mass man and affirmed that it was necessary to address «each man». Finally Ortega, by alleging the vital equation of «man and his circumstances», has also individualized the universal and abstract man of Hegelian stock.

Man, always man, the whole and concrete man in the center of the great theater of the world. The integral man in lasting action who, by torrentially pouring himself into the turbine of life —referring to the Spaniard Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Dante already used the image of a torrent— created new vital electricity, soon to be prolonged toward the future of the same historical process of the past This occurred until the terrible drought of the great national crisis overtook him, because he had overly bled the great river of his national energies. Moreover, if the *homo hispanus* seemed to then lose his ancestral drive and lay prostrate in the sun, exhausted and sleepy, not even in his dream-like laziness did he cease to be an autonomous being, incapable of renouncing the capricious projection of his active will. Dark, anguished, nihilist, most of the time he tended to do nothing, with a no less firm decision than before when he felt inclined to exaggerated and frenetic action; yet always conserving alive the vital reflexes and keeping tense his vital springs ready to confront again his harsh destiny; either individually, or forming a part of a strange collectivity of autonomous individuals, which anarchically surpasses the gregarious silhouette of the masses. It was a collectivity of individuals, which included: the artisan who, as Larra tells us, forgetting his inferior social condition, stopped a grandee of Spain in the street to ask him for a match and to light his cigarette with the grandee's Havana cigar; the villager who has surprised Borrow, Keyserling and many other travellers, with his proud manners and his lofty lordly dignity; the Castilian farmer who continues to say with a sharp egalitarian meaning «nobody is more than anybody»; and the Andalusian beggar who answered: «In my hunger I am the boss», to the person who tried to buy his good-will. Only the earthly salvation of the individual in the Spain of illusion and adventure, quixotically marginated from the great European navigation of Modernity during its third hour, is able to explain those attitudes and those ideas, foreign to the Europe of reason and of scientific and philosophical projections. That permanence of a *homo hispanus*, his own lord, egalitarian and in love with doing whatever he feels like, would have been able to make the Spanish nation into the freest of Europe: potentially no other had accumulated greater reserves of human possibilities to be just that. Only his spiritual lethargy and his excess of individualism —each man was worried about his own freedom, not the freedom of everyone— can explain that failure of a community integrated by concrete *men*, while the groups where the abstract *Man* had won the battle achieved freedom.

Once again Spain was in hurting contrast with Europe. Vossler has correctly intuited it when contrasting those two phrases as mottos of European humanism and of Hispanic humanism: «nothing human is foreign to me» – «everything foreign makes me more human».

5. Spirit against Reason

«While Europe has unceasingly launched ideas at an almost dizzying rate, Spain has no less dizzyingly created ideals», writes Ferrater Mora. He adds: «The ideal is, after all, the projection of passion, that which passion forges and models. The idea is, on the other hand, what reason naturally secretes, its own entrails and substance.» Passion against reason, here lies the contrast between Spain and Europe; he concludes: «Instead of turning passion into order by means of the logic, so French and so European at the same time, of the heart, the Spaniard turned reason into a creative disorder. European rationalism believes in reason and submits even its own reasons to it»

Who can deny the opposition between modern European rationalism and modern Spanish vitalism? In this book I have been pointing out how our Peninsular history affirmed impassioned drive as the motivating force of Hispanic life and I have pointed out the Spanish confrontation with the initial rationalism of Modernity, expressed by the lips of Celestina when, speaking to Pármeno, she asks him: «What is reason?» Yet it is wise to not disfigure the contrast, to place it within its chronological framework and to explain it historically.

Europe giving birth to creative ideas, Spain spewing out impassioned ideals! It is important to define what an idea is and what an ideal is. I dare to question if the ideal is not the ethical sublimation of an idea and if only the secretions of reason, in the lay begetting of the mysteries of man and of life or directed towards the human dominance of nature, can be called ideas. Is there not in this exclusive terming ideas to those creations of the mind, a clear circumstantial deformation of human thought, in a moment of history in which humanity found itself overwhelmed by the triple idol of philosophy, science and technology? Did not this deformation sacrifice in holocaust the ultimate freedom itself of the spirit and of eternal morality which leads to the self-control of that spirit and therefore of the whole man?

The contrast is not based on the fact that Europe secretes ideas and Spain ideals, nor on the fact that reason triumphs north of the Pyrenees and passion south of them. The problem is different and much more complicated. Outside of European Spain many seductive ideals have germinated in the course of Modernity, from the Renaissance to our days. No historian can deny it and for none will it be difficult to list those

ideals born beyond the Spanish frontiers. What historian ignores the accentuated passion with which the Europeans have defended them or the violence caused by that defense? Furthermore in the extreme Southwest promontory of Europe many and magnificent ideas were born until the dark hour of its historical crisis, half-way through the seventeenth-century.

Until that date Spanish reason engendered ideas in consonance with the appetites and preocupations of the man of the Renaissance or of the Baroque age. If man is attached to his circumstances and generations are tied to theirs, nations also move within the cultural and vital orbits which have been established thanks to the continual intermingling of histories, vertical for nations and horizontal for cultures. Spanish reason secreted ideas in consonance with the style of the historical community which it formed a part of; not ideals but ideas, for not only must the creations of reason be considered ideas in the epoch after the Baroque age. Besides, after its great crisis, Spain, for centuries, until its contemporary spiritual renewal, has hardly begot either ideas or ideals; it has lived from the ideas and from the ideals germinated and forged by it before its vital exhaustion or from those it has received from beyond its frontiers.

It has been noted that with his adventures across seas never before navigated and across lands never before explored, with his discoveries, explorations and conquests, the *homo hispanus* created a spiritual climate propitious for the man of the Renaissance to take the royal road of modern rationalism. The mistrust which Ferrater Mora places at the base of the modern attitude of the European before life owes, not its origin, but its triumph, to the spiritual revolution which the Portuguese and Spanish adventures stimulated. For this reason it would be surprising that in *Hispania* reason would not have played any role and that passion, as the only historical motor of the Spanish nature, would have been given free rein.

No; until the Hispanic collapse of the seventeenth-century Spanish reason gave birth to ideas with no less fecundity than European reason did.

Twice I have reproduced the words of Weissbach regarding the Hispanic paternity of the substantial ideas of the Counter-Reformation. Did the Counter-Reformation mean nothing in the development of European thought and sensitivity? How long is it going to be licit to suppress from past, as empty of substance or as heterodox, the periods which do not rhyme with proud modern rationalism, finally itself being overcome today? Can only the products of reason adverse to the Catholic Reformation and those after it be called ideas?

Furthermore Spaniards did not limit themselves to giving birth to ideas regarding theological and metaphysical subjects in an anguished attempt to understand the celestial beyond and to understand the world beyond the senses with the help of reason. I have mentioned, in its general aspects, the struggles of the Peninsular people to resolve many scientific and technical problems and the partial successes achieved by them, guided by the experimental and rational examination of man and of nature. Ferrater

Mora himself has pointed out how, though unclearly, at a time when in Renaissance Europe the consciousness of the need for a new method to approach reality, of a new science and, after it, of a new technology, Luis Vives and Francisco Sánchez said, before any other European, what had to be done so that such a method and such a science might be possible. It would be a useless attempt to tie that genial anticipation to the unproven Hebraic ancestry of one and the sure Hebraic blood of the other of those two Hispanic thinkers. It would be useless because, as has been said, Spanish sailors, chroniclers and explorers, without a drop of Jewish blood and without any contact with Vives or with Francisco Sánchez, used. when approaching nature, an empirical method similar to the one proposed by them. Luis Vives defended the necessity of direct observation and of careful experimentation based on reason. Francisco Sánchez felt the surest knowledge to be that alleged by experience submitted to the analysis of judgement —for that reason modern philosophers hold him to be one of the first empiricists of the Modern Age. Along that same experimental and rational path the Peninsular sailors, explorers and scholars achieved their scientific and technical successes. Vives and Sánchez naturally attacked the clumsy dialectic of Aristotelian and medieval origin and proposed the criticism of knowledge; just as the most important Spanish philosophers and theologians broke with the degenerate Scholastic dialectic of the medieval centuries. Francisco de Vitoria as well as Domingo de Soto and Melchor Cano as well as Francisco Suárez proposed the creation of a severe and truly scientific theological and philosophical methodology, with a predominance of rational criteria. Melchor Cano himself maintained that reason and its clarifying and deepening force could not be done away with, if in questions of faith a true science of dogma was ever to be created. According to Lang, Melchor Cano touched the essential points of modern rational criticism of historical sources and, by completing it with his philosophical considerations regarding historical certitude, he truly laid the foundations of the methodology of history.

It seems to me to be undeniable that jurists and philosophers as known as Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, Alfonso de Castro, Suárez... gave birth to ideas in the strict sense of creations of reason; and not only on theological problems but on very diverse subjects; as did treatise writers on economic subjects such as fray Tomás de Mercado, Martínez Cellorigo, fray Juan Márquez, Sancho de Moncada, Fernández Navarrete and Martínez de la Mata...; and as did political writers like Ribadeneyra, Quevedo, Mariana, Gracián, Saavedra Fajardo, etc.

It also seems questionable to me to exclude from the dominions of reason the exploration into the flowing process of human life and into the far reaches of the soul, by the modern Spanish novel and mysticism. That impulse to capture the psychic and vital curve of a man or of many men offered by the author of the *Lazarillo* or by Cervantes, for example,

or that sharp introspection of her spiritual intimacy of Teresa of Jesus and of Ávila, well belongs amid the realms of reason.

Reason against passion? Yes and no. Yes, if we consider passion, along with the ancients, as all disturbance of the mind which perturbs and confuses clear reason. No, if along with Hegel we call passion «the interest in which the entire individuality is offered, forgetting all the other multiple interests which one has or might have, and all the forces of one's will are centered on the object, concentrating on this purpose all one's appetites and energies». It is no, therefore, if passion is a spring of emotional life, which can back the volitive projections of reason or can confront them, in the service of the Deity or of that which, without being it, surpasses the limits of rationality.

Ferrater Mora has gone so far as to say: «In the same century in which Descartes writes his *Discourse on Method*, Cervantes writes *Quijote* which is a "Discourse on the Lack of Method" or, if you want, a "Discourse on the Best Way to Reach Unreason, so that Unreason Might Prosper and Bear Fruit amid a Hostile World which Has Attempted to Abolish it"» Each generation, and even at times each man, recreates to his own liking the great literary or artistic works of human genius. Few have reached so many and opposing ones as the work of Cervantes. All exegesis is licit regarding it. Am I not permitted therefore to see in the *Quijote* not a lesson to facilitate the triumph of unreason in a world which has attempted to suppress it, but the mockery of impassioned unreason and the victory of reason over spirit?

It is very bold to compare the thought of Cervantes with the rationalism of Descartes. It is difficult to penetrate the depths of the first one. Perhaps Cervantes, throughout his creation, let himself be carried in directions which he had not proposed to follow when conceiving his work. The memory of his delightful story about the madman, clubbed by the owner of a hound, saves me from the temptation of joining the multitude of modern exegetes of the *Quijote*. Yet it does not seem risky to me to imagine that Cervantes, when confronting his hero with the projections of reason, shows the *hidalgo* from La Mancha defeated by them. He was always defeated, in each adventure —defeated by the reality controlled by reason—; defeated especially when in contact with two anti-heroic situations: the castle of the dukes and the bourgeois girl from Barcelona; and finally definitively defeated when, at the point of death, he recovers his sense.

Cervantes, like Spain, opposed spirit to reason. The men of feudal Europe had sublimated the ideas of pride, honor and dignity until they turned them into the knightly ideal. Bourgeois Europe of the medieval autumn had seen this ethical ideal bastardized and had seen the birth of books of knight-errantry which, by means of exaggeration —exaggeration used by the imagination in an attempt to fill the void of reality—, became a clumsly mockery of the authentic archetype of the knight. By proposing to uproot those coarse caricatures of the most noble ideal of knighthood,

Cervantes revealed a lively sympathy for it; nobody has stood up against the mockery of a man, of a nation, of an institution, without feeling devotion for the ideal, the institution, the nation or the man who is being mocked. Yet Cervantes was the child of his century, of a century which witnessed the rapid coining of modern bourgeois rationalism. There were no longer, nor could there be, «knights» in the world; they did not even exist in Spain —even the dukes in their castles and the *hidalgos* of the green overcoat had lost the knightly breath in the Spain of Philip III; and Cervantes made his hero, Don Quijote, mad. Only a madman could feel at that moment the ethical ideal of knighthood. The reality, the reason-dominated reality, coarsely mocks the crazy knight. With Spain as his sword, Cervantes had used his pen in the defense of the spirit, challenged to a singular duel by reason; of the spirit not defined according to the theories of the majority of the modern schools of philosophy —Scheler is the one who has most exalted the power of the spirit— but as a supra-rational and supra-emotional breath which guided the struggles of man in the mysterious regions where pure reason dares not enter and where pure emotion should not rule. Yet Cervantes, was more saturated by rationalism than his nation; the bitterness of his life, his clash with the antiheroic reality of great zones of Hispanic life, his integral dissappointment, all rationalized his spirit. That Cervantes knows that it was not possible to defeat it, that to stand up against it was madness; and thus he makes the mad knight, champion of the spirit, fall, mocked and defeated by the reality here below or, what is the same, by reason.

As a Spaniard Cervantes feels the warmest devotion for the old and eternal power of the spirit —that devotion led him to the slow quixotization of Sancho— but he does not even conceive his victory as possible And, far from writing a «Discourse on the Best Way to Reach Unreason», with a greatly pained spirit, it seems to me –in that conscious pain of Cervantes lies the bitterness of his mockery—, he writes a treatise on the uselessness of the battle between spirit and reason; a «Discourse on How Reason Inexorably Defeats Unreason.» In the work of Cervantes, Don Quijote only triumphs when, in his oasis of prudence, «reason» speaks through his lips. One might conclude, paraphrasing the Cartesian thought, that the *hidalgo* from La Mancha is only revealed to us as existing when he is thinking; whereas he jumps into the non-being of madness, when from thought he moves to actions.

Of course in Spain not only spirit and reason fought. In that singular duel passion was not an arbitrator. Passion assisted both combatants. Passion prodded both forces in battle; spirit and reason fought with passion. In the fight the Hispanic vital drive became involved very soon and also with some effect; life itself that is not reason or spirit, is will and action; a vigorous desire which permeates reality and enjoys it, normally with passion, but in the pure service of permanence; a will to dominate and to bear fruit which is not anguished by what is beyond

nor pays attention to the ethical norms of conduct and nor stops to meditate on the essence of man and of nature; a will and an action apart from the dreams of the spirit and the reservations of reason.

The same three forces fight in the Hispanic letters and life of the Siglo de Oro. Ferrater Mora writes: «In classical Spanish literature, which is the deepest and most exact manifestation of the life and thought of Spain, there are hierarchies, at least between those two entities. Reason and passion are presented as confused and intermixed and one does not know, in the long run, which of the two is foremost. Is it impassioned reason or reasoning passion, is it the reason of the heart or the passion of the mind?» Once again I must disagree. It is not licit to do away with the magnificent power of the spirit when looking at the classical Hispanic letters or art and the identification of passion with vitality is doubtful, if we understand passion to be along with Ferrater Mora himself: «all intense and permanent affection, all invasion of the psychic life by an affection which dominates both reason and will»; if «the passions are, insofar as manifestations of emotional life, facts radically distinct from intellectual vibrations».

The power of the spirit allied with the force of reason and both pushed on by the vital Hispanic drive carried the Catholic Reformation to a satisfactory end. In Melchor Cano that trinity of Spanish energies could be symbolized. To be a man was for him to be gifted with reason and to feel within himself the desire to use it. For him the mission of reason was to give value to the sources of theological knowledge and to back the triumph of the spirit in its purest religious projection. And his temperamental drive which overflowed like a cosmic force, in his harsh and steel-like conduct, thrust him into the most impassioned battle for Catholic orthodoxy inside Spain and even outside of it.

Spirit, reason and vital drive also intermingled in the life and the work of Saint Teresa of Ávila. From this world here below she peeked at the world of the Deity, and died because she did not die. Yet while she awaited the definitive transit to the celestial mansion she lived in a human way, ruled by reason and even feared its seductions, because knowledge was for her a «great grinder».

Vital drive, reason and spirit harshly combat in Lope and in the children of his genius. Reason rides the impetus of life which is the generator of passion —the *cupiditas* or desire— and guides it along the paths or cleverness, its own child; moreover, normally in the end Lope gives the laurel wreath of victory to the ethical forces born of the spirit. Why did Peribáñez kill? «Who killed the Commander?» And who the Commanders? What instict made one king into the best mayor in favor of a laborer or made another go to confess —Philip II did not do so in the case of Antonio Pérez— that he had ordered the death of the brother of the «Estrella de Sevilla»? Was it passion, reason or spirit which decided the fortune of Lope's heroes? In the historical or knightly

dramas of Lope or in his comedies of entangled plots of society, when vital drive had turned the electricity of passion loose, and cleverness, the child of reason, had given the initial triumph to the *cupiditas* or was about to grant it the definitive victory, spirit stepped into the tragic or novelesque process and, with a blow of the sword, or dagger or sickle, or with an order, a word or a gesture, punished the excess and re-established the ethical order which vital impetus and astute reason had broken. Lope and his creatures were not ideal abstractions of understanding, but children of Hispanic vitality, who reasoned and worked with passion, but who in the long run were dominated by ethical forces born in the supra-rational and supra-emotional bowels of the spirit.

In Tirso the algebraic equation which joins vital drive, astute reasoning and the spirit is different, but none of the three Hispanic forces of the baroque is absent in his theater.

Normally Tirso views dispassionately the reality which reason governs, he captures it without heroic drive, with a smile —even the angels are pregnant in Madrid, he declares—, and affects discretion later with ingenious fertility. Moreover when he confronts grave moral problems he also makes the spirit triumph over reason. «El condenado por desconfiado» and «El Burlador» trust in reason and succumb to their error. The hermit Paulo is won over by doubt, the mature fruit of reason, when listening to one he supposes to be an angel who says that his final destiny will be similar to that of a swordsman. But he has been deceived by following the natural curve of apparently perfect reasoning. His reasoning mistrust moves him to turn a deaf ear to the call of the spirit and he loses his soul.

The impassioned drive of Don Juan, the «Burlador», triumphs again and again by the twisted path of deceit and triumphs not with the arms of pure passion but with the arms taken from the panoply of reason, handled both astutely and with passion. During the course of his literary life, Don Juan does not fail as Don Quijote does; Don Juan is victorious. Yet as a Spaniard he cannot avoid the lordship of the spirit, of the spirit whose power he has continually mocked. Finally after his long series of victories —of victories won by his vital instinct allied with his astute reason— the spirit takes deserved revenge on him by mercilessly punishing his excess.

Calderón offers us a third formula of balance between vitality, reason and spirit, when he clearly abandons the path of Lope, for in «La niña de Gómez Arias» and in «El Alcalde de Zalamea», for example the three forces confront each other as is habitual in Lope's theater. Due to his philosophic temperament and, above all, due to the period he wrote in, the connection between reason and spirit was stronger and more direct in Calderón than in Lope. In his typical dramas of jealousy the vital generating drive of passion plays a minimal role. It is reason with its doubts and fears which creates the dramatic knot which the poet must

resolve; or which magnifies the unrealized projections of the *cupiditas* and which precipitates the tragic outcome. Don Lope de Almeida takes secret revenge on a secret intention to affront him; in «El médico de su honra» the protagonist does not have to avenge any real offense; and in «El mayor monstruo los celos», the Tetrarca feels shaken by a pure mental apprehension. The spirit barely projects more than a sideral light on the drama —sideral because it has begun to lose its first solar strenght and brilliance— of the traditional ethical rigor implied by the already, more than inciting, suffocating laws of honor.

Valbuena spoke some time ago about the unconscious Cartesianism of Calderón. Many of his characters truly vacillate around their own ego, are unaware of or search for themselves and are even frightened and flee from themselves. Lora Risco has collected diverse examples of those doubts, vacillations and flights, so distant from the precise affirmation of Don Quijote of «I know who I am». Reason, not passion, brings out those problems of the authentic ego; but brings them out when confronting the heroes of Calderón with problems born from the light of the spirit: free will, self control of passions, sin, death and salvation.

José María Cossío pointed out years ago the degree of rationalism of Calderón's poetic intention and his confidence in the power of reason, and he listed many cases where Calderón used reason as a guide in the conversion of numerous intellectuals to the Christian faith. And numerous critics have noticed, along with Spengler, the rationalist system of causes and effects which Calderón uses in his plays to negate «the depths of fate». In all those cases he has nevertheless made reason the servant or helper of the spirit.

The vital Hispanic drive is smothered in the Spain of Calderón at the same time as it is in his characters. Calderón himself, when he feels it palpitate in any of his most personal creatures, does not let it explode and triumph as Lope or as Tirso; only to later restore the broken ethical law in the name of the rights of the spirit. Segismundo, because of his own temperament and his rough education «a mixture of man and beast», had a brutal and blind character, was powerful and sensual, felt shaken by a radical tendency for aggression. Calderón, who portrays him in this way, has him defeat the vacillations which the mutations of reality raise before his mind. The reality which his eyes contemplate disappears, vanishes, acquires the imprecise limits of dreamt images. The real world magically retreats before him, it escapes from his hands when he tries to catch it and flees him in obscure and mysterious clouds. The impetuous vitality of Segismundo, permeated by those doubts and oscillations, advances with firmness: «no matter what might come»: Yet Calderón does not let him entirely fulfill his destiny and does not permit him to carry out the brutal acts which his impassioned temperament pushed him to. Soon he blocks his path, realizes another amazing and quick juggling act with reality, gives him an anguished and torturing doubt about the authenticity of his own

life and confronts him with death and with the mystery of the world beyond. And in the third day of Segismundo's existence, he makes reason, allied with the spirit, definitively tame the overflowing vitality of the prince. «To reign and fortune we go... May we dare to do everything», exclaims Segismundo when receiving the new callings of destiny, forgetting the magical transmutations of reality which his reason has witnessed. Yet there awaits that mistrustful, dubitative, inquiet, stimulating reason, reminding him at each impassioned volition that «life is only dream»: to stop his aggressive and fiery instinct, to gain the self-control of his passion, so that the laws of the spirit might not be broken.

In Calderón reason is not victorious over the spirit as in Cervantes, nor is the spirit the victory of vitality assisted by reason, as in Lope or Tirso. Reason tightens the dramatic knot, by mentally stiffening the ethical inducements of the spirit. Or, in the service of the triumphant lordship of itself, it either brings up the torments of doubt in the psychic process of the ego or it stops and finally subjugates the vital drive about to precipitate itself into tragedy.

If he was not truly a philosopher —a quality denied him by Farinelli, Margraff, Parker, Frutos— Calderón at least had a philosophical temperament. He lived in the temporal crossroads where the sensitivity and thought of the Counter-Reformation reached in Spain their maximum tension, while modern philosphy was being born beyond the Pyrenees, with Descartes. His literary life coincided with the vital crisis of the Spanish historical community. And since Cartesianism did not begin but rather culminated a rationalistic ideological current and since Spain was in Europe —remember the Spanish pre-Cartesians Francisco Sánchez and Gómez Pereyra— Calderón received the double impact: of the rationalism of his times and of the spiritualist movement of Hispanic tradition. Thus, in him, reason and spirit were joined.

In three literary generations —Cervantes, Lope-Tirso and Calderón— a strange curve of interferences and contacts between the three moving forces of Hispanic psychic life had been drawn: spirit, reason and vitality. The last one had been losing force, reason had become the helper and servant of the spirit which, after the sacking by the Spaniards of many of its reserves of vital drive and of reason, had become cut off from earthly meaning and drifted amid the rainbowhued clouds which moved somewhere between the human and the divine.

In Spanish historical life, that same process had preceded the one pointed out in Spanish literary life, for literature usually takes its substance from history. Thus, the Spain of Calderón is already in a strange and incredible state of spiritual illusion and of extreme vital and rational impotence. It is testified by the «warnings» of the days of Philip IV, selected not long ago by Ortega y Gasset, and by the Spanish political history itself of the period.

Unamuno has already said, and many have repeated it later, that during Modernity, in the great battle of the spirit with reason, Spain took the side of the spirit. Once again yes and no. In Humanistic Spain, or what is the same in the Spain of Charles, reason, spirit and vitality lived in a harmonious and fertile intermingling of impulses, though with the evident predominance of the first of the three powers. The duel to death between the Spirit which seeks things superhuman and divine and Reason which captures sense reality and intelligible reality had not yet begun. The sixteenth-century did not begin by being a rationalist and incredulous century. Neither the *Philosophia Christi* of Erasmus, not the Reformation initiated a decisive swing toward rationalism in European consciousness: a prisoner of the medieval tradition Luther opposed reason to faith, and Calvin gave indications of clear hostility to the audacity of reason. And L Fébvre has reduced to its just limits the problem of incredulity in the century of Rabelais. The Renaissance had favored much more the unfolding of the promissory potential of reason; the discoveries and explorations of the Peninsular peoples had opened enormous perspectives for the fertile activity of reason and the tide of rationalism had begun to come in on the beaches of the exploration of nature and of knowledge of man. At the same time the new idea of the nation-state was being concretized and affirmed and the unscrupulous doctrine of Machiavelli and Bodin was triumphing.

The strange religious sensitivity of the *homo hispanus* at the beginning of Modernity had led him to confront the Reformation. That strange sensitivity which exalted human freedom before God thanks to the Hispanic concept of vassalage in the relations between man and the Most High-I voluntarily serve you and You owe me protection. It also excluded religious dissidence and affirmed strict obedience of the Pope as a result of the religious war against the Moor. Finally during the course of that war it had forged a militant theologism and an epic religion.

That confrontation with the Reformation had magnified the Spanish religious exaltation in directions we already know. The force of the spirit, seconded by the force of reason —the Spaniards began to combat the Reformation with both rational and emotional arms— and spurred on by vital impetus, permitted Spain to successfully carry out the Catholic Reformation. The ideas of the Counter-Reformation, by excluding justification by faith in the quiet expectancy of grace, pushed the Spaniard to center the vital breath of man on the battle for the salvation of his soul. These ideas induced him to the dramatic conquest of the world beyond by means of asceticism or mysticism and by those of divine war, pen in hand or lance in holder. Finally the projection of that fervent religiosity, in a breathless search for lasting life, affirmed ethical rigor as a norm of life for the community, in contrast to the lax political theories of Machiavellianism.

Meanwhile, following the road of doubt, man was going to scale the

hights of scientific knowledge; in an ascent from the «*Que sais-je?*» of Montaigne to the «*Quod nihil scitur*» of Francisco Sánchez and to the thought of Descartes who, leaving behind the problem of being, entered that of knowledge and thus inaugurated modern Western philosophy. That dubious rationalism, by focusing its rigorous criticism not only on the world but also on man himself as one more element of nature, began a tremendous downward movement in human dignity, for it deprived man of his angelic condition. Though it may seem pradoxical, the magical unfoldings of the potential of reason on the way to the dominance of sense reality and of intelligible reality, at the same time as opening new perspectives for knowledge and thus for the domination of nature by man, shut many other routes to him. At the same time as these elevated him, they humiliated him; they freed him and they imprisoned him. Turning the old Castilian proverb around one could say that whenever a door is opened another is closed. What a great difference separates the characterization of man by rationalism which set him in nature, though it did judge him a thinking substance, and the already mentioned one of Saint John of the Cross: «One sole thought of man is worth more than the whole world, and thus only God is worthy of it»! What a great distance exists between that characterization of man by the still timid rationalism of the century of Descartes, Pascal, Malebranche and Leibniz, and his traditional Catholic characterization, alive in Spain at the time, as the image and likeness of God!

That is where the struggle between the spirit and reason divided and the siding of Spain with the spirit occurred. The dramatic battle of the Spaniard for other-worldly salvation at least saved the «individual» here below. By keeping his dignity as son of God which, a function of his free will, approximated him to Him, though not without effort, man was liberated from his servitude to nature and maintained his natural freedom alive. Finally, the moral projection, into the life of the community, of that zeal to find life in death and of that elevated valuation of man as the image of his Creator, forced Spanish thought to confront the not at all scrupulous «state reason» which tied the citizen to the increasingly enveloping and suffocating state apparatus; and to confront rationalism which stripped the human being of his power to capture the supernatural.

It was a quixotic battle of the spirit against the ethical unreason of the supernatural and of the divinity. It was a double battle in which the spirit was defeated when the barometer showed a tremendous low pressure in the vital potential of Spain, after the fatigue caused by the long battle in favor of the Catholic unity of Europe —Cervantes. But it was a battle in which the spirit ended up victorious, after the draining of its reserves of reason and of vitality by the Spaniards, at the crossroads of their defeat, their exhaustion and their decadence —Calderón. Reason defeating madness and madness finally victorious in Spain over reason.

6. Ethical Rigor

Ferrater Mora writes: «The rationalism and the idealism of ideas arises from the same and unique attitude of modern life which perhaps no one better than Ortega y Gasset has defined as a cautious attitude. The European has always felt idealist and rationalist only because he has been, from his very beginnings, a distrustful man. He is distrustful of things in so far as they do not offer him complete security; distrustful of God, insofar as he did not feel dependent on him, and finally, distrustful of himself. The first thing that European thought seeks is a handle from which man might later, after many vacillations and hesitations, believe in God, in man and in things. This handle he finds in reason, which does not offer him vague and nebulous hopes, but does afford precise and sharp definitions; he finds it in that strange idealism which does not offer him fantastic ideals nor does it propose to him impossible feats, but does give to him what he is simply seeking: security, certainty and stability».

«What distinguished the Spaniard from the European in all of the Modern Age, and probably in all ages —continues Ferrater Mora— is, that, against caution, suspicion, criticism, Spain has thrust itself into the realization of that which is carefully put aside for later examination by those who have adopted it as a norm for life. The European formulates alongside the expression of his desires, an unending repertory of reservations. The Spaniard cares only for the desires and disdains all reservations... The European thinks before deciding to do something, of the possibility of success or the probability of failure. The Spaniard does not think either of failure or of success... If the European fails, he abandons his attitude and tries another. The Spaniard when he fails, persists, in his failure, attaches himself to it and turns it into his glory. European traditionalism is the traditionalism of successes, Spanish traditionalism, that of failures. Thus failure is the substance of Spanish life and therefore Spain is that nation —I have definitely said nation— which always follows the defeated but never the victorious».

Peeking into the yesteryear of Modernity, from the window of philosophy Ferrater Mora has captured the distant and unequal silhouettes of Spain and of the other European nations. Yet in the same way that he went far to conclusively confront Spanish passion with European reason as the generator of two oppossing styles of life; this time he has hypertrophied the contrast between the rationalistic caution which Europe uses before tensing the springs of will and the renunciation by Spain of reflexive meditation whenever venturing into a volitional act

From this error, when contrasting reason and passion as confronting genetic powers of the European and the Spanish, hangs this new mistaken position between the blind impetus of the Hispanic nation and the

distrustful rationalism of the nations which occupy the soil of the Carolingian Empire.

Once again I must situate before those superficial characterizations, the complexity of the problem of the temperamental differences which oppose the Spaniards and the other Europeans of the West. And once again I must point out the necessity of focusing those differences chronologically and of explaining them historically.

Since the Spaniards have not stopped to calculate the perspectives of success or of failure which have arisen in their path, they have committed great and genial acts of madness which have decisively affected the history of the Occident: they initiated and continued the Reconquest which made Spain the shield of Europe, the source of our act; they discovered and colonized America, causing the greatest historical revolution which the old world had known up to that time; and they arose before Napoleon, in an «all for one» which galvanized the European resistance to him. If they had stopped to meditate on their possibilities of misfortune or of victory, the Spaniards would not have rendered for humanity these and other services which are beginning to be valued by all historians and should not be forgotten by the philosophers. The disdain of the *homo hispanus* for the risks of the tasks which destiny has tempted him with and his lack of cautious reserve and of suspicious criticism when taking on many illusions and adventures of his history, have not been projected, therefore, from one sole position. Yet the problem is different. Let us leave aside the luminous and shadowy corollaries of that peculiar Spanish condition. It is important to explain, or at least understand, why that temperamental inclination of the Hispanos was prolonged through later centuries, already dominated by reason, and what was its authentic meaning for our history and for the history of Europe.

In his «Ideas sobre los castillos» Ortega y Gasset, starting from the opposition, already noted by Spencer, between the warrior spirit and the industrial spirit, discoursed many years ago on the paragon which might be established between those two conceptions of the world and of life. He says: «I term warrior spirit, the habitual state of mind which does not find in the risk of an operation a sufficient motive to avoid it. In the industrial spirit, on the contrary, the consideration of the danger is decisive and it feels life with perpetual caution. War, concretely, is no more than one of the forms in which the warrior spirit can be realized... The reason why in the warrior spirit the hunger for action prevails over the fear of danger, is none other than a radical feeling of confidence in oneself. Viceversa, at the center of the industrial spirit lies an extreme distrust... Is it that the warrior spirit is confident in itself because it is not aware of the evils of the world? Not at all; it knows well, like Schopenhauer, all cosmic pain, it anticipates the risk and it emphasizes the anguish of living. But, there it is... The warrior spirit, filled with magnificent vital appetite, swallows existence without blinking, with all of its pain and its risks inside. These

are seen as so essential to life that in them is seen no objection to it and, consequently, they are counted on and instead of organizing matters with the almost exclusive desire to avoid them, they are accepted. This acceptance of danger leads this spirit not to avoid risk, but to run it, which is precisely the warrior habit».

In opposition to the warrior spirit, the industrial spirit, filled with caution and precaution, fearful of failure, horrified by death, avoids risk, flees danger, accumulates trials and experiences, changes directions, tames its drives, vacillates, doubts, calculates success, economizes effort, minimizes life, reasons.

Spain or the warrior spirit and Europe or the industrial spirit? No; it is the knightly Middle Ages and bourgeois Modernity. Spanish passion and European reason? Once again no. It is the drive of the medieval *miles* or knight and the calculation of the modern bourgeois. This is usually forgotten when judging from the Spanish past the historical process of that same past. Few Spanish philosophers and thinkers feel all the dramatic tension of history. Ortega is an exception. Ortega contrasted, already, as in an equation, Middle Ages and warrior spirit and Modern Age and industrial spirit. The medieval *miles* embodies in truth the archetype of the confident and optimistic spirit, filled with hungry vitality, who is not unaware of risk and pain but who does not fear to confront them, for whom the supreme value of life is found when spending it, for whom the greatest human dignity consists in «taking advantage of the fact and the force which is death, using it under the rule of the will».

For centuries, the long knightly centuries, on either side of the Pyrenees, the warrior spirit triumphed, just as Ortega has defined it. Only the vital consequences of the struggle against the Moors separated the Spaniards from the other Europeans. That audacious and optimistic spirit, which did not flee risk nor avoid danger, which did not calculate the success nor fear failure, which was aware of pain and anguish, but which did not blink before them, which knew how to spend the precious coin of its life and confronted death with courage, had been sublimated unto hypertrophy, had overcome the restrictive limits of knighthood, had won over the masses and had endured with life until the end of the medieval centuries, when it had already lost validity beyond the Pyrenees.

In feudal Europe which extended over the soil of the Carolingian Empire and over its early and belated zones of expansion, the bourgeois spirit, that is the spirit of caution, of mistrust, of calculation and of reason, soon arose among the popular masses that had never been infected by the knightly and warrior spirit, as they were south of the Pyrenees. It broke out already before the end of the eleventh-century and matured slowly until it triumphed with the arrival of the new times. While among us it could not flower nor bear fruit during the Middle Ages, because we continued throwing wood on the fire of the vitalistic conception of human

existence and we maintained alive the knightly and lordly style of life —pride, honor and dignity— through the most diverse social hierarchies.

With it we confronted the torments of Modernity and in that confrontation we affirmed it and made it lasting, for centuries. We affirmed it and made it lasting in its double aspect of impassioned life and of noble dignity. Ortega did not stop long enough to see in what he called warrior spirit, which might also be called knightly spirit, its existence as a diamond cutter for the cristalization of a style of proud life and, at the same time, an ethical spring for the lofty conception of duty. However he did shoot injuring arrows against the morality of the new times, or what is the same, against the immorality of the industrial or bourgeois spirit of modern man, which has trusted more in vile matter than in the word: «because it has no soul, because it is not a person»; and thus «has tended to raise physics to the level of theology».

The double face of our vital composition has not been seen by Ferrater Mora nor by the majority of the rationalists, who only notice the part which was translated into the passionate overflowings of life. All have forgotten the other face, which was embodied by knightly dignity, ethical drive, the feeling of duty, passionate self-control, powerful morality and life as a service of the community. Thus the words copied above on the paragon of the Spanish and the European have been able to be written.

Let us remember some of them: «While Europe has ceaselessly almost dizzily cast out ideas, Spain has no less dizzily built ideals» «The ideal is, after all, the projection of passion, that which passion forges and models. On the other hand, the idea is what reason naturally segregates, its very entrail and substance.» «If the European fails, he abandons his attitude and tries another. The Spaniard when he fails, persists in his failure, he attaches himself to it.» «European traditionalism is the traditionalism of successes; Spanish traditionalism, that of failures.»

No, once again no and always no. The ideal is the ethical sublimation of an idea, the child of reason. The medieval knight changed into an ideal the idea that, to his privileged situation, belonged an extreme moral rigor and that his lordly power obliged him to accept the duty of combatting injustice and protecting the weak. It does not matter that frequently the medieval knight forgot that ideal of life centered on knightly pride, honor and dignity, which were ideas as well as sentiments. The ideal of a lofty life remained forever floating from the upper mast of the ship of destiny of men and even of nations. At the historical crossroads of Modernity, the Spaniards looked on that ideal of a lofty life with emotive devotion and they took it as the direction for their collective conduct. We can calculate the results of that choice.

The knightly spirit attempts to turn the idea of life as a service of the community into fact. It is aware of the dangers implied by this realization. Passion does not spur man on; his moral springs oblige him to take on the task without avoiding the risk. Possible failure does not intimidate him,

nor does defeat detain him. The wasting of the energies his mission requires does not worry him, nor does the sacrifice of life hold him back. He simply does not seek success. He serves an idea; and does not exploit it to his own advantage. His diamond-like human power raises him up if he has fallen. He does not attach himself to failure due to the impassioned and stupid obstinacy of the courageous bull, but rather because his duty is to continue to fight without pacting with injustice, without bowing before fate. He does not follow the defeated due to a submissive inclination toward failures; he encourages them with his sympathy when they have fallen nobly defending a moral ideal which he values.

Spanish traditionalism is the traditionalism of failures. This is an unjust affirmation. Did our enterprise of America fail? Did our intervention in the Catholic Reformation fail? Did our defense of the western Mediterranean against the Turks fail? Did our Siglo de Oro fail? Did our uprising against Napoleon in a Europe under his foot fail? We exhausted ourselves in those enterprises, but can one speak of failures? Only our attempt to keep alive the traditional theocentric style of life in Europe failed.

It is habitual to consider history finished in the present. The majority of those who peek into it are not usually prophets of the future, they do not foretell the imminent crises and they resist admitting them when they are already notorious. Between now and a century from now the past of Spain will be judged differently; for it is clear that the other nations of the West will have then, in the storehouse of their past, as many or many more failures than Spain has today in its own. It is also sure that they will not carry in these failures, like ourselves, the tasty pride of a generous sacrifice at the service of the spirit, but only the thankless memory of their own sacred national egotism.

Even today the consequences of the traditionalism of successes can be seen. At their first roots, along with the bourgeois spirit, is the doctrine of Machiavelli; «the perverse and diabolic doctrine» against which the Spanish political writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stood. Years ago Francisco Ayala studied the criticism of Machiavellianism by Fray Ribadeneyra, S. J., Ayala writes when commenting on the Jesuit of Toledo: «Injustice, perfidy and tyranny have always existed and the whole of history is filled with analogous facts. What is a singular abomination in it is the renunciation of ethical justifications; more still, the postulation of efficiency as a substantive value. Injustice, perfidy and tyranny cease being a manifestation of evil on earth and, therefore, absolutely condemnable, and become neutral facts to which one must apply the criterion of success.»

Here we find the characterization of the European traditionalism which Ferrater Mora contrasts with the Spanish. «All the subversion of values, all the moral abdication, the infamy that the world has smelled with in the present generation, were already defined in the last years of the six-

teenth-century in the insult of this Spanish Jesuit», adds Ayala. «The great philosopher says it: I am not one to crawl», I can say paraphrasing the words which the Archiprestre de Hita, fearful of adverse opinion, made use of to defend, basing himself on Aristotle, one of his daring theories. Nor am I Juan Ruiz, nor is Ayala Aristotle, but the commentarist of Fray Ribadeneyra cannot be accused of having allowed himself to be carried away by the defense of the spiritual position of Spain in Europe Ayala, contradicting his accurate judgements regarding the ultimate consequences of the politics of efficiency and success which he takes from the theory of Machiavelli —he forgets that in him the winds of the bourgeois break with the medieval tradition are also blowing—, he later falls, with no benevolence, on the moral position of the Castilian Jesuit and of the Spaniards for whom life had to be submitted to a rigorous ethical order. And in the fashion of Machiavelli, like Ferrater Mora, he speaks of the reactionary Hispanic attitude which, «despite its lofty reason», was to carry our efforts to ruin «and to a dead-end road in so far as it concerns cultural fecundity and which, doubtless, requires their condemnation before the judgement of history». I dare to ask: What history, if the adverse position has carried to moral servility and to infamy of which the world has smelled and still does? Not our fidelity to a superior order of values, but our exhaustion in the defense of this ideal of life pushed us toward cultural sterility.

«European traditionalism is the traditionalism of success.» It would be better to say that the morality of the European is the morality of success. Not only do the ends justify the means; triumph justifies the amorality of conduct; for it does not believe in God nor in itself, nor in the world, except with great distrust and reservations; for it seeks its own security and avoids danger, flees effort, fears death; for it does not intend to serve an idea turned into an ideal, but egotistically uses the idea.

Ethical rigor as against moral laxitude; the traditionalism of duty against the traditionalism of triumph. The Spaniard rises up and sacrifices before injustice, the European supports his will to dominate with reason. The Spaniard even discussed the justice —an idea, the child of reason and not of passion— of his impassioned conquest of America. The theologians of the school of Salamanca, especially Francisco de Vitoria, contradicted the legitimacy of the titles of Hispanic sovereignty in the Indies. From Madrid Charles V addressed the Prior of San Esteban de Salamanca on 10 November 1539, communicating to him the delivery of the statements and the restatements pronounced on the subject —by Dominicans, of course— and prohibiting the printing of these doctrines. In 1542 these had produced such scruples of conscience of the Emperor that, according to Sarmiento de Gamboa and the bachelor Falcón —the arguments alleged by Bataillon to deny it are in vain and I must contradict them carefully—, he thought of abandoning America; and it had to be Vitoria himself who dissuaded him in his intention, for he felt the Spaniards should remain there with

missionary ends, «until the Indians were able to maintain themselves in the Catholic faith». An on 1 May 1543, Charles signed a message which Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Fray Domingo de Betanzos and other priests were to deliver to the kings, princes, lords, republics and communities of lands situated South and West of New Spain. In it he said: «We wish to have with you all friendship and good confederation so that, being in agreement, we might all serve God as we must.» The ethical rigor had not only provoked the impassioned criticism of the methods of the conquest and colonization of America of the vehement and quixotic Las Casas. It had questioned and conditioned the legitimacy itself of the conquering and colonizing enterprise; it had exalted the inalienable right of the subjected natives, for the triumph of the making of the formula of an egalitarian and federal relationship between the Caesar and the indigeneous sovereigns or republics; and it had juridically and temporarily limited the rights of the Spaniards in the Indies. This same problem of conscience continued during the reign of Philip II and motivated many historical and political treatises which tried to justify and legalize the occupation of America, already decades old.

During the first half of the seventeenth-century ethical rigor impeded the Spanish governors from pacting with schismatic England and with Protestant Germany; they could have done it on two occasions and would have been able to sucessfully play that trump card, as Catholic France did and as later Spain would do, in the depths of its most profound historical depression.

Ethical rigor also survived our great crisis. It triumphed in Spain even in the rationalists and liberals of the nineteenth-century —I do not wish to speak of the Spaniards of today, of whom I am one— and guided their conduct along the lines of rigid service of the ideal into which it had been sublimated —and not by them but by the Europeans from beyond the Pyrenees— the idea, the child of reason, of the political freedom of man They served that ideal according to the norms of knightly ethic, without shirking risk, without avoiding danger, without calculating success or fearing failure, knowing how to courageously spend the treasured coin of life. They served it with a purified concept of duty which made them postpone all for it: their interest and the interest of the historical community they belonged to.

Today the extraordinary important role played by Spanish freemasonry in the independence of Hispanic America is well known on both shores of the Atlantic. The reality of that intervention permits one to deduce an inference which perhaps might seem paradoxical and perhaps might irritate both opposing factions. The Peninsular freemasons acted under the clear impulses of ethical devotion to ideal principles which they considered to be supranational. Moreover when acting in this way they revealed themselves to be legitimate successors of Philip II. It is probable that this not

at all capricious statement will earn for me the ire of freemasonry and of its furious enemies. The freemasons will probably not like the genetic historical tie with the «Monster of El Escorial» —the term is not mine—. Nevertheless, in the same way that the Prudent King sacrificed Spain to an ideal: to the defense of Catholicism in the old world; the nineteenth-century masons sacrificed it to another ideal: the defense of freedom in the new world. Due to his ethical rigor, the «knight of detail and scruple», as I have called Philip II, truly contributed to the fall of the Spanish empire in Europe, during the sixteenth-century; and due to ethical rigor freemasonry collaborated decisively in the ruin of the Hispanic empire in America, during the nineteenth-century. Neither the English Elizabeth, nor the French Richelieu, nor the English or French liberals of the new times offered, long ago, nor did they propose, just yesterday, their England or their France for the defense of any ideal nor of any idea; and I write idea because faith and liberty are, after all, ideas fought for in their day by Philip II and by the freemasons. Just like the French and the British, the other nations of the West have always put aside, with no moral scruple whatsoever, their seemingly stronger ideas and their seemingly dearer ideals, every time they have found them in opposition to their sacred national egotisms. Otherwise they have hidden and camouflaged these egotisms behind a smokescreen of supposed and hypocritical defense of those ideals. Here I am anathematizing the nations of the West and not Communist Russia, for it has openly rejected all ethical justification and lives from plain political opportunism.

Choosing between the doctrines of Machiavelli and of Vitoria, Europe adhered to the first ones, and while it exalted the theory of the great Florentine, it forgot that of the great man from Burgos. Yes, the European has lived from reason but he forgot injustice, that is, he did not take care to keep his ethical springs tightened; and the modern Spaniard has not lived from passion, but has placed it in play to combat moral injustice. He has not predicated the end of the effort of reason, he has not believed in the inanity of all doing; the *Quod nihil scitur* of Francisco Sánchez supposes a call to attention regarding the dangers of affirmations which are too fine and optimistic —a Cartesianism before Descartes—, but it has not exteriorized a radical sceptism. The Spaniard has not felt in himself the anguish of desperation, as Ferrater and others have maintained. He has placed duty, fidelity to ideas and the service of ideals, above his interest and his life. He has believed in God, in the world and in man A vital anguish? No; it is confidence in the justice of his cause and faith in that justice and in the help of God. He has only mistrusted pure reason; for, when confronting life, he found it irrational, and did not allow himself to be won over by the apparent triumphs of reasoning, which increased the dominance of man over nature, but which did not make man advance with a similar rhythm in his dominance of himself. Furthermore he witnessed reason defeated by passion beyond his frontiers; the reason which

science and technology created, but which left man unprotected before the essential problem of life and of death and before the justice of the relations among nations; and which made humanity suffer, for time to time, terrible bloodbaths and forced it to sometimes retreat unto states of barbarism.

7. From Euphoria to Pessimism

Looking outside of Spain, by Moors and Christians, had not created in either an inferiority complex nor had it awakened in them any volitive or critical insecurity. Among the Muslims the echoes of the haughty voices of Ibn Hazm and of Al-Sakindi could still be heard; their *Risalas* in the prose of Al-Ándalus bear witness to their firm faith in the greatness of their Muslim homeland, unjustly looked down on from abroad. Among Medieval Christendom one finds no nervous and devaluating self-criticism. A psychic and sentimental current, caused by a reaction to the boastful French legends about the fabulous conquests of Charlemagne south of the Pyrenees, had heightened Spanish pride. That double reaction appears alive in the francophobia of the «Historia Silense»; it engendered the legendary figure of Bernardo de Carpio, victor of the Frankish sovereign, and was poured into different episodes of the «Poema» of Fernán González, in some phrases of the *Libro de Alexandre* and in other different texts of our Middle Ages. That psychic and sentimental current, saturated with arrogance, fits ill with any type of inferiority complex and with any torturing and sickly insecurity.

The Peninsular sovereigns called to Spain foreign monks and learned people, and lovers of knowledge avidly read foreign books. But the invitation extended to men of science, scholars or technicians and the import and reading of books from abroad —a normal consequence of the law of communicating glasses, which has also held in history— do not accredit any national insecurity.

All historical communities have continually and earnestly sought to better the level of their spiritual life. All of them? All who have possessed the consciousness of the marvelous value of the life of the spirit. All of them, that is, those with creative sensitivity, would therefore have had to live in a torturing insecurity.

Can the Franks of Charlemagne, creator of the parent Europe of our own, be judged tortured by insecurity because the new emperor of the West brought the British Alcuin, formed in the school of Bede, to his side or the Spaniard Teodolfus and all the many foreign scholars who collaborated in the Carolingian renaissance? France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, must have suffered from the disease of insecurity in the twelfth-century, since from all the lands of the Occident many cultured men came to Spain, to study

the philosophical and scientific works which the Hispano-Muslims had received or created. England of the fourteenth-century, learning banking techniques from the Italians..., and all the great countries of Europe and of America which, sooner or later and to our very day, have been able to complete the flaws of their knowledge, of their art, of their science and of their technology —all have participated more than once in this renovation—, all must have been unsure of themselves.

The young or mature nation, conscious of the need to learn what others know and to seek masters and books which can instruct it, far from suffering the disease of insecurity, accredits a great confidence in itself. The national communities who are closed to the winds from abroad because they fear the destruction of their internal equilibrium are the insecure ones. It would have been the harshest and most crude nations of history, the least tempted by the devil of spiritual appetites those which have neither desired nor imported foreign men or books; it would have been those which would have ended up feeling that dark cavity which has been so gratuitously and unjustly attributed to the Hispanic people; for those nations did not want, nor did they seek, foreign culture.

The first Italianizing Castilians of the fifteenth-century, more than any of the other medieval Castilian writers, felt impregnated by foreign thought and letters. And far from revealing a defeatist insecurity complex, they accredited an illusioned hope in the future of the political and spiritual life of the nation. It is easy to see the optimistic ideas of the Marquis of Santillana and of Juan de Mena, for example.

The medieval Christians did not seem insecure, because their noble and knightly minorities lived for centuries, in a lordly style, from the work of the inferior classes and the Moors and Jews who competed with them: the incorrectness of the thesis which speaks of the incapacity of the Christians for professions and jobs not based on war has been shown. Who will dare to affirm that the human groups who have lived in a lordly manner throughout the centuries have been stuck in the swamp of insecurity? Nations and aristocracies who, until just yesterday, have felt the most sure and tranquil and have shown most pride, might have been the ones who lived insecurely and who suffered a clear inferiority complex.

As proof that around 1240 the Spaniards considered themselves beneath the other nations and lamented that they were no more than they felt, the following phrases of the poem of Fernán González have been alleged:

(Ved) que non yaz apóstol en todo aquel logar.
De Inglaterra y Francia quísola (Dios) mejorar (79).

No; a Castilian cleric devoted to Saint James, could not allege the

(79) No apostle lies in all that place, you see.
With England and France, God wished it placed equally.

presence of the apostolic tomb unless he was filled with the haughty conviction of the superiority of his country over others. The cleric-minstrel of Fernán González shows, more than insecurity, arrogance.

How, toward the year 1240 the whole man, the Castilian: an audacious, decided, rough, courageous, free man, sure of his strength and thus of his success; how could he believe himself to be inferior to the other men from beyond the Pyrenees in the moment in which he saw triumphs achieved, triumphs he would have never dreamed of achieving a few years before? How could a man like the Castilian, consecrated by centuries of «divine» war and shaken for centuries by a vassal-type Christianity and an epic religiosity, a man whose relations with the Divinity reached an enormous volume in his daily life and in whom the will to action triumphed over reason; how could this man have felt to not be more than what he felt he was? To consider himself pejoratively he would have had to be what he was not; that is, he would have had to grant special esteem to values which up till then had not won him over. Alfonso X wrote after the author of the poem of Fernán González. He felt the supposed miracle-working virtues of the kings of France were not worth «a bad fig» and cast into the wind of poetry the imperialist idea of Castile which, with the help of Mary, he aspired to win from Mohammad: «Spain and Morocco —and Ceuta and Arcilla—.» And in 1278 Gil de Zamora dedicated to the future Sancho IV, at the time still an infante, his *Libellus de preconiis Hispaniae* in which he enumerates the beauties and the greatness of his Spanish home and holds its superiority over all the others.

No; it is illogical that when the Christians were realizing the great conquest that within three decades doubled the national area, and the great cities of Andalusia and the Levant were falling into their hands, that a Castilian was tortured by a dark inferiority complex.

It is not possible to accept as testimony of incertitude before the future the necessarily bitter words —«This is Castile which makes men and it wastes them»— said, shortly before being decapitated, by Alonso Fernández Coronel in the fourteenth-century and by don Álvaro de Luna in the fifteenth; for under the shadow of the gallows two medieval magnates could not feel optimistic.

It has been rightly said that no nation had, in the fifteenth-century a consciousness of itself as complete and exact as Castile did. This is accredited by: the speech in defense of the preeminence of Castile over England given by don Alonso de Cartagena in the Council of Basel; the confidential paper from Fernando de la Torre to Henry IV, a note which paragons Castile with France; and the *Victorial* of Gutierre Díez de Games, where the feats of don Pero Niño in the seas and lands of the North are related. The words of the once-rabbi of Burgos «overflow with a consciousness of Spain»; «the history appears here with perfect security»; «don Alfonso finishes what is more of a harangue than a presentation, with a gesture of supreme arrogance», according to the essayist for whom we

Spaniards have always lived in longing. He terms the work of Fernando de la Torre «a value description of Spanish peculiarities» and he reaches the conclusion that: «All this sounds like an imperial language, the announcer of great enterprises» He would have also been able to point out that the *Victorial,* despite the good feeling for France of its author, is filled with an identical symphony of Hispanic pride.

Alonso de Cartagena, Gutierre Díez de Games and Fernando de la Torre understood and recognized the peculiarities of Castilian society —we could say Peninsular society without exaggeration— as opposed to the societies beyond the Pyrenees. But none of the three felt the Castilian style of life to be inferior to that of France or of England. The criticisms of the future rivals of Spain did not make them vacillate. They did not feel any inquietude, any insecurity, any anguish. The three of them defended the Hispanic character and had full faith in the destinies of their homeland. «Other people as skilled at arms exist not in the world», said De la Torre.

No; we do not find from the words of any of the three any trembling line of inquietude; contemporary poets, that is, poets of the fifteenth-century —Álvarez de Villasandino, fray Diego de Valencia, Gómez Manrique—, as Gabriel Maura has pointed out, showed a blind prophetic confidence in the imperial destiny of the nation. The Marquis of Santillana wrote these lines of the Trastamaras, who ruled the Hispanic monarchies at the time:

Y de este linaje infinitos días
Vendrá quien posea gran parte del mundo (80).

As prelates, magnates, knights and poets, in the middle of the fifteenth-century, all in Castile felt a clear national pride. The French Trinitarian, Gauguin, a traveller on the Peninsula in 1466 and in 1468, discussed *quotidianum* with the people of Burgos and Toledo, *inter jocandum,* regarding whether Spain was ahead of France or the opposite and heard his Castilian spokesmen maintain, without hesitation, the superiority of the Spanish fatherland.

It has been alleged that the beginning of the war of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs responded to the necessity to put an end to the national insecurity created by the civil disorders in Castile. This is not true. The conclusion of the Reconquest had been a national ideal cherished by the Castilians of the fifteenth-century, when they were able to overcome their factions and their hates. Villasandino, Diego de Valencia, Juan de Mena... had insistently clamored for the integral consecration of Castile to the great enterprise. Even though the nobles had been what they were not,

(80) And from this long line will come
He who will possess a great part of Christendom.

don Ferdinand and doña Isabel would have begun the war of Granada. That beginning would have never implied a sentiment of insecurity but rather an illusioned confidence in the vital drive of their nation. And it is doubtful that either the intestinal discords of Castile or those of any nation of the earth can be historically explained by the fact that the national communities who have suffered them have felt insecure of themselves. Furthermore, civil battles destroyed the greater part of the nations of the West in the late Middle Ages: remember the War of the Two Roses, the ferocious struggles between the people of Burgundy and Armagnac, the fights between the Italian lordships, the peasant rebellions on both sides of the Rhine... All the west must have lived from an anguished insecurity, if the Castilian nobiliary discords serve to accredit the insecurity of the Spaniards.

The Comunero Revolt, the beginnings of the reign of a foreign prince and the reflection of the flames of the Reformation inspired some pessimistic ideas in the Admiral of Castile, don Fadrique Enríquez; one true Castilian, piously irritated by the spectacle of an immoral clergy and of faithful who did not harmonize their works with their beliefs —Bataillon tells us of how he sought apostles to evangelize his estates; one great lord who kept, as alive as it was bitter, the memory of the disasters of the recently ended civil war, in which he had played a principal role and, very much veneered in the old style, had felt inquietude before the beginnings of the government in Castile by Charles of Ghent. And Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, another extremely sensitive spirit, also tortured by the memory of the excesses of the *comuneros* and also irritated by the vices of the clergy —he wrote harsh words against them—, answering the admiral, allowed himself to be won over by his pessimistic ideas and ended up exaggerating them like a good writer. Who will dare to explain these psychic positions as points of departure of a national opinion?

The well-known declarations of Ginés de Sepúlveda and of Pérez de Oliva regarding the low point suffered by the bellicose ardor of their fellow countrymen as a result of the termination of the conquest of Granada, do not bear witness to any insecurity either. Both were from Cordoba, they had lived their youthful years in the atmosphere of almost legendary exaltation of the campaign of Granada; and they both saw the past with a vision clouded with emotion. While they were writing, the Spaniards were realizing the greatest feats of their history and nobody hesitated or felt insecure in Spain. Mateo Alemán remembered having met an old soldier who carried a blunt dagger in his belt, without any other value than having been used by his father to fight against the Moors in Granada. The Spanish were sure of themselves even though Charles, in 1555 at the end of his reign —he abdicated in 1556—, with the resources of his exchequer delapidated from four decades of continuous and exhausting wars, did suffer grave fiscal straits; and though in 1569 the Hispanic pride of Jiménez de Quesada was irritated because in Europe the

imperial greatness of Spain was not recognized. Precisely this irritation of Jiménez reveals his faith in Spain, the faith of all the Spaniards.

Spain has not lived for «centuries and centuries feeling as though the land was not beneath their feet». Sánchez Montes has put forth many proofs of how, during the sixteenth-century, a euphoric providentialism shook the Spaniards. It appears in private letters, in anonymous documents and in popular verses. They even wrote:

Pues Dios tan claro se muestra
de parte del gran Carolo
sea ya el mundo español. (81)

The Spaniards of the sixteenth-century so firmly believed in the destiny of their country, that despite their exalted religious fervor and their typical military devotion to the Papacy, they dared to confront it. Not only did Vives and Francesillo de Zúñiga and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza taunt different pontiffs. The last of the three and the secretary of the cardinal of Santiago, fray Juan de Toledo, and even the great theologian Melchor Cano went so far as to advise Charles V to deprive the pope of the Church states.

No; neither in the fifteenth nor in the sixteenth centuries did the Spaniards feel insecure about the future of Spain or about their personal works. Dozens of examples of their double confidence in their country and in themselves can be alleged: When faced with the French boasts, Cardinal Cisneros grabbed his Franciscan belt and said: «Let the king of France do what he pleases, for with three blows I give with this hemp, I will take all of France from him». The humanist Diego López de Zúñiga, collaborator of the *Poliglota Complutense* (Polyglot Bible), felt so sure of his knowledge that, referring to his *Anotaciones,* he felt that he had «jumped» a bull as fierce as Erasmus. During the long conclave which ended in the election of Adrian VI, don Juan Manuel, ambassador of Spain in Rome, dared to lord it over the city to keep it in order and ordered hanged anyone he pleased, without excepting the cardinals and without paying attention to anyone. Fray García de Loaysa, general of the Dominicans and cardinal, dared to threaten his colleagues with once again sacking Rome and stirred up the city with Spaniards —they closed off some of the streets of the city with chains and in this way they entrenched themselves— so much so that the Pope ended up requesting Charles V to order them to leave. After the disaster of Algiers, the French, encouraged by the losses suffered by the Emperor, invaded Roussillon and besieged Perpignan; a Catalan knight challenged one by one all the besiegers, defeated and subdued any French knight who had accepted the

(81) For God Himself so clearly shows
beside the great Charles that
the world is Spanish as everyone knows.

challenge and, when the defeated knight asked him what he should do, he replied «that he should be off with God for in Spain they did not want to use people vile as those of France.» And under the French demand to surrender the position, another Catalan knight answered: «Tell the Dauphin that here there are many knights who went to capture his father and that is what they are waiting to do to him.»

The anonymous author of the *Floreto*, who compiled these anecdotes around the middle of the sixteenth-century and who continued writing during the reign of Philip II until 1579 —I am referring to the edition of Sánchez Cantón— reflects the overflowing confidence of the Spaniards in Spain and in themselves: Those who served the Great Captain: «were enough to conquer half the world»; the Spanish captains only felt some fear when they fought for the domination of themselves, which happened one night to Diego García de Paredes; captured by Barbarossa, a Biscayan sailor, Machín de Monguía, told him that if «God and fortune had permitted him to be in his power, it could be just the other way around»; doña Isabel de Jos began to preach in Rome with so much success, in the middle of the century, that to get around the canonical dispositions, without ceasing to profitably use her doctrine, the Pope authorized her to read them; among the educated women of all time we find many Spaniards; Berruguete was a marvelous painter; Francisco de Vitoria, a light of knowledge... And the author of the *Floreto* also says: «The Spaniard leaves the spade and takes up the pike and makes a good soldier and if he knocks over the armed man, he rides with his horse and becomes a knight. When the king of France loses the battle, he cannot recover so soon because with the man of arms dead, he must await the growth of the son and in Spain anyone knows how to be one»; the Spaniards dare and know how to die because they are spirited and skillful —he adds— and he continues telling of the marvels of charity, saintliness, knowledge, talents, moral rectitude, dignity, simplicity, generosity, valor, daring, prudence... of his fellow countrymen, himself carried along by the same pride he attributes to them: «They are so arrogant that in war and in peace they always want to be ahead of other nations and therefore are ill-loved by all.» It was the Spanish nation —the author of the *Floreto* feels Spain warmly and unitarily— that, by the pen of the anonymous chronicler, expressed its full confidence in its historical destiny and in the works of its children. Not one faint echo of volitive insecurity nor of criticism or inquietude are to be seen in the Spaniards when confronting the world.

When, how and why could they lose their confidence in their works and in the future of the nation? The arrow of their destiny continued to climb toward the sky; they were lords of many kingdoms around the globe; their military triumphs compensated their financial problems; from America each year came greater sums of precious metals; Europe hated them but admired and feared them; they could not see their first disasters except

as passing setbacks —Spain was never stronger at sea as after the Invincible; their writers and their artists were increasingly brilliant and famous. What pessimistic and defeating voices could be raised in those euphoric days? Who could take from them the security in themselves and in their country after the great crisis? With the crisis already really started, a man like Antonio Pérez, who had never felt moved by fervent patriotism —he reproached the Flemish for not helping Henry IV against Spain and even organized, with the consent of France, a general revolt of the Moriscos—; a man who knew like few else the weakness of the political and fiscal organization of his country and even exaggerated them in his imagination in the desperate hope of revenge, accredited in his well-known words to the ambassador of Venice, Pietro Dicodo, the high concept he held of the vital force of Spain. And if a dissident Spanish writer and politician felt this way, at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, what must the rest of the nation have thought?

The harsh Spanish critical sense is the fruit of the terrible awakening, in the clear dawn of its defeat in the old world, of a proud nation, till then drunk with faith in itself. In the first half of the seventeenth-century, although the intelligent Spaniards were already pessimistic —like Quevedo, Gracián, Saavedra Fajardo, for example—, many still believed in Spain: for example, don Adam de la Parra and some writers grouped by Jover into the generation of 1635. Only then do inquietude and Messianism prosper and take root. It was an inquietude which is translated into an insecurity and Messianism which expects from one man the salvation of the country: from the cardinal-infante don Fernando, from the bastard don Juan José de Austria, from the future Luis I de Borbon... and so on up to today.

The history of Spain has not been the history of an insecurity nor of a life of longing. The whip-like criticisms against their own country of the Spanish thinkers of the seventeenth-century and of more recent times, their anguished confrontation with the past and the present of Spain have only been occasional. They have arisen every time we have been concious of the gravity of a crisis; of a crisis which threatened the existence of the nation. They have been emotional discharges before the bitterness and the anguish of dark and desperate hours, in which all roads seemed to be closed off and a renovation of the lost vitality seemed impossible.

Other nations have also suffered hours of anguish, hours of critical pessimism. Aubrun has written: «when the community —that affective group dedicated endlessly to common tasks and re-created constantly by them— is threatened in its existential functioning, anguish appears». He adds: «We insist on the universality of the phenomenon, for it could be believed that this 'longing' is special to Spain, that the anguish before choice, the dramatic assertion of freedom overwhelm the Spaniard more than any other». He admits that this was the case of Germany from 1920-1925 and of France from 1945 to 1950. His affirmations are exact and,

in reply to the thesis of Castro here refuted, it would not be impossible to sketch the hours of anguish of all the nations throughout their history.

The lashes of the Spaniards against Spain also have other roots. The more or less just and more or less bitter criticisms of Quevedo and of Gracián, of Unamuno and of Ortega y Gasset and of other Hispanic thinkers of the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries are the product of the shipwreck of the fate of the country and, at the same time, of the roughness and the arrogance of the Spaniards, which derive from the oldest roots of the Hispanic nature, and are the exponents of a state of mind of the generations which have assisted at great national downfalls.

They are children of Spanish roughness, for the Spanish nation was born as the historical prolongation for the Northern Peninsular tribes, the least penetrated by the soothing influence of the Roman culture. The harsh temperamental heritage with which they began the Reconquest was only to be later accentuated with the passing of centuries. And the popular masses of Spain have frequently deserved the critical whippings of the minorities who have stood out among them.

They are also the children of Spanish arrogance, for the superior men in Spain have frequently felt shaken by a satanic pride; from before Seneca to after Unamuno and without excluding Ibn Hazm and other Hispano-Muslims. The pride of the Spanish intellectuals balanced the hate they were flagellated with —I do not know if this hate was the cause of that flagellation or a reaction to it— and that arrogance overflowed at times in unjust invectives against the nation, when it was not inclined to listen to the advice and accept their mastership. Those invectives have been the reverse side of millenary Iberian leadership. The Spanish masses have frequently sought the superior man to follow him eagerly; the superior man, used to his leadership, has imperiously needed a docile and obedient chorus to follow him.

Furthermore, irritated criticisms of the multitude —it is not just to hurl invectives against the Spanish people because they have suffered and endured the same disease as the chosen elite— will not prove that Spain has always lived in longing.

No, Spain has not lived in longing. All nations have suffered great crises and endured great anguish. Those of Spain have been grave because the Spaniards have felt shaken by an unstoppable and frenetic impulse to action, as a result of their singular history, and after these energy charges they have fallen into sleep and fatigue; and they have been carried along by the wind of destiny after their impetuous electrical explosions. It would not be difficult to present a picture of these brusque flights, like an arrow fired toward the heights, and of their immediate vertical falls. The process of that exaggerated Hispanic activism has been studied. Yet their historical projections did not oblige Spain to live in longing. From

all of the successive crises it has known how to come out triumphantly, until it was exhausted in the fulfillment of the historical mission it had taken on with passion, full of faith and sure of itself. Even after its extraordinary vitality has permitted it to survive. Its vitality quickly gave light, and will continue to do so to great human values.

8. The Two Spains

Beginning with the pessimistic decline of the till then euphoric and proud spirit of the Spaniards, the new turn of the confrontation between Spain and Europe triggered a double chain of psychic reactions among the Peninsular peoples. We could not return to our resigned position of disciples from before the great flame of our Siglo de Oro. The edifice of our political empire began to shake, coinciding with the apogee of our cultural and vital mastership beyond the Pyrenees. And when that mastership ceased —the theological and philosophic thought and the scientific and technological creations of the sixteenth-century, the letters and arts of the seventeenth— it was very difficult for the Spaniards to contritely accept the mastership of Europe where they had exercised up till then a hegemony as clear as it was opposed. Paraphrasing the well-known words of Francis I after the battle of Pavia, it could be said that we had lost everything, except honor and arrogance. But our internal crisis and our defeat by Europe were so evident, that in successive periods, we experienced: the regenerating projects of the *arbitristas* (projectors), the intimate unrest of the masses and the criticism of the most alert minorities.

Arbitrismo was a more or less intelligent, more or less fantastic effort to straighten the direction of Spanish life by correcting the flaws of its political government and its economic and financial organization. It was a desperate striving, at times sharp, at times stupid, by those who understood or guessed that the water was at Spain's neck in its advance across the turbulent river of history.

The unrest of the masses engendered a double current of censure against bad government and of hopeful Messianism. The malcontent public showed itself very soon. It not only contributed to the preparation of the rebellions of Portugal and Catalonia; it poured forth insults against the favorite of Philip IV which were heard in the halls of the palace itself; it began, with the coup d'etat of the second don Juan of Austria, a long series of Hispanic *pronunciamientos* (military rebellions) and it took on the form of outrages the unfortunate Charles II had to hear in the streets of Madrid. And the exaggerated popular confidence that a change of pilot would be enough to avoid the shipwreck, a confidence which infected some pale and anaemic infantes and some political figures, contributed to the changing of the dynasty; for the people of Castile expected, Messianically, that with

the new kings things were going to change in Spain and, with their help, decided the triumph of the Bourbons in Spain.

Since then those currents of opinion have affected Spanish history and have been lasting. However our lives have been even more influenced and in just as lasting a fashion by the other, somewhat later, current derived from the criticism of the most alert minorities and from treir operative consequences. That criticism of Spanish life was based on its parallel from beyond the Pyrenees. With the majority of the Spaniards still drunk from the old must tasted in the imperial days, and most devoted to their ancestral idiosyncrasy, which tied them to their past greatness, the two Spains arose and have reached to our very day; they were born precisely as a result of their differing position vis-a-vis the style of life in force beyond the Pyrenees.

I have already rejected the remote and lasting existence of the two confronting Spains throughout its history. Ideological struggles, critical differences, renovating impulses, heretical deviations, have always existed in all nations during certain epochs; and truly, for almost a millenium, those struggles, differences, impulses and deviations reached much more ardor and frequency outside of Spain than inside of it. Far greater north of the Pyrenees, until our national crisis, were the volume and the fury of the factions in which the continuous and renovating heterodox winds —heterodox not only in religious questions— internally divided the other nations of Europe. No one slightly knowledgeable of the Middle Ages of the West and of European modernity before Westphalia can doubt such an affirmation. Indeed there were on the Peninsula very important ethnic —the Jews— and spiritual minorities —the Moriscos who were, in their majority, racially Spanish. But within the Hispanic communities, for long centuries, the ferment of dissident ideas and the number of men who defended them were insignificant. Not even later can the reduced concentrations of Spanish Erasmists and Protestants be compared with the orthodox masses. And since the critics and the innovators also reached very limited numbers among us, we cannot mix in with them, with the heterodox and dissenting souls, one of the two Spains that some feel to be an almost eternal Hispanic reality. The action of such scarce groups could not therefore have effect in the coining of the vital Spanish character. And it was not able to achieve it, not only due to their minimal numeric importance, but also because they looked to very distinct horizons, they postulated very different ideas and they acted in life in very different ways. What joins the Erasmist Vergara, the quixotic Las Casas, the Lutheran Cazalla, the mistrustful Mariana, the critical Quevedo and the reformed Navarrete? It would be very difficult to find unitary characteristics for the Spanish nature which those minority nuclei, so scarcely dense and so little alike, might have created. How can one integrate a Spain against Spain with them? For known causes the action of the dissenters in the Europe beyond

the Pyrenees was much more efficient than here in Spain, always broken into fighting factions.

Fidelino Figueiredo tied the birth of the two Spains to the reaction provoked by what he calls the «Philippization» of the Spaniards. Palacio Atard is right when rejecting that Philippization as the cause of the fragmentation of Spain into two positions, sometimes adversaries or sometimes enemies, which have lasted until today. I have not belittled the importance of the action of Philip II in the forging of the modern Spanish nature. But we cannot grant him the paternity of our functional structure, though he did contribute, with his errors, to making it lasting; nor can we turn him into the sole person responsible for the birth of the two Spains. I am not the first to recognize that he did not enjoy general favor among the Spaniards. I offer to anyone who might decide to write a book on «Philip II and the Spanish public opinion of his time» —another that I have suggested in these pages to the young generations of Hispanic scholars— a significant fact of the hostility felt toward him by people not infected by heterodoxy and who were even raised under his shadow. I am referring to the words of Quevedo. In a passage of *Los Sueños* which censorship did not allow to be published, he portrays hell filled with inquisitors and places Philip there. An Quevedo lived in the palace of the one who he would later censure.

Lope also carefully fired at Philip II in *La Estrella de Sevilla.* But neither of these criticisms of Philip nor as many others as might be found are enough to center the national schism around the Prudent King; even though the modern Spanish and foreign anti-Inquisition —the word anti-Inquisition was invented by Unamuno— has condemned him to wear the sanbenito —the ironies of destiny!: Philip II with a sanbenito!— for his hostile heterodoxy *avant la ligne* of the creed defended by it.

Yet I do not consider the hypothesis of the excellent Portuguese critic, Fidelino Figueiredo, to be founded; I cannot doubt that in the end Spaniards broke not into two opposing factions, bands, groups or opinions, but into two authentic Spains. The fact that both enjoy or suffer from the same vital make-up, that their sensitivity and their volitional reactions are the same, that their functional structures do not separate them, that a similar algebraic formula governs the daily balance of the reason, the emotions and the instincts of those who form them...; all this is no reason for us to accept as real the dramatic dychotomy that the two Spains integrate. If their way of being in life were dissimilar and their personality distinct, we could not talk of the two Spains, for one of them would have ceased to be Spain. It is precisely that undeniable fraternity —they are enemy twins— that forces us to confront them equally. None of the two can proudly flaunt before the other any temperamental superiority, any singular virtue. They have come to make up two ragingly hostile Spains precisely because they suffer the same emotional and instinctive flaws, due to the absolute identity of their mode of being.

I find it difficult to chose the correct slide-rule which enables me to draw the exact dividing line between the two Spains. The weight of devotion toward the most pure Tridentine Catholicism was enormous among us as was, in general, the concentration of collective interest on questions of the other world; and the hostile reaction of the community to Catholic tradition and against the cult of religious images has been very harsh. But religious dissidence is not the only base of separation and segregation of the two Spains because many Spanish reformers, of an immaculate orthodoxy, nevertheless cannot be included in traditional Spain: this happened to Feijoo, Jovellanos and many others. The distinct position of each group concerning the problem of individual freedom does not serve either as the primordial key to the collective schism in the two enemy Spains, because liberalism —freedom of thought and political freedom— is a very recent fruit in the orchard of Europe, and while no few Peninsular people, before the days of their maturity, already fought to awaken Spain from its secular lethargy, by confronting the Hispanic past, later some anti-liberal Spaniards, of more recent times, have also been enthusiastic reformers.. It seems to me to be no less prudent to consider as the essential and exclusive base for the perfect characterization of the two hostile Spains of today, the innovating spirit of the components of one of them and the attachment to the national heritage of the militants of the other, even though we might broaden the base of differentiation to the unequal confrontation with the trans-Pyrenean influence, incorrectly called European, for Spain is part of Europe. There have been people of heterodox and rationalistic views and also exalted liberals who have felt prisoners of Spanish traditions: Costa, for example. The unfortunate present reality has been reached because all those oppositions, confrontations, schims and clashes, intermingling with the passing of time, have collaborated in the cristalization of the two furiously enemy blocks in which we Spaniards have been divided for some time. Would these contrasts and these antitheses have been enough, however, to create the two Spains of today? The sharpening of the struggle between the Spanish factions which ended up turning them into the two Spains, still incommunicable and irreconciliable, is due, I believe, to the fact that the historical essence itself of the Hispanic nation has been in litigation and also to the passion with which the discovered impetus has been hypertrophied to the point of changing it in permanent civil war.

Modern Spain has not been an exception either in the use of foreign novelty or in the rigorous nature of its discord. One must reject the idea of our singularity in the importation of ideas, values, ideals, institutions, styles of life, etc. Did France create the Renaissance or did it receive it from Italy? Did not the Reformation propagate from Germany towards the North and the West? Did not the revolutionary ideas, which the soldiers of Napoleon carried to the other side of the Rhine and South of the Alps, come from France? Can anyone deny the immense debt of

England with the nations on the other side of the channel and that of these with England? Were not parliamentary government and the Industrial Revolution imported into Europe from Great Britain? Has socialism arisen anywhere in Europe as a flower of spontaneous generation? Are not all the nations of Europe receiving the impact of the ideological and institutional complex which has matured in Russia? Which one among the nations of the West has not taken from beyond its frontiers: ideological systems, political forms, scientific creations, technical advances, vital concepts and modules? Has anyone hesitated before changing its temperamental make-up by importing a new model which was triumphant in other national communities, even though it was in conflict with its particular forms of life? Have these nations really changed that much, despite the repeated receptions, adoptions, imitations, and importations realized by each one of them from beyond its frontier limits?

No, we have not been the sole nation which has taken up foreign innovations. Our peculiarity is something else. All the nations of the West also contributed their collaborations to the common task, none felt inferior and marginal, just like we did not feel inferior either while our active participation in the spiritual creations of the Western world lasted. But after our great historical crisis our marginal and sleep-walking life finally became lasting. In the consciousness of the most alert the conviction began to take hold that it was imperative to break the spell which paralyzed us by quickly importing the cultural conceptions and the style of life from beyond the Pyrenees. And the resistance that the masses, clinging to tradition, maintained to this change began to provoke, among the reformers, an increasing fury against the barbarousness and the ignorance of the majority, and, after awhile, a harsh disdain for the essence itself of the Hispanic nation.

All the nations of Europe have been inundated during Modernity by the opposing tides of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, of liberality and of authoritarianism, of innovation and of tradition. Most of the time the struggles have been fierce and at times brutal. It is unjust to present the Hispanic quarrels as exceptional and our political migrations as events without comparison outside of Spain. They are as old as the oldest of historical communities. Ours did not begin, as has been alleged, with the expulsion of the Jews. As early as the Islamic invasion of 711, numerous Peninsular refugees crossed the Pyrenees. In 817 many thousands of Spaniards implicated in the revolution of the Arrabal left the Peninsula. Shortly thereafter, multitudes of Mozarabic emigrants, who were fleeing the religious persecutions and the intestinal discords of Al-Ándalus, took refuge in the North. All of our medieval history is always plagued with exiled Christians in Islamite lands and of Muslim exiles in Northern lands. Yet exiles were also frequent in the other nations of Europe. Dante died far from Florence. Thousands and thousands of Jews emigrated from Brittany and from Naples in the thirteenth-century, from England in 1290

and from France twice during the fourteenth-century. And, so as not to stray too far from our modern epoch, let us remember the forced flight of numerous Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV; the crossing of the Atlantic by the Puritans and that of the English Channel by no few English emigrants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the frequent flight of French refugees each time that, before and after 1789, there was a grave political change north of the Pyrenees; and many other sad mass displacements from all the European nations, especially in this our twentieth-century. Yet, due to the political equilibrium of the opposing ideological and political forces, which little by little has been taking hold in some of them, the factions have frequently had to pact ceasefires or peaces.

The religious struggles which bloodied the nations of the West during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries form a type of infantile or adolescent crisis which, once overcome, assures future health. Faced with the impossibility of suppressing the dissident nuclei, little by little they ended up getting used to living shoulder to shoulder with the enemy of the day before. And, upon the later division of the edifice itself of faith, the lasting triumph of tolerance was finally facilitated.

Much the same occurred with the political struggles which moved and frequently destroyed Western nations. No faction could annihilate the rival and all ended up counting on the unmistakeable reality of the others.

Our fraternal struggles began two centuries late; we did not suffer nor did we enjoy in their day the religious or political revolutions which the other nations of the West suffered or enjoyed. Only just yesterday has a quantitative equilibrium of the confronting parties been reached and we have still not signed the cease-fires or peaces which might make for peaceful living tomorrow.

Moreover not only do the differences of time and process distinguish the internal conflicts which have agitated us during the last centuries, differences which have also shaken the rest of Europe The euphoria which the political and cultural growth of the nation has suscitated in many European nations, has facilitated the pacific relations of its sons —in hours of triumph and of profit brothers do not fight as frequently as in those of poverty and failure. It has also kept them from clinging, nostalgically, to any remote past— the past was felt to have been overcome. And it has not pushed them forcefully toward the mimetic imitation of foreign vital or cultural formulas. Struggles washed down in this way have never been able to submerge the national consciousness itself beneath its troubled waters, before, naturally, the actual propagation of communism.

On the other hand, our internal battle was much worse.

The reality of the defeat and the crisis, increasingly undeniable from the Peace of Westphalia and that of the Pyrenees and overwhelmingly so after that of Utrech, and the evidence of the cultural decline of Spain

brought about in many Spaniards the aberration of living clinging to a lost yesterday, longing for the past and ill-disposed to planning hopeful and luminous futures. And it cast others over the deep end of disdain for the national tradition, with much greater conviction as soon as, with the new dynasty, the devotion to foreign things, which had been the antithesis of our fatherland, took over among us as never before-they even went so far as to disdain the Spanish letters and arts of the Siglo de Oro.

Our internal battle was thus extremely grave, because it did not center around mere ideological problems. The essential valuation itself of Spain was being disputed. The severe but intelligent criticisms of thinking minorities were spread in wider circles by the loudspeakers of Hispanic passion; and they caused apologetic reactions as violent as they were inevitable. In his *Teatro crítico universal* Feijoo wrote: «Two extremes, both reprehensible, concerning national matters: some enlarge it onto heaven, others belittle it onto the depths.»

That bitter antithesis did not give way with the passing of time. On the contrary, the struggle became sharper, because it was accentuated by the critical darts thrown against Spain by our old enemies, the special nature of our temperamental heritage and the human consequences of the minority nature of the dissenting groups.

With hateful injustices, our imitators of old lit the never completely concealed Spanish arrogance. That arrogance turned into hate for anything foreign and that hate ended up provoking the fervid exaltation of anything patriotic. Even in the great critics like Quevedo and Unamuno it is possible to find that chain reaction. Quevedo, so open at first to the humanistic winds of Europe, with his *España defendida* began retreating little by little and little by little became attached to anything truly Spanish; it is not venturesome to believe that it was a reaction against the criticism which he heard from afar. My conversations with Unamuno allow me to suspect the existence behind his famous phrase, «let them invent it», and behind his thesis about the necessary Hispanization of Europe, a similar movement of reply to the European disdain toward the Peninsula —Spain, the great slandered one of history! he exclaimed one day. Clearly if in such egregious Hispanic minds, the diatribes against Spain have produced such exaltations, it is easy to calculate the repulsion that contempt of national things by the foreigners must have produced in those who did not possess the genial sharpness of Quevedo and Unamuno.

With this reaction the singular vital constitution of the Spaniards who have integrated and still integrate the two enemy Spains have contributed to perpetuating the hateful struggle between the factions and to centering it on the estimated valuation of the Hispanic nature itself —a struggle which has even clouded the waters of the normal flow of the collective consciousness. Castro has just attibuted our bellicose fraternal struggles and, in another of his superficial abstractions, even the dramatic curve

of our history, to what he calls the Hispanic *allofobia* and *allofilia*: to our continual rejection and our continual dedication of the other and to the other. He has even said of Spain that it is «always expecting something that another (something *other*) decides to do with it.» It is difficult for anyone to agree with this theory of my old colleague. I am sure that the *other* has not made up decisive magnetic poles in Hispanic life. Our explosive ego has been the essential fulcrum of our individual existence and of our historical existence. If the *other* has played any role in the daily life of Spain and of the Spaniards it has been as a mere projection of that ego, exultant and lordly, at whose forging we have been present in the long pages of this book. Castro agrees with these words of Blanco White: «(The Spaniard) possesses a special universe in which he finds himself in a position of superiority with respect to the other limited beings. That is where he glories and exalts when taking consciousness of his natural capacities.» And the same Castro refers to «the barrier of security or of indifference behind which (the Spaniard) is holed up». It might be added: of indifference against that which has nothing to do with his condition as a man, and of security before all that influences that very condition.

Spain is always waiting for someone to decide what to do with it! How is it possible that, after peeking into our history, has anyone been able to dream up such a thought? Would we have struggled for seven centuries with the Muslims, conquered America, kept the Turks and French in line, combatted for the Catholic unity of Europe until exhaustion, fought long and heroically against Napoleon and maintained three barbarous civil wars, if we Spaniards had always been waiting for what others wanted to do with us? How can this, more than far-fetched, absurd theory be harmonized with the authentic excess of desire which has characterized the Spaniards in the course of their history? Not even in the days of lethargic sleep-walking have we been ready to allow others to dispose of our future. It has always been enough for someone, trying to take advantage of our lethargy, to have tried to interfere in our life and to rule our destinies, for us, sharply awakened, to have furiously defended the privileges of our free will and our right to do whatever we pleased, even at times in the harm of our future.

The whole man whose silhouette has been sketched in this work, has always been uncorcerned with the other. Unconcerned? I must rectify. They have only called his attention in as much as they confronted his personality or could limit the imperialism of his ego. Behind the barrier of his security —by underlining it, Castro contradicts his thesis of the historical insecurity of the Spaniard— he has peered at the world and has looked at men. That security has made him little inclined to doubt the accuracy of his ideas and opinions and, thus, to comprehend living together with his fellow citizens. Earlier, I pointed out how his hyper-individualism has made him lower the draw-bridge of his internal strength to launch

himself into undoing injustices. There is where the error, which he supposed his adversary to have fallen into, has always existed.

The Spaniards, components of the two Spains, their resounding egos and the full conviction of the full superiority of their own convictions have turned their mere dialectical opposition regarding Hispanic life into a lasting civil war. As much those who have lived anchored to tradition as those who have desired the Westernization of their country, have not vacillated one bit regarding the destiny of their country. Each of them, even their leading minorities, have felt themselves to be in possession of the truth, with such conviction —religious we might say—, with such faith and with such an excessive esteem of themselves, that it has been difficult or impossible for them to bear the continued existence of he who professed the contrary creed.

The reduced number of reformers and of adherents of heterodoxy aggravated the harshness of the confrontation between the two Spains. The rapid strangulation of the small non-conformist groups affirmed the traditional manner of the Spanish masses, their singular sensitivity to the world of religious imagery, their militant Christianity, their fervent faith... and did not contribute to the appearance in them of any inclination to pacifically living together with the dissidents. Two simplistic and thus efficient ideas took root in many —in the great majority for decades and decades—: the identification of the essence itself of Spain with its religious tradition and the right to suppress anyone who denied either of the two.

Yet, as a logical and inevitable reaction, the non-conformists felt pushed either to furiously attack Peninsular tradition, or to forget its force when they could take on the dreamed-of change in the Hispanic nature. And their normal impotency against the not at all porous majorities —due to the reality of their minority position— gave a tremendous sharpness to the criticisms of their eternal adversaries —waves become rough when crashing on the rocks. Irritated by these diatribes, poisoned by the proud memory of the past Spanish greatness, illusioned by their firm faith in the justice of their cause and convinced of their inescapable duty to not back down in their care of Spain, the traditionalist majorities stubbornly persisted in the defense of the old vital and cultural Hispanic formulas. When the choleric reformers confronted them, with a steel-like and merciless criticism, the dispute concerning the historical essence of the community was sharpened.

Thus the hates which separated the two groups in battle increased. These hates turned the factions into two twin Spains which, by some strange aberration, were mortal enemies. Each one sought arms against the other wherever it could: one group in the glorious period of the national past, and the other in Europe beyond the Pyrenees, whose power and whose wealth seduced it with its brilliance. Thus we have lived for two centuries in constant expectance of events which occurred beyond the

Pyrenees; either to copy them or to stigmatize them, but rarely to rethink them and to adopt them as we would have done long ago.

With Europe or against Europe; that was the battle until Europe also divided, definitively, and also the Spanish Europeanizers split, and there were liberals, fascists or communists just like beyond the Pyrenees; among us either together with or against those who continued faithful to the oldest Spain. In the Middle Ages we had gone our route seeking support in Europe to continue being what we were: Westerners; and we continued happily receiving the mastership of Europe, but without altering, when accepting it, the intimate essence of our personality. After the great national crisis the two Spains fought, one in imitation and the other in rejection of anything foreign, one cursing the Spanish past and the other refusing to follow the course of European history. Only the egregious thinkers have tried to integrate Europe in Spain, to recreate the old Spanish nature. The result has been the denaturalization of our historical essence. This is because, alternatively, either everything possible has been done to annihilate our functional structure, earlier in a slow but creative and continual change; or violent and dangerous increases in the blood pressure of our sclerotic arteries have been provoked. In both cases carrying a mortal threat, not for one or the other of the two Spains, but for Spain itself. And the immediate result is the prolongation of the terribly slow rhythm of our national life, separated from that of the West.

This battle affirmed the singularities of our temperamental heritage against that which the Spaniards had received from the other European nations in their history. Those singularities, due to their condition of complementary forces to those possessed by neighboring nations and due to their creative power, were able to serve as fertilizer and cement in the forging itself of Europe and of the European personality. But when they became sterilized, they could neither continue to collaborate in that marvelous enterprise, nor could they mean anything but a danger for the full life of Spain.

It is time that those two Spains stop looking at each other hatefully as enemy forces unilaterally responsible for the evils of the common fatherland, with no possible concord; thus, according to them, obliging them, in their own interest and in the interest of all of Spain, to suppress the hostile and guilty faction. Historically and vitally neither is free of responsibility; and vitally and historically they are complementary. Their pacific and juridical relationship is not impossible. And their double lasting as normal projections of different human conceptions not only should be a profitable inducement for the necessary vital and historical equilibrium of the future Spain, it is indispensable for it. A very bad thing it will indeed be for the two Spains and for the sole Spain if we prolong the time of tragedy which for more than a century has separated them; and more still if one of them were to be definitively eliminated! Nations do not advance in history in an unstable balance on only one wheel. When the

free interplay of contrasting ideas is not possible, when freedom of thought is extinguished, the national community becomes in the end irremediably sterile. Menéndez y Pelayo himself, when tying the crisis of Spanish philosophy in the seventeenth-century with the intolerance of the schools, wrote: «A prudent freedom is so necessary for the inquiries of the spirit». And I trust that this book will have demonstrated to the Spaniards, the damage that the prolonged Spanish life, unprotected from a violent ideological struggle, against Islam first and against heretical Europe later, did to our temperamental make-up.

If it were not possible to overcome the bisecular confrontation of the two Spains, because the Spaniard, born with his consciousness in schism, carries within him an unstoppable enemy to whatever is not himself, then if one could not desire at least we would not fear apocalyptical telluric catastrophe of a new Atlantis —mysterious and forgotten after milleniums— so that our tragic agony might not be prolonged.

Yet we can straighten our route in the future. Though it is not easy, the pacific presence of the forces in battle is positive. Life in peace seemed more difficult long ago beyond the Pyrenees of the two Frances of the sixteenth-century or the two Germanys of the seventeenth, where the French or German national consciousness was momentarily submerged under the tide of intestinal hatreds. The potential balance which is being reached between the Spanish factions —may neither one be deceived and may neither one minimize the authentic collective force and the true vital energy of the other— will force a cease-fire and tolerance. And the danger of disappearing as historical community will carry them to judge their past with less devotion but also with less hate, and to seek formulas of reciprocal respect.

If I were not stopped by the consideration that I am discoursing about the yesterday of Spain and that this is not the place to lose oneself in disquisitions regarding the historical future of the West, I would set forth justifying my fears of the consequences that, with the functional structure of the bee-hive of nations severely confronted today with the threat of a war, this life in dread might have. However at least those anguished forebodings which the messages of Spanish history suggest to me for the Europe of the future have been put down. From the understanding of Spain's past we can calculate the extremely grave consequences that this lasting armed vigil can have on the changing of the vital make-up of each nation also for the coining of the temperamental heritage of Europe.

In 1932, when the nationalisms of the world were reaching their most virulent point and least suspected was the fall of Europe under the lordly threat of political communities born but separated from it, I foretold in Rome the future which has arrived. And I defended the urgency and saving need to articulate a continental European state. Twenty years after I voiced my fears, thousands and thousands of men now believe in the future birth

of Europe. I do not desire, here in these pages, to take sides in the political problems of today. Above them I look from yesterday towards tomorrow, from the yesterday of Spain towards the tomorrow of Europe. I do not know if that Europe, still distant, will be the work of conviction, of fear or of the sword —the sword, fear and conviction made the modern nations by overcoming their particularisms—, but historically I am sure that the European nations will sooner or later integrate themselves into a political community —their delay in arriving there will push them all with increasing velocity down the hill of their definitive historical crisis. Are we Spaniards going to witness the arrival of that supranational integration trapped in our already secular antagonistic positions? Are we going to remain alienated from a Europe which has illuminated us with its lights or are we going to be worriedly watching it?

For more than a century we fought for a special European unity, for the *universitas christiana,* which did not exclude the independence of the kingdoms and their full sovereignty, but which articulated them into a collective unit under the sign of the cross. Let us remember the Spanish words of Charles V in Rome: «My intention is not to desire a war against Christians, only against infidels; may Italy and Christendom be in peace and may each possess its own and may we join together and may we form a confederation against the infidels, as has been and is always my intention to do so». These words have too frequently been forgotten when confronting the future.

At the end of time bees return to the hive; the nations of Europe are going to unite into a superior historical community, which will not be the one Spain dreamed of in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries and for which Spain fell exhausted, but it will be, in the end, a unity and which tomorrow may be a *universitas christiana,* despite all the obstacles which today seem to make this mutation impossible —the ways of God are inscrutable. The Europeanizers —may we accept the term— and the traditionalists —the two Spains— have, from now on, analogous duties toward the future European unity. Furthermore, we have the duty of readying ourselves to integrate Spain into Europe as an active and dynamic part. The vital Hispanic make-up grants the Peninsular peoples a series of operative possibilities and even some of the temperamental flaws which can be effective in the more or less immediate forging of the European consciousness and spirit and of the unity itself of Europe. Yet for this collaboration to be fertile it is necessary for us to make ready to follow the road which begins in a new understanding of Spanish history. All of us must make ready: The two Spains which arose in the eighteenth-century; precisely in the century in which a clear and healthy Hispanic patriotism flowered like cementing magic in all the lands of the national territory —not only in Valencia and Aragón, but also in Navarre, Vasconia, Catalonia... And the multiple Spains which the intellectuals of some zones of the Spanish periphery have incorrectly spoken of. Incorrectly, because apart from

unimportant details, the same functional structure characterizes the whole nation which lives on the bullskin of Hispania; of a Spain which goes from Lisbon to Barcelona and from Irun to Gibraltar. Those supposed Spains into which our history as shield and vanguard of Europe momentarily polarized the Peninsular people, and the two Spains into which they were separated, also temporarily, by their different position vis-a-vis Europe; both should and can be overcome, starting from that new vision of our history which I postulate. It is a vision of our past which begins by rejecting all determinist ideas of our historical life and all petrification of our national character; and which roots our functional structure in the possibilities of change, neither greater nor smaller than those of the style of life of any nation; a change which must definitively count on our present way of being in life.

COLOPHON

THE SPANIARDS AND HISTORY

For centuries many Spanirds have disowned their history. In the seventeenth-century some thinkers, already unhappy with the recent past of Spain, turned their eyes towards the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic —Angel Ferrari has written about the attention given Ferdinand by Baltasar Gracián. In the eighteenth-century some critical darts were thrown against Philip II. The liberals of the nineteenth-ectntury considered the long absolutist period to be ominous and the papists considered enlightened despotism and periods of revolution to be abominable. The anguished criticism of Spain carried out by the men of the generation of 98 condemned all of modern Spanish history; they only cast benevolent eyes back to the remote and, for them, truly forgotten Middle Ages. Ortega y Gasset and his followers retreated still further towards the past in their negative judgement regarding Spanish history and did not exclude medieval Spain from their disdain. The two fratricide Spains of today furiously berate, in similar though contradictory fashion, distinct periods and men of our Modernity.

Due to his conviction regarding the influence of the ideas of each epoch on the examination, comprehension, interpretation and valorative judgement of the past, Croce wrote that all history is contemporary history. Carried away by passion, the Spaniards have hypertrophied that undeniable projection of today into yesterday. They have even angrily confronted the past of their country. They have not rethought it according to the modules of the historical consciousness of their time. With vehement exaltation they have stigmatized long periods of their history and, at times, all of it. Many Spaniards would have wanted and would still want today to tear out the pages of their past which incite their ire. And others, of less violent reactions, have not hidden nor do they hide the immense nausea which certain events of the past of Spain, and at times all of it, produce in them.

Yet history is not only an undeniable heritage, it is a cosmos which even escapes the omnipotence itself of the Most High. If he can interrupt

the action of the natural laws, he can do nothing against the preterite registered by history. At one time he could twist the direction of the life of a human community; but he can not later alter the spiral which that nation has covered throughout the milleniums, vanished into non-being, but whose curves the historian can capture in the testimonies rescued from oblivion. The river of history is there inexorably pushing us towards tomorrow. It is a clumsy and vain effort to want to redo it to our pleasure. Men have enough to do to mold, with no little effort, their future and must not waste their energies in sterile disputes about a yesterday they cannot change.

Let us look at history without hatreds. Let us examine it with a greater freedom of criteria. It is not important if our opinions about it confront each other. Only nations still in a nebulous state and unsure of themselves normally shut themselves off from the criticism of their past and prevent the free judgement of their representative men; but Spain is one of the old nations of the West, its services to Europe are notorious and its history can resist all the least sympathetic analytical tempests without the edifice of its life shaking. The confrontation of our ideas regarding its remote or near past can be fertile for the formation of our national consciousness.

What I have just said is possible if and only if the two Spains of the new times reject the life of perpetual civil war and if they become convinced that while they are contradictory, they are also similar and complementary and that their peaceful life is not only possible but also necessary. Let us begin by casting off all irritation before the facts and men of the past who do not agree with our sentiments and ideals. Let us make an effort to understand them. We must not venture rash judgements regarding them. Let us never forget, whether our past be pleasing to us or not, that we cannot surpass the impotency of the Divinity to change the curve of its course; we cannot manipulate it to our taste. Let us give up aggressively throwing in each other's faces this or that piece of Spain's past. Let us try to make a history for all the Spaniards and not in the service of this or that party or flag.

We scholars of the past who decide to go beyond the limits of pure erudition and the thinkers who venture into the closed orchard of history —many consider it the municipal commons, open to all— have a responsibility still greater than the other Spaniards. For our thoughts, our judgements, our theories produce a natural echo in the Hispanic national masses, through, of course, the directing minorities of their life. And we can darkly deform their ideas regarding the common past, with sure harm to the creative drive for tomorrow.

Our tremendous responsibility —I do not hesitate in using that adjective— must exclude all frivolity when portraying attractive and shining historical theses if they are not built on solid foundations, no matter how great the possible magic of their suggestive newness might be. Let us slow

our possible deviations by considering the grave evil which our superficiality might cause our people.

To measure the gravity of that evil it is important not to forget the weight which history —I refer to the memory and knowledge of the past— has exercised and exercises on the life of Spain and even on the life of many nations of Latin America. Adulterating that reality, it has been said of the Spaniards that we are «inherited-history». And the Spanish nature has just been defined by placing on the lips of the *homo hispanus* these words: *ego vivencia mea vivo.* All old people live from and with their memories. Ruskin included us, along with Grece and Rome, amid the trinity of classical nations. That inclusion, thought up especially from the vantage point of archeology, coincides with the reality of Spain's having fulfilled the double movement, maximum advance and maximum retreat, of the great historical tides. Other nations of the West, and perhaps the whole of the West itself, are already seeing how their historical low tide is approaching, and perhaps those who are still young will witness how the retreat of the waves of their historical plenitude coincides with the heightening of the waves of their inquietude before their history. Some of the sharper spirits are beginning to notice in numerous European nations the beginning of an anguished national examination of conscience, similar to the one we did after our crisis of 1898.

Yet there is something more in this definition *ego vivencia mea vivo* and in that adjective of a nation of «inherited history» —the adjective and the definition have come from Hispanic minds and pens perturbed by the restless attention which the Spaniards give their history—, there is something more there than the natural consequence of Spain's double voyage, back and forth, from its maximum advance to its maximum retreat. First there is an already old inclination of the Spaniard toward historical knowledge as a corollary of some aspects of his vital composition. Then there is an inquisitive restlessness before his crisis of power, mixed with a nostalgic pride for his imperial past. Finally there is the real unity of his life which facilitates his experienced memory and his present life.

Some men, due to the fortunes of history more inclined towards the game of will than to that of the exchange of ideas, sooner to pour themselves into action than to quietly reason, were, by congenital agraphia, «long in feats and short in telling them» as Moncada defined the Spaniards. Yet logically they were to make history, along with ethics and law, into the three-phase base of their vital articulation.

Other nations can spread out their memories like a fan because their activity has been projected over many horizons, they have travelled many roads, they have realized many different tasks, they have not followed a rectilinear historical path, they have enjoyed a changing and multiple existence. Their historical lives have been varied and many-faceted. Many different sonatas sleep on the strings of their respective violins. It is difficult to reduce their yesterday to one sole symphony and risky is the

attempt to imprison, within a series of notes or colors, the multiple, discontinuous, changing, transforming past of any of them. I invite anyone to formulate the central idea which has presided over the passage through history of France, Italy, England or Germany, for example. I doubt that anyone would dare it. On the other hand one has dared to coin a monochord definition of the historical life of Spain. I cannot subscribe to it entirely. It must be broadened. The Hispanic preterite is not only «the history of a religious belief and sensitivity and at the same time the greatness, misery and madness caused by them». The Spanish past is much more than that. How could the conquest of America be fit into this definition; or the War of our Independence against the French, both of which are perfectly developed, nevertheless, within our functional structure? It is, however, possible to group around a few leitmotiv the whole of the unconclusive symphony of Spanish history. And that relative unity of our life permits the *homo hispanus* to lead it with much greater facility than the other nations of Europe can live their more complex histories.

If that nostalgic memory of a lost yesterday sharpens the sensitivity of the nations before the curve of their life and inclines them more to punctilious pride than to humble penance and moves them inexorably toward the frequent auscultation of their past, the affirmation of the consciousness of their national crisis exalts still more the attention of the community towards its history. We began in the eighteenth-century by turning towards our past, with the intention of clearly vindicating the defeats suffered until Utrecht. Macanaz and other men of his age still dreamed of making Spain the arbiter of Europe. And still, much after that moment, Hispanic arrogance continued listening to the echoes of the Spanish historical greatness and continued to tie the present of the country to it. However the path of that pride was crossed by a contrary psychic current, pessimistic, and Spaniards have witnessed the passing of the last century of their history between bitter reproach and dithyrambic praise of things Spanish; in a continual and blinding transit from the darkest night to the most luminous midday. The authors of those theories loved Spain with similar filial devotion, but they did not know how to control the explosive drives of the Hispanic ego and they hyperbolically disfigured their opinions regarding our past.

Menéndez y Pelayo recognized the tremendous damage brought by the brutal transit from the raging and dark negations of Hispanic culture to the jubilant but foolish exaltation of its glories. Nevertheless he too cooperated in the accentuation of the pessimism of his beloved Hispanic fatherland, when overly exaggerating Spanish science. He demoralized those who saw and felt the reality of its non-existence during the difficult hours in which they lived.

The catastrophe of 98 provoked an impassioned national examination of conscience. Those who initiated it were guided by noble intentions.

I have written elsewhere: «They saw Spain agonize before their very eyes and they wanted to save it from death with some violent revulsions that would decongest the Hispanic spirit of the ills provoked in it by the opium of the most foolish patriotism, which up to then had been ceaselessly administered to it. They wanted to awaken in the country by means of the consciousness of its ills, a drive of life and renovation. But the catharsis of criticism went further than the initiators of this movement had calculated and desired and went so far as to consume the healthy tissues and vital organs of the hurting body of Spain. Since who spoke, wrote and painted were superior men, the venom of an impassioned criticism of Spain invaded the deep layers of the intellectual minority and reached the people. Many Spaniards were formed in that school who accepted as an article of faith that terrible and corrosive lesson of disdainful contempt for the history and the values of their country. Men of science, writers, artists and scholars lived among them as Spain had not had for centuries, a group of men who were inaugurating what has been called the new Hispanic Siglo de Oro; and the nation was endowed like a rich mine from which could be extracted —and since has been extracted— magnificent minerals. Yet they could not believe in politically sterile and anachronic Spain. And they wanted to go back over the course of its live until reaching the primigenial roots of the Hispanic nature, with the purpose of stimulating an impossible regeneration. It was impossible because in order to achieve it they tried to jump over the entire history of their country.»

The later generations went still further. In his *Invertebrate Spain,* Ortega y Gasset went to extremes of injustice with that national past that the men of 98 had not even dreamed of. He went so far as to attribute all our ills to the loss of their Germanic virginity by the Goths before their arrival in Spain, thus declaring the Peninsular peoples incapable of salvation, for their ill came from the entrails themselves of the race. Some day I will have to investigate the causes of that erroneous judgement of our past by the most outstanding thinker of modern Spain. His extraordinary and deserved credit in the Hispanic world turned his thesis into cathechism for the multitudes who had justly taken him as guide and master —something he has been for all his contemporaries of the Spanish language, no matter how much it might bother them—. And they all ended up speaking of the specific and avaricious heritage of Spanish history.

That impassioned and dizzying criticism of the Spanish nature has provoked the opposite reaction: the nationalist measles. As an eruptive fever it will be passing. Calmer voices are already beginning to be heard. It has never been able to sweep away the inquietude of the more lucid spirits. They continue to think of Spain as a problem, they have written of the inferiority complex of the Spaniards; and truly we have suffered from that complex and the problems of Spain are still alive. In any case it would be unjust to compare the consequences of that empty ultra-baroque verbal swelling which has shut eyes to the Spanish reality and

has attempted to get Spain drunk with high-sounding but empty words, and the grave corollaries accompanying the previous negative criticisms of Spain. Stature has been lacking in those who have shouted the ballad of the greatness and firmness of the renewed fatherland —renewed after a barbarous fraternal war with a half a million of Spaniards in exile!—. And their voices have found no echo among the intellectual minorities of the country and of Latin America, nor among the people themselves.

Recently our past has been darkened as never before. In the praise and the detractions of Spain there was a great deal of political or sentimental weight and little historical substance. The author of *Spain in Its History* has not auscultated the past of Spain at the service of any emotional or partisan inclination and has even advised the maintaining of the Hispanic structure of life even though it does not go with his personal ideas and ideals. Thus the shadows which he casts on Spanish history are much more dangerous than the patriotic dithyrambs and the heterodox censures, habitual today among us. Especially dangerous are his sharp affirmations regarding the incapacity of the Spaniards of all rational effort and of their organically living together as soon as they cease to be tied by the knot of religious or monarchical myth; his definition of the Spanish past as the history of insecurity and as a life in longings; his attribution to the Moors and the Jews, or to their projection in our life, of a good part of the deepest spiritual tasks of the Peninsular peoples —from the birth itself of Castilian as a language of culture, to the philosophic, literary and artistic creations most deeply Spanish of our Siglo de Oro—; and, especially, his confusing historical determinism which excludes anything accidental in the historical process of Spanish life and which seems to freeze it. He supposes our functional structure to have been formed in the first centuries of the living together of the Christians, Moors, and Jews on the soil of Spain; he later attributes the whole course of our history to that temperamental heritage and gives it an inquieting and tragic permanence. Guillermo de Torre, before reading this book, pointed out the pessimism which the theses discussed here produce in the soul of the Hispanic readers.

I believe that I have shown before how unjust it is to speak of the incapacity of the Spaniards for the enterprises of reason and to have pointed out why they were not able to dedicate themselves to them at times and to continue them at other times —always due to causes foreign to their personal capacity for that dedication and this cultivation—, and how reason played an active role in the spiritual life of our Siglo de Oro.

When studying the transit from euphoria to pessimism, I proved that only when they awakened to the dawn of their defeat and exhaustion did the Spaniards begin to be insecure of their destinies, and how the Hispanic past has never been a life of longing.

Elsewehere I have risen against the supposed impossibility of the Spaniards to live together organically, and in this book I have demonstrated

that the Peninsular people knew how to articulate themselves politically earlier and better than the feudal nations beyond the Pyrenees. The people of Castile, León, Portugal, Aragón, Catalonia and Navarre, conscious of their public interests and rights, were able to pacifically secure them through legal means, unconnected with their devotion to religious myths and their monarchical fervors. From a very remote date they achieved the guarantee of their political liberties, by means of municipal laws, first, and territorial laws later. Whenever they believed them to be threatened, they knew how to organize themselves into brotherhoods and they pacted defensive unions, to increase their strength and to secure respect for their *fueros*. And in the hours of political chaos, in the periods of noble anarchy, far from contributing to its prolongation, they knew well that juridical order and internal peace could guarantee their interests, freedoms and exemptions and they threw their economic and political power on the side of the constituted legality. And this was not due to any devotion towards the monarchy, for they made royalty pay expensive price for their help and in Aragón as in Castile they tore from it the concession of legal precepts which gave them a part in the government of the kingdom.

A parallel between revolutionary movements within and without the Peninsular frontiers, throughout the centuries, accredits the enormous imbalance which separates the uprisings and conflicts occurring north and south of the Pyrenees The Spanish nation has not confused its rights with chaos hardly freed from the seduction of myth. If, at some time, it has started a fierce and bloody revolt, it has been when it was challenged and angered by its masters and lords and, with its Iberian passion lit, with that same passion it has fought illusioned by its old ideals.

Yet much more necessary than refuting the reality of the temperamental incapacities which are attributed to the Spaniards, I feel the urgency of rising against the possible projection which the dark determinism found in the pages of *Spain in Its History* might have on the thought and will of the directive minorities of the present and future life of the Spaniards, and of the life of the Latin Americans of today and tomorrow. It can lead to the decline of the personal responsibility on the part of those minorities. To justify that irresponsibility they might invoke the immutable nature of common destiny, as a result of the functional structure or the temperamental heritage of the Hispanic peoples.

The ideas regarding the interplay of forces in History suggested to me by my meditation of the history of Spain have been explained here. I cannot believe that the vital Spanish make-up was definitively forged in the remote days of primitive Spain; but I refuse to admit that it was coined in forms of firm permanence in the first centuries of our Reconquest. In the long pages of this work I have proved how the psycho-physical singularities of the leading men of Spanish life, in function of the fate of every day, have elected, at each moment, a special way, not always

rectilinear, from among those offered to the Hispanic historical community by its old functional structure. I have proved how that triple interplay of forces has made and remade Spanish history and affirmed or changed the vital make-up of the Peninsular peoples.

Our authentic history is not, as some believe, a gigantic error. We rendered an enormous service to the West during the Middle Ages; and to the entire world later, in the first period of Modernity. It was difficult, if it was not impossible, to fulfill that —providential?— mission without the double sacrifice of our historical plenitude and of our collaboration in the philosophic and scientific movement of rationalist Europe which jelled in the seventeenth-century. We may only lament it under the banner of the Sancho Panza ideal of life —and I make haste to beg the forgiveness of the quixotic Sancho Panza by underestimating the ethical lesson implied by the game of political empire and earthly well-being in favor of the fulfillment of a strict duty of conscience; or by placing the only purpose of human existence amid the creation of science and of technology, with unjust disdain towards the creations of the spirit and towards other human values. Nobody can predict the future. Yet no matter what routes it takes, our history will not be unworthy tomorrow of what the other nations of the West have written and done. It is doubtful that anyone can present a cleaner and more disinterested list of services.

While awaiting the arrival of that day, it is important to straighten our way. Shall we do so to change the very essence of our nation and to adopt the latest model of the fashion of the West, as the opposing factions did in Spain in the nineteenth-century, have continued to do in the twentieth and have the intention of continuing to do so? No! That ridiculous mimicry should be, as it has been up till now, inoperative. Yet we cannot continue holed up behind the Spanish frontiers either. The rocky castle of Hispania —the Peninsula is geographically a type of great natural fortress— is not inexpugnible. Furthermore it is at a crossroads of the winds which carry to it the tempests formed at the four cardinal points of the planet. Nevertheless it is useless —it has been so, it is and it will be so— to close ourselves behind our walls, while the river of history flows, grows, swells and advances towards the sea. Furthermore pure Hispanic tradition has always meant a vital dynamism and a pressing historical purpose; the periods of lethargic quietism have merely been the expression of exhaustion.

As I have said before, in one way or another, Europe will be a reality; it is already conceived in the matrix of History. Sooner or later we will form a part of Europe. Many Spanish traditionalists keep alive a hope of revenge and of victory against Western Modernity which, correctly, they consider exhausted. They believe that the central ideas of the project of Christian Modernity which Spain defended are going to end up triumphing. This is but a naive hope. Europe will be unitarily articulated. But the world born after the crisis —not long ago Ferrater Mora has termed it, hyperbolically, as geological— will have to arise, surpassing the periods

of human thought of yesterday: centered on God during the Middle Ages, on man during the modern epoch, and today on society. It is impossible to foretell the future, but it is doubtful that we can return to the past. And the frustrated Spanish project of post-Renaissance Christendom is beyond the last two ideals of the West. Yet it was, after all, —we must not disfigure its limits— the attempt to maintain intact a dead historical situation, too rooted in the values and categories of Medieval Europe, which could not last unless they had stopped the course of history. We lacked then —as is lacking today in many thousands of men nobly determined to defend the highest values and the highest categories intact up until now— enough imagination to break with the past, which, by being past, was called on to be renewed, and to think up an attractive project of collective existence capable of successfully confronting the revolutionary future —already past— which ended up triumphing. The pure Christian ideal of life can be the ideal of life of the men of tomorrow. In the conflict between the individual and the mass, during the crisis of the ancient world, Christianity achieved —as, apart from all religious inquietude, has pointed out Ferrater Mora— a situation in which the freedom of the person coincided with the freedom of the society and vice versa. If the Christians have the fantasy, the purity and the audacity they had long ago and if God helps them, this ideal may also offer a solution to the crisis of today. It is dangerous to play the prophet; it is not possible to know what will be written on the blank page of the history to come; but it is clear that neither our way of being in life during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, nor that of our enemies will be those of the still-nebulous world to come.

Yet that is no reason for us to reject all collaboration in the forging of the future. That would mean an authentic historic suicide, an unjustifiable repudiation of our own being, a complete and irrevocable abdication of our personality as a human collectivity. Our voice can only be heard and our contribution to the coining of the world of tomorrow can only be fertile if we are successful in the renovation of our functional structure without denaturalizing our singular historical condition. In order to not continue living marginated from the society of the future and to be able to fulfill our destiny in it, we must begin by directing it and by overcoming it. How? Fervently interested in the public life of my country, I have answered this question more than once and I will always contribute my opinion on the subject as long as I consider it necessary. However it would denaturalize the condition of this work and would make it lower in category if, by detouring from my clean and pure attempt, I now were to slide along the path of political disputes regarding the impassioned, though passing, present. It does not even seem licit to me to formulate here theories regarding the possible remedy of the ills of Spain. Sheltered by our historical tasks, the scholars of past situations cannot nor should not offer any curing panacea to the nations. I have never aspired to

offer it to Spain in these pages. Yet neither can we nor should we declare our faults to be incurable.

Whoever thinks and writes history when overwhelmed by the emotional weight of today and who does not know how to dominate that burden and projects it into his attempts to capture the past, is not a historian. The present and the past are connected within history in another way. History tries to probe and to comprehend the process which has led to the moment in which it is written; a process which projects its lights or its shadow on the present moment. I have attempted to overcome the weight of the burden of the present; which dominates me no more, yet no less, than anyone else. I do not wish to stop and compile the consequences that my interpretation of history casts over the present of Spain. I am only interested in pointing out one of them.

My interpretation of the history of Spain allows for the deduction of a less desperate perspective with regards to our future than the one suggested by *Spain in Its History.* The routes of our tomorrow are not inexorably traced by virtue of a rigidly deterministic vital composition towards the future. It is not possible to do away with our temperamental inheritance ,as though it did not exist and supposing it to be inoperative. Forgetting it or desdaining it would be mortal for Spaniards. Many of our worst falls of the more recent decades have been motivated by the disdain of many Peninsular peoples toward the limitation which the Hispanic functional structure imposes on our historical life. Yet the panorama is very broad and the ways multiple that each nation's vital make-up offers in its slow crawl through the centuries. We are not condemned by implacable laws of inheritance to continue the same path which we have covered until today. All nations have changed in the course of their history and will continue to change in the future. The temperamental inclinations of a historical community are not eternal. They can be overcome by the intelligent action of men, as long as the historical consciousness of the collectivity makes tense the springs of the national will. There is much of undeniable contingency in the permanence of the operative faults of nations.

If we have not dedicated ourselves, until today, with efficient constancy to the tasks of reason and if we did not pay the opportune and wise attention yesterday to the economic life and to public wealth, no incurable impediment can keep us tomorrow from carrying out tasks which yesterday we could not realize. It has been shown before that our failure in that, as in other different aspects of Hispanic life, did not depend on our temperamental impotency, but on the contigent circumstances which shaped the direction of our history; it was not the inescapable projection of our functional structure but the result of the implacable ring of fate, of the errors of some Spaniards which could have been avoided and of the unpredictable and incoercible action of the great and small historical

currents generated among our neighbours, which torrentially poured over our national life or changed their speed and blocked our path. Many pages of this book could be used as proof for this assertion. In the decisive moments of our past, our history could have been as it was not. The examination, at times vexatious, which I have realized of many of the subjects of our past, for others tangential to the great adventure of Hispanic life, has convinced me of it. I have become convinced of how much there was of contingent and fortuitous in the choice, by the directing minorities of our historical life, from among the paths offered them by our temperamental heritage, which they made Spain follow at each moment. That conviction forces me to believe that at the crossroads of tomorrow we will also be able to elect the path, within the range of the operative possibilities and impossibilities which history offers us. Thus I cannot doubt, and I wish to transmit my faith to all the Spaniards, that it is fruitful to correct the faults of our collective personality and to change the routes of our future.

I will not affirm that the change of direction will be easy. We have not been able nor will be able to defeat destiny in the forging of our future. No human collectivity has been able, nor is able to overcome it. Yet we may confront it cautiously to obtain, from the mysterious turns which it provokes in the lives of nations, the most favorable results for the community.

The history of all the human collectivities has always been done and continues to be done from within and from without, and it is not fruitful to capriciously direct the threats or the promises which from beyond the national soil await in ambush or are offered to each nation. What could the Goths or the Castilians do to prevent the formation south of the Straits of Gibraltar of the tempests which would end up repeatedly exploding over the Peninsula? Would the American Indians have been able to predict and prevent the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores? Did the jubilant reception of the torrent of precious metals which Spain let fall on the European nations and in part contributed to the birth of modern European capitalism depend on the nations of the West who received them at the beginning of Modernity?

We will have to count on the fact that we will navigate over a sea of many high waves: we have lived in ignorance of it for more than a century. Yet that living amidst the storms of history, at a crucial point of the routes of the West, can be a favorable factor for the changing of our functional structure.

The static forces of Spanish society have been reinforced many times throughout history; the how and why of this with regard to previous times in the forging of the present Spaniard have already been shown. Yet, if we consider our past with an attentive mind to the continual crossing of the vertical history of our nation with the horizontal history of the supra-national community of which it has formed a part, we can see that the

failure of many innovative attempts has been the result of unfortunate temporal coincidences and not the unavoidable consequence of our psychic inheritance; and that other times the change and the advance has been achieved, despite the permanence of the profiles of that inheritance, due to favorable historical conjunctures.

Let us review our recent history since the Enlightenment. Who will dare to deny the initial success of the Spanish reformers of the eighteenth-century, especially after reading Sarrailh? However before the fruits of their works could mature, our path was blocked by the French Revolution and Napoleon, and that unfolding of a great potential of national energies was cut off —together with all the psychic and emotional corollaries which the double shock produced on the Hispanic style of life, one can point out the zeal with which our allies, the English, carefully destroyed the factories the French had left standing. What differences separated the vital condition of the Spaniards of 1823 and of 1833? Nevertheless the liberals of the «three ill-omened years» were defeated because their movement coincided with the political zenith of the Holy Alliance, and triumphed a decade later because beyond our frontiers Louis Philippe and Palmerston governed. Has not the permanence of the restored constitutional monarchy been helped by its historical coincidence with the triumph of parliamentary government in the West; as has the failure of the Second Republic by its synchronism with the sharpest point of the Western economic crisis and with the birth of Nazism and of the Communist threat? The consequence of the favorable or adverse concurrence of our historical curve with those of the other nations of the West could be underlined in many other periods of our past. Those historical encounters, or lack of them, of the national collectivities —I repeat again that I do not give to the concept of nation its present narrowly restricted meaning— have not been, clearly, endured only by Spain. They have been shaping the history of all the nations and finally of universal history. Spaniards have suffered from it, nevertheless, with singular frequency, from the most distant past to just yesterday: due to the backwardness which our marginal situation in the *Finis Terrae* of the ancient and the medieval worlds has imposed on our historical rhythm and by the deathly concurrence, the most formidable shock which any nation of the West has had to suffer: the struggle of Christendom with Islam on the Peninsula.

The danger of new concurrences, and lack of them, always threatens us, as it threatens all nations —there lies England accrediting it in this century. But as they have not always been retarding in the past, they may be profitable to us in the future. Not even the history of the human groups with the slowest historical rhythm authorizes desperation with respect to the victory of the cristallizing forces of the old functional structure. This is so with the history of Spain, no matter what the repeated consolidations —explainable or explained— have been of no few traits of the vital make-up of the Peninsular peoples.

Previously I defended the limited but undeniable influence of the land on man throughout history and the collaboration of that influence in the minting of the life structure of the Spaniards. The soil and the sky of Spain have not changed. Some scholars fear that we are about to enter into an age of warmth which will make the Peninsula like the Sahara. But that process would be extremely slow. And for the first time, in the long milleniums of contact between man and the earth, the first of the two is beginning to triumph over the second and to be able to change the conditions of his ancestral habitat. The Spaniards will be able, with desire and know-how, to make of the Peninsula, if not an orchard, at least a less harsh and hostile country than what it has been for them up until now. It will be a country which will demand of them a smaller output of sterile energy, will leave them free to dedicate their activity to the chores of reason, will smooth their sharp edges and will facilitate the change of their old style of life.

All of these changes clearly require the victory of the Spaniard over some faults of his organic make-up. I do not wish to awaken optimism. Yet if we judge with a serene mind our temperamental heritage, we will find in it many potentially positive forces which can move great turbines in our future. Others, of negative effect up till now, if intelligently directed, can be utilized to the advantage of and not to the harm of the national collectivity. How can one look down on the promising possibility for the future of Spain and of Europe in these times of ours —which often seem to lead towards servility and towards the dehumanization of human life itself— of the personal self-dominion of the Spaniards, of their ethical emotion, of their instinctive juridical sense and of many of the other traits of their functional structure: their virile confrontation of death and of the essential problems posed by death, their exaltation of the integral value of the human person in the ocean of life, their devotion to the forces of the spirit, their never extinguished taste for risky adventures, their multiform and complementary variety...?

Among the many psychic and emotional faults of the Spaniards there is one which can be transformed into a positive force, I am referring especially to their excesses of passion. In the long run they are drive submitted to pressure. They have been fertile historic energy on occasions. They initiated the Reconquest and they saved the being and the essence itself of Hispania in many difficult moments of that long process. The Catholic Monarchs knew how to utilize them for the good of Spain. The West owes America to them, and America, Western civilization. Moreover a Europe defeated and tamed by Napoleon received, in its desperation, a magnificent lesson when the Spaniards, exploding out of their multisecular lethargy, thrust themselves *apasionadamente* into battle. Hispanic passion can be a creative or a destructive force, according to the cleverness or clumsiness of the leaders of the Hispanic destinies. Electricity kills or enlivens.

The hyper-individualism of the Spaniards can lead to anarchy or can be a creative impulse, if it is able to be transformed into individual emulation and into selective force and if what it possesses of confidence in one's own action and of the spirit of enterprise is distilled in it. It can always, furthermore, form a potential for resistance to the strangulation of the spiritual autonomy of man and to the consequential transformation of Spain and of Europe into tame droves of oxen.

The religious exaltation of the Peninsular peoples —in its both positive and negative dual aspect— has occasioned grave evils for Spain in the past. Besides its other-wordly function on the path towards the life «which is dwelling without pain», that exaltation, still alive in the great masses of Spaniards, can be tomorrow a magnificent force for the affirmation of human dignity and of human liberty itself. Against the tyrannic powers of European Modernity men only resisted in the defense of their own religious beliefs; that defense enabled the free flight of the individual will and of modern philosophy and science. Today our beliefs are not as firm as then, but, even so, how can one deny the reservoir of energies which the impassioned faith of the Hispanic people can oppose to the attempts, daily more threatening, to subject the autonomy of the person and to take possession of the autonomous projection of thought? Supporting, at times unsuspectingly, the ideas which Saint John of the Cross stated epigraphically: «One sole thought of man is worth more than the whole world; only God is worthy of it», those who attempt to set forth uniform directions of that human thought, who disdain it as the docile instrument of domination and procure the drowning of its creative freedom, have been confronted, and can also be so in the future. If that resort fails, the selfish defense of earthly interests will save human dignity and freedom. Those who, in the name of their faith and of their wealth, accustom nations to servile obedience are in error. They are preparing the path for their own future servile obedience to lords of a different sort. Even though Saint Paul wrote these words with another intention, they can be applied purposely to the political climate of today: *Ubi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas.*

The life flow of the Hispanic nature is very deep. It has been deepened and affirmed by the continual «*ritornello*» which I have spoken of many times. It would not be prudent to deny it nor to ignore the fact that it is necessary to count on our temperamental heritage or functional structure in the forging of the future of Spain. Keeping in mind the nature of our history, that change is possible. The directing minorities of national life will be in the future responsible before Spain —and before Europe, because, as I said before, Europe will be a reality and Spain will form a part of that Europe— and will be gravely responsible if we continue to navigate as though we were adrift. Those minorities will not be able to hide behind the dark historical determinism which has launched me into the difficult adventure of writing this book. They will not be able to unload the burden of their responsibility on these and the other characteristics of the Spanish

nation and of the Latin American nations, participants in a common heritage. It has not been the fault of these peoples if their men of thought or of government have rarely listened to the messages of history and have not known how to offer them attractive projects which would take them from their mean daily desires and provide them with ideas and ideals which would open paths towards a new style of life; if they have not been successful in smoothing or in channelling their passions; if they have not been able to exalt and take advantage of their collective qualities and those peculiar to their different regional zones and if both in the medieval centuries and in the modern ones, they have led them as false prophets or as cruel dominators, instead of rising before them as guides or as masters.

Since I understand that the responsibility in the forging of the future of my country and of the Latin American nations touches me also, I have written this book. It has been a risky and dangerous attempt to discover the historical enigma of Spain. It has been written in the hope that, attracted to the research and to the understanding of our history, the new generations of scholars from both sides of the Atlantic will go much further than I and offer new ideas for the vivification of the common national consciousness; thus they will fulfill the double and difficult feat of the historians: capture the past as the past was and collaborate from their field in the job of the forging of the future.

APPENDICES

I

I must make a few notes on the chapter «From Remote Primitive Spain to the Supposed Mudéjar Spain». Its conclusions are still valid. Recent research has confirmed them. Some of these advances have been incorporated into the text of this new edition: the ones which have helped explain and demonstrate the permanence of the temperamental legacy of the primitive Hispanic peoples; the ones which have shown the intensity reached by religious sensitivity in Gothic Spain; those which have accentuated the multiform heritage of pre-Muslim Spain in Muslim Spain, etc. I here must list some other results favorable to my theories and I must reject some of the new misrepresentations of Castro. Semprún Gurrea has discovered, in the marginal notes with which an anonymous French scholar annotated the French version of the Spanish Literature of Fitz-Maurice Kelly, precise ideas regarding the Hispanic nature of the literary works of some Roman writers of Hispania.

In vain some ill-intentioned essayists want to portray me as believing, along with the Learned King, that Hispano-Latin literature was Spanish and not Roman. I have never thought nor written such nonsense. I have limited myself to studying the projection of the vernacular in the literary and artistic creations of the Hispano-Romans. When doing so I have left open the problem of what of the Spanish nature of that period did Seneca add to his philosophical doctrine. García Barrón has studied the subject in depth and with care and has pointed out the differences which separate, in Stoic thought, the Stoicism of the Cordovan thinker, a function of his temperamental Hispanism; and also has pointed out the influence which Senecan philosophy held over later Stoic philosophy.

After the publication of my work *Tradición y derecho visigodos en León y Castilla* I do not believe that doubt can be cast on the importance of the Hispano-Gothic institutional heritage in the society which most influenced the forging of the modern Spanish nature.

In my study «Un eslabón moro en la cadena que va de Séneca a Unamuno» I have insisted on the temperamental Hispanism of Ibn Hazm. I trust I have made this clear and have underlined some of the other aspects of that link between the pre-Muslim and the modern Spaniard through the Hispano-Muslim.

I have had the satisfaction of seeing how such an excellent scholar of Islamite Spain as Torres Balbás has contributed new proofs to some of the theories which I defended in the chapter I am annotating here. When studying the *Almusaras* of Al-Andalus —the name of the places where equestrian exercises were carried out in the outlying areas of the Moorish Spanish cities— he has pointed out that the Arabic word designating it «was unknown in the Islamic Orient». This ignorance is a new proof of the contrasts which separated the Muslim-Hispano from the Oriental Muslim. The great master, always inclined to noting the pacific relations between Peninsular Muslims and Christians, has also written, regarding the *Almusaras*: «The military equestrian games and exercises were obliged for the training of an important part of the population which, apart from civil battles, *took on almost every year during the good weather expeditions against the Christians and had to defend their territory from the warrior raids of those same Christians*». The words underlined by me imply the confirmation of my thesis regarding the permanence of the struggle between Moors and Christians and regarding the importance of the antibiosis between the two worlds, Oriental and Occidental, in Spain, in the forging of the Hispanic nature.

Now I would like to refute the new lucubrations of Castro. A Spanish Semitic scholar as erudite as Millás y Vallicrosa registers in this way the essential defects of the pages dedicated to him in *Spain in Its History*: «hypercritical, audacious, premature and weaklybased syntheses and gratuitous affirmations» (*Bol. Ac. de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* XXVII, 1958, p. 427). When confronting my conclusions regarding the transit from primitive Spain to Christian medieval Spain, just as in his attempt to combat this very book, faced with the impossibility of destroying my exposition, Castro has not only fallen into the sins attributed him by Millás, he has also incurred in scientific dishonesty. I will deal with this sad situation of Castro when it is opportune. Here I will only point out his misrepresentations.

He has not dared to contradict my pages on primitive Spain and on Roman Spain and seems to have given up the defense of the non-Spanishness of the Visigoths. He has concentrated his effort on proving the integral Orientalization of Islamic Spain. I understand his position. Yet, since Al-Ándalus did not become Orientalized soon or completely all his construction come crashing down. Thus one can explain why he has paid no heed to the elemental scientific exigencies of historians.

He leaves aside all the passages of Asín, Gómez-Moreno, Leví-Provençal, García Gómez, Torres Balbás... which show the pre-Muslim

roots of the Hispano-Muslim character and which affirm the differences between the Hispano-Islamic and the Oriental-Islamic. He attempts to belittle the demographic reality of Moorish Spain: several million Spaniards, several thousand Berbers attached to the Iberos and not Orientalized —remember the number of lineages of Arabic origin collected by Terés when commenting on the Yamhara of Ibn Hazm. Finally he uselessly tries to hide the fact that, due to that undeniable reality, the Hispano-Muslim people had to be a human community of Spanish vital and temperamental reactions even though their religion and culture were Islamic.

In his anguished struggle to salvage from shipwreck his absurd theories, Castro dares to deny the importance of the facts which accredit that differentiation. The bilingualism of the Hispano-Muslims which shows the permanence of the most basic of a nation, its language, does not mean anything for him. The romance *jarchas* used by the Muslims to annotate their verses mean nothing for him either, as if the popular chants of a historical community did not mean the survival of its vital intimacy. And just like these two negations, the same can be said about the allegations he invents to defend the indefensible: the change, as if by magic, into pure Orientals of the eight million inhabitants of Al-Andalus with a millenary temperamental heritage behind them.

He goes so far as to consider decisive, in support of his thesis regarding the rupture with that temperamental heritage and regarding that integral Orientalization, the fact that the Hispano-Islamite intellectuals did not know of Seneca and the other Hispano-Roman and Hispano-Gothic writers. He is unaware that this ignorance was not total: in the tenth-century Rasis consulted Saint Isidore, and translated Orosio in Córdoba. He also forgets that one cannot confuse cultural manifestations with vital reactions, nor minority attitudes with majority ones. Ibn Hazm could have not known of Seneca and have still been temperamentally near him much more than a Muslim from Afghanistan or from India.

The cultured minorities could have been Orientalized —though it did not happen— and have continued being —and even more so the masses— vitally faithful to the Hispanic pre-Muslim tradition. Unamuno and Ortega were super-Europeanized culturally speaking, but they were two specimens of the most pure Spanish temperament. Does not the same occurr to Castro and to myself? Some commentators have pointed out, and not precisely in our praise, that reality. Yet even in the case of that great pair of masters and the epigone formed by Castro and myself and, with the four of us, any other Spanish thinkers and writers, if we were true spiritual and vital Westerners —though we are not—, could not anyone deduce from our Europeanization, the Hispanic temperamental heritage of ourselves and of millions of our fellow countrymen? When Castro alleges the ignorance of Seneca by the Muslim Spanish writers as proof of the rupture of Moorish Spain with Hispanic pre-Muslim tradition he also forgets that

it has not even been suspected that modern Spanish writers and artists, whom he arbitrarily presents immersed in an ocean of Semitic spiritual traditions, ever knew of the Muslim writers of Al-Ándalus.

If new research has confirmed my theories regarding the transit from the Hispano-primitive to the Christian Hispano-medieval, the misrepresentations of Castro have been useless against their firm scholarly backing. Until now, no scholar has dared to accept the break defended by him between pre-Muslim Spain and medieval Spain. Maravall has even written: «Castro makes the module of that 'Spanish being' arise miraculously at a determined date, approximately the tenth-century, thanks to the sole action —he decrees the rest not to exist— of the Judeo-Islamic influence». Further on he adds, when referring to that thesis of Castro: «There is no reason to compare the invasion of the Arabs —as today the Islamophiles of our history want to believe— to that kind of cataclysm, which according to the theologians still adverse to any idea of evolution, must have swept from the planet any trace of man. Rather we must think that all that went before had to be conserved in some fashion after the Saracen invasion».

II

There are many monographs dedicated to the history of Spanish literature during the years which have passed since the writing of the chapters of this work I dedicated to the projections of Spanish vitality in Spanish literature and of literature in vitality which are important for the knowledge of the forging of the Hispanic nature. Yet most of their authors have been interested in different problems from those which occupied me and continue to occupy me —most of them concentrating on the peculiar problems of their special field— and thus their works have hardly touched on the subjects analyzed by me. When someone has done it, he has normally not been far from my points of view or has accepted them entirely: for example, Auburn when talking of the Castilian epic poem. The only ones who have contradicted me are those who were offended by my conclusions.

Of all of the literary problems treated by erudition and criticism I am most concerned with listing here some of the advances concerning the personality of the Arcipreste and the social interpretation of the Celestina. Along with valueless studies for the unearthing of the enigma of Spain some have appeared whose conclusions, if they were correct, would seem to favor the thesis of Castro regarding the forging of the Hispanic nature due to the supposed Christian-Semitic symbiosis. I am referring to the very erudite and sharp María Rosa Lida de Malkiel: *Nuevas notas para la interpretación del «Libro de Buen Amor»*. She coincides with me when denying the connection, defended by Castro, between *The Dove's Ring* of

Ibn Hazm and the work of the Arcipreste; and in a very scholarly manner she undoes some of the literary arguments which Castro used to back the supposed *Mudéjar* tendencies of Juan Ruiz. Yet her logical devotion to the Hebraic tradition has led her to tie the *Buen Amor* with some Hispano-Hebrew *maqamat*, especially with *El libro de delicias* of the Barcelona doctor of the twelfth-century, Josef ben Meir. Unhappily, for I truly esteem and admire the talent and knowledge of María Rosa Lida, I have opposed that thesis and I believe to have invalidated it in my «Originalidad creadora del Arcipreste». Mrs. Malkiel does not believe that Juan Ruiz knew of the work of Ben Meir and I hope to have proven that there is no possible connection, not even from mouth to mouth, between a book in which amorous adventures are not narrated and in which the story is annotated with disquisitions regarding medical subjects and the work on love of the Arcipreste.

Mrs. Malkiel has well characterized the Arcipreste as an exuberant irrepressible personality, always present in his work, fruitfully occupying the front line to reveal his useful experience. And she admits that the explosive temperament of Juan Ruiz could have carried him to adopting the peculiar autobiographic style of the Hispano-Hebraic *maqamat*. I have written that an author can accept and transform stories, fables and histories... reaching him via oral tradition. Yet I believe it will be very difficult for María Rosa Lida to give examples of great medieval poets, with a vigorous personality, who due to mere news of works of a very distinct nature from the one they planned to write and with a very different thematic than the one which attracted their poetic impetus, have adopted the concrete forms of creation used in those distant works. I have attempted to show how the personality of the Arcipreste, a function of the autobiographical traditions of the Western clergy and of Castilian literature, —shown by María Rosa Lida— could reach, along the paths I have pointed out in this work and which I have broadened in the study I am summarizing here, the *autobiographical form* —underlined to avoid confusion— shown in the *Buen Amor*, without imitating Arabic or Hebraic models.

Mrs. Malkiel has also defended in her *Nuevas Notas* the didactic character of the *Buen Amor*. That defense forces me to insist on the evidence I allege in the subchapter «Vital Joy and Moralizing Restraints» as a demonstration of the poetic game which the roguish and mocking Arcipreste made no intention of hiding. The evidences he offers us of this attitude are, more than efficient, overwhelming.

Without confessing her coincidence with my thesis, María Rosa Lida has accepted the bourgeois nature of the Arcipreste which I originally proposed. Clearly I have coincided with her and against Menéndez Pidal when considering Juan Ruiz as a man of robust faith. Only that faith and his conscious and subconscious fears of the later rendering of accounts and of the human harm which his literary lechery could bring upon him, can explain his double game and the ultimate meaning of the *Buen Amor*.

I am still awaiting for some less imaginative and impassioned scholar than Castro to investigate the possible minimal influence which the Hispano-Arabic cultural tradition could have exercised on Juan Ruiz: For, against what some ill-intentioned critic has attributed to me, it has not even occurred to me to deny the logical influence of the Islamic nature and the Hebraic nature on Hispanic letters and life, though I do not consider it decisive in the forging of the authentic Spanish nature and I continue to believe that this has been the result of the multisecular antibiosis of the Christians, the Muslims and the Hebrews, which affirmed many of the characteristics of the primitive Spaniards and created a singular vital make-up.

Another aspect which I should note is that of the erroneous interpretation of the *Celestina* as a result of the errors and fantasies of Américo Castro concerning the *conversos*. Carried away by both errors and fantasies, some scholars have launched the idea that the class of the «*Tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea*» is based on the fact that the first, an old Christian and knight, could not marry his lover, the daughter of rich Jewish *conversos*. Emilio Orozco, García Pallardó and Serrano Plaja have wasted their genius —the second of them in a whole book— to prove theories of the racial problem which, misled by the author of *Spain in Its History Christians, Moors and Jews*, they believe to have seen in the *Celestina*. That is how far the uncontrolled imagination of an essayist-turned-historian can lead. Spanish scholars like Francisco Maldonado, Jerónimo Mallo, Miguel Herrero, Carmen Bravo... have opposed that aberration; so have English Hispanists like Wilson, May, Deyermand; and the great French historian Bataillon in his recent book *La Célestine selon Fernando de Rojas*, Paris 1961.

Without citing Castro, whose intemperance he knows and whose friendship he wants to save, Bataillon undoes, nevertheless, his affirmations regarding the supposed Semitism of the lamentation of Pleberio after the death of his daughter. And in the chapter which he entitles «Melibea et sa noble famille» he annuls the allegations of those who have defended the theory of the impossible connection of the two lovers along their opposing lineages. Of the new interpretation of the *Tragicomedia* he says that it is: «*Le signe bien clair que l'art de* La Célestine *est devenu aussi hermétique pour beaucoup de nos contemporains qu'une langue dont on ignorait l'alphabet*».

Regarding the arguments of those who see an old Christian in Calixto and consider Melibea to be a new Christian he says, after refuting them: «*Solutions étranges... Comme elles disloquent la construction sous pretexte de le rendre plus cohérente! On pourrait dire que l'explication raciale d'une originalité de* La Célestine *se range... parmi les explications pseudo-scientifiques*». He explains the work as the product of the authors' intent which does not imply any racial problem. He correctly explains that when

the *Celestina* was written and retouched: «*Les plus nobles familles s'alliaient encore allègrement à des familles des juifs convertis et... ces dernières en profitaient de leurs mieux pour satisfaire leur grande ambition (qui fut sûrement celle de Rojas et des siens), se fondre dans la société des 'hidalgos'*». He believes that Rojas made Melibea «*une noble et non pas seulement une riche héritière*» and reminds us that Rojas supposed Melibea to be of «high and serene blood» and presents Calixto as being intimidated before her for «the nobility and antiquity of her lineage».

«*On se fait d'étranges idées sur les cristianos nuevos!*» writes Bataillon. Indeed, because of Castro, their whole history has been falsified. Daily new evidence arises against those strange ideas which led him, for example, to attribute the tragic sense of life of the Spaniards of the baroque age to the anguish of the pursued *conversos*. We know that while Philip II was still reigning they occupied posts in the court and were at times ennobled by him. I am referring to the cosmographers and cartographers of Hebrew origin of the Academy of the Alcázar, who worked near him, under his protection.

III

In recent years there has been little progress in the research regarding the Jewish problem in the history of Spain. Salazar has still not published the proofs of the Hebrew origin of Luis Vives. Furthermore still to be proved is the accusation put forth by Fray Domingo Valtanás who, when stigmatizing many conspicuous personages for their Jewish lineage, included Francisco de Vitoria among them. We have only received important information from Torres Fontes and from Bataillon. This last scholar has accredited the Jewish stock of Dr. Laguna and alleged the suspicion that don Rodrigo Calderón had some Jewish grandparent. Torres Fontes has studied the situation of the Moors, Jews and *conversos* during the regency of don Ferdinand of Antequera. He maintains that the brutal anti-Hebraic Ordinance dictated by the queen doña Catalina in 1411 was inspired by a Statute of Murcia, itself the fruit of the preaching of Saint Vicente Ferrer. He also believes that the intervention of Saint Vicente with the regent was more decisive for the publication of the cruel decree than that of don Pablo de Santa María, although he does not deny the enmity for the Jews of the family of the previous rabbi of Burgos and of other families of *conversos*, adding diverse testimonies of this fact.

We also owe him the proof of how in Murcia at the beginnings of the fifteenth-century, at a time when all of the fiscal income was in the hands of Hebrews, there were only 53 Jewish artisans, mostly tailors and jewellers.

I have been accused of complacency when criticizing the Spanish Hebrews. Truly by only exploiting exhaustively the immense mine of

documents published by the illustrious Jewish historian Baer I would have been able to add much more evidence on the asphyxiating nature of Judaic usury; on the abuses of the Hebrew publicans; on the dedication of no few Jews to espionage; on the pride, the wealth and the intolerance of the Hebrews; on the plague of backbiting and informing in the *aljamas*; on the double-dealing, the daring and the mockery of Christianity of some very prominent *conversos*... I could allege them right now. Yet I have limited myself to listing the necessary testimonies to focus the causes of the struggle between Spanish Christians and Jews without going overboard in darkening Judaic history and I do not wish to do here what I avoided doing before. Thus I do not want to reply either to the personal attacks which some Jews have made against me due to the pages I dedicated to the study of the Hebraic problem in the history of my country. I only wish to leave my intention clear and precise.

Those who know me are aware of my inclination to understanding the faults of others, they know how far I am from feeling phobias of any type and especially anti-Semitic ones, they have seen me participate in the pain of the persecuted Jews and they see my cordial friendship with several of them. And those who have impartially read my work will not be able to deduce from my book any bastard enmity against the Spanish Hebrews. Nevertheless I have not been surprised by the irritation of some Jews and of some Judaizers. The cruel persecutions suffered by the Israeli nation for two thousand years has brought about in it an overly sharp sensitivity towards any adverse judgement of its past. It is time that the Hebrews confront those criticisms with the serenity which other nations show when receiving such criticism. No nation has been made up of angels. And no impartial observer will be able to deny that the Hispanic Jews were both victims and victimizers of the Spanish Christians. Far from darkening the history of the Peninsular Hebrews I have left aside many documentally accredited aspects of that history which stain and blacken it. Their mention was not necessary for my attempt to study the forging of the Hispanic nature and I left them out. Only when pressed by the need to defend my historical construction will I overcome the repugnance which their mention causes me.

I do not intend to reply either to the criticisms which the Hebrewphilia of a certain writer deserves. I have not hushed up the weaknesses of the Spaniards and have had no reason to sweep under the carpet those of the Hispanic Jews which affected the coining of the modern Spanish nature. I am not upset by his attacks because they came from one who, without knowing Spanish history, has dared to pontificate on it. Furthermore the beatific devotion to things Hebraic is in fashion.

This fashion is doing great harm for the knowledge of the Spanish past and even for the history of the Spanish Jews. People as admired by me as Madariaga and Marañón have succumbed to it. Madariaga, who made his the thesis of Columbus' being Jewish, has just ventured the

suspicion of the Semitism of Cervantes! There are not sufficient reasons to believe Columbus to be of Judaic origin. Many Christians were greedy and mystical and the hunger for riches had saturated Castile with Genoese. The Catholic Monarchs had many *conversos* among their entourage; thus the future discoverer of America did not need to make a secret of his Semitic origin to obtain the favor of the queen. And it is doubtful that, when the social climate changed with the *marranos*, in the polemic and the legal controversies which arose regarding the great navigator, there would have appeared no allusion at all to any Hebraic stock of his, if there had existed even the suspicion of it.

The desire to discover the supposed secret of Columbus —too much erudite effort and too much ink have been wasted in trying to dig it up— and that of affirming his theoretical Jewish stock have carried to the misrepresentation of a declaration attributed to Count Borromeo and dated in 1494. It was presented as having been found on an old sheet of paper mysteriously conserved to this day among the papers of an old Italian book. In it the mentioned magnate manifests having found out from Pedro Mártir de Anglería that Columbus had hidden his real personality. For political and religious reasons and to gain the confidence of the Catholic King, Juan Colon of Mallorca passed as Cristóbal Colombo of Liguria. And so that this fact may not be lost to history he writes it down. Moreover knowing that a Cristóbal Colombo Canajola, son of Domingo Colombo and of Susana Fontanarossa, lived in Genoa, he desires that he not be confused with the navigator of the West Indies.

I am surprised that the exegetes of the mysterious text regarding the supposed secret of Columbus have not been startled by the ingenuousness, by the love of history and by the erudition accredited by Count Borromeo, for having been the author of the page whose inventors —remember that the Latin verb *invenire* means both to find and to invent— have signed with his name; a document which has been sold to a rich American!

What ingenuousness showed by Count Borromeo to suppose, in 1494!, that a secret known by Pedro Mártir de Anglería, still alive, and known by many others in Spain, was to remain hidden forever so that, hardly a year aftter the discovery of America, he felt it necessary to commit it to writing in order to save it from oblivion!

What devotion shown to history by the Italian aristocrat, since in his pure and disinterested service to history he makes the sensational declaration! And what gratitude shown by Clío when saving the document of Borromeo from all possible risks which a piece of paper can experience in four hundred and fifty years until placing it in trustworthy hands in these days of the twentieth-century!

And what information possessed by our supposed friend of Pedro Mártir de Anglería since he not only knew, from Bergamo, the existence in Genoa of a poor devil with an identical name to the one used by the discoverer

of America, but also the Christian name and surname of his mother, as we have found out today thanks to the efforts of modern erudition!

Furthermore I am also surprised that the commentators of the supposed declaration of Count Borromeo have not been startled that only now, fortified by Madariaga, with his historical credit, the hypothesis of the Israeli ancestry of Christopher Columbus, has the mysterious and forgotten page been published; nor that the discoverer of America, to hide his personality, had adopted the name of a man documented in Genoa as a navigator and had the same brothers who accompanied him to Spain; nor that none of the Genoese residing in the Peninsula who dealt with Columbus discovered his lie and his adoption of a foreign name and country.

May the exegetes of the mysterious declaration pardon me if I am inclined to consider it somewhat touched up, faced with the series of unexplainable happenstances listed above and faced with the ingenuousness, the love of history and the excellent information displayed by the author of that page, so rare in an Italian magnate, the supposed confidant of Pedro Mártir. Will they pardon me if, aware of the vacillations in the use of names by the people of the epoch, I do not give any value to his identification of Christopher Columbus with one Juan Colom, of Mallorca, Navarrese!, *Jew* and *pirate* —what a strange combination!— and consider it to be mistaken?

Since I know the dangers of superficial hypotheses, I ask scholars to put a limit on their fantasy. Even today I read that they have gone so far as to consider Jewish all the women who had any relation whatsoever with the Admiral, from his mother-in-law to his lover!

Madariaga has alleged many passages of Cervantes in which he concentrates on his mockery of values generally esteemed and of ideas generally admitted by the Spaniards of his epoch. From them —and from others which have escaped him— one can deduce the singularity of the author of the *Quijote* from among his fellow countrymen. I am sure that he was ahead of his time. There is in him an almost modern conception of life; a clear devotion towards what he already called «freedom of conscience». His sensitivity toward the pain of others also made him feel that of all who suffered bitterness and sadness, and his genial irony inclined him to see the absurdity and ridiculousness of the conceptions which had entered into crisis in the new world. But he did not only feel sympathy with the persecuted for their creed or their race; nor did he only mock clumsy religious practices, beliefs which touched on superstition and the Church in general; nor did he only disdain social values like that of purity of blood which the old Christians showed off. He felt sympathy for all pain, he was irritated by all injusticies and his jokes and ironies took in all of the society he lived in, just like those which the Arcipreste knew how to see, centuries before, with a bourgeois smile.

To attribute the singular attitude of Cervantes vis-a-vis the Spain he was born in, lived in and died in to a hypothetical Jewish ancestry is like conjecturing that only the Hispanic Hebrews could think and write like Cervantes, thus making racial qualities out of those that only a superior man could possess. Furthermore a *marrano* would not have dared to make the criticisms which Madariaga points out in diverse works of Cervantes. In the days Cervantes wrote, the *conversos* dared not venture down such dangerous paths —let us remember the attack against the Inquisition in «Los alcaldes de Daganzo»— and normally hid with great zeal their ancestry and their ideas. Only a man who, sure of his stock, felt beyond any suspicions could have mocked society as Cervantes did. If I were to dare to affix temperamental qualities and faults as pertaining to this or that social group in Spain between 1547 and 1615, I might confront the supposed Jewish ancestry of Cervantes with his valor at Lepanto and his audacity in Algiers; and I might even suspect that a *converso* would not have appeared without a cape in *Parnaso*, just as Cervantes himself did before Apollo, as Madariaga himself has pointed out.

No! The family, life and ideas of Cervantes do not in any way justify his Jewish origin. Would not his emulators have ceased to refer to him; those who were so quick to stigmatize as *marranos* those who stood in their path? Remember the accusation of Lope against Góngora. Due to the deserved authority enjoyed by Madariaga and due to the credit I always give him, I must beg him to be extremely careful in his racial observations regarding past Spaniards.

Marañón has justifiably confronted those who, with no motive whatsoever, have made El Greco out to be Jewish. His proof is conclusive; yet he neglects to point out that El Greco would have been either crazy or a hero to have come from Italy and placed his head into the lion's mouth of the Inquisition if he had truly been Hebrew. Later Marañón allows himself to be won over by the Hebrewphilia in fashion at the moment, when he affirms that the paintings of El Greco did not please Philip II because they could only inspire devotion among the new Christians of Judaic origin. In that case the *conversos* would have formed the vast majority of the population of New Castile, judging by the enormous number of orders which El Greco received from religious and private institutions. There is nothing that guarantees that they were as numerous as Marañón believes, even in Toledo. The great polygraph has not proved his conjecture. Carried along by his faith in it he has gone so far as to believe that the models of El Greco's feminine figures, with turned-up noses and with asthenic and thin bodies, were of Jewish origin. Neither of those two physiological details characterize the archetype of the Semitic woman.

I have not enjoyed contradicting two very special friends, but I believe it my duty to go against the present proclivity of scholars to see as Jews all the Spaniards who have enlightened our history and to become irritated

whenever the failings of the authentic Hispanic Hebrews are mentioned. The magnificent Judaic contribution to European culture does not need such extreme partiality and suffers more than gains from it.

IV

After having written chapter XV, «Failure of the Promissory Expansion of the Castilian Bourgeoisie in the Sixteenth-Century», other books and articles of great importance regarding different aspects of the question have come out. The most important are the works of: Henri Lapeyre: *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz. Contributions à l'étude du commerce entre la France et l'Espagne au temps de Philippe II* (1955); Huguette and Pierre Chaunu: *Seville et l'Atlantique 1504-1650*, VIII v. (1955-1959); Herman Kellenbenz: *Unternehmerkräfte in Hamburger, Portugal und Spanienhändel*, 1590-1625 (1954); Capello y Matilla: *Los cinco gremios mayores de Madrid* (1957) and Vicens Vives: *Historia económica de España* (1959).

To these should be added numerous monographic studies: Huguette and Pierre Chaunu: *A la recherche des fluctuations cycliques dans l'économie des XVI et XVII siècles. Crise de tonnage. Crise de prêt. Eventail de l'hist, vivante II* (1953); Kellenbenz: «Spanien, die nördlichen Niederlande und der Skandinavisch-baltische Raum in der Weltwirtschaft und Politik um 1600». *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XLI (1954); Alcalá Henke: *La villa imperial de Potosí* (1954); M. Bargallo: *La minería y la metalurgia en la América española durante la época colonial* (1955); Cipolla: «La prétendue Revolution des prix». Réflexions sur l'expérience italienne». *Annales*, 1955; Lapeyre: «*Le commerce des laines en Espagne sous Philippe II*». *Bull. de la Société d'histoire moderne* LIV (1955); Pérez de Tudela: *Las armadas de Indias y los orígenes de la política de colonización 1492-1505* (1956); Lapeyre: «La banque, les échanges et le crédit au XVI siècle», *Rev. D'hist. mod. et contemp.* III (1956); Garrade: «La industria sedera granadina en el siglo XVI». *Miscelánea est. árabes y hebraicos Univ. Granada* (1956); Bennassar: «Facteurs sevillans au XVIe siècle d'après des lettres marchandes». *Annales* XI (1956). Gentil da Silva: *Stratégie des affaires à Lisbone entre 1595 et 1607. Lettres marchandes des Rodrigues de Evora et Veiga* (1956); Pierre Vilar: «Le temps de Quichotte», *Europe* XXXIV (1956); Lapeyre and Carande: *Relaciones comerciales en el Mediterráneo durante el siglo XVI* (1957); Fernández Alvarez: «El memorial de Luis de Ortiz». *Anales de Economía* (1957); Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz: «La primacía económica de España a fines del siglo XVI y su proyección europea». *Rev. del Centro de Est. Fac. Ciencias Jurídicas*, Rosario (1957) and «Un testigo del comercio indiano, Tomás de Mercado y Nueva España». *Rev. de Historia de América*, 47 (1959); Manuel Basas Fernández: *Los libros*

mercantiles de la Compañía de García y Miguel de Salamanca (Burgos, siglo XVI); *Los Miranda mercaderes*; *El mercader y regidor Diego de Curiel*; «Mercaderes y corsarios en el siglo XVI», *Bol. Ins. Fernán González* (1960); *El mercader burgalés Gómez de Quintanadueñas*, Burgos (1961) and «Burgos en el comercio lanero del siglo XVI», *Moneda y Crédito* (1951).

The number and the importance of the monographic studies dedicated in recent years to the history of the Spanish economy of the sixteenth-century —I have left out some and others have probably escaped me— and the persistence of these investigations —Alvaro Castro is researching the Finances of Philip II— accredit the singular attention enjoyed today by economic phenomena.

The new and important studies realized by these authors, however, do not force me to make decisive rectifications of the chapter we are here speaking of. I did not propose to give the history of the Spanish economy, but to inquire as to the consequences of our economic life in the forging of the temperamental make-up of the modern *homo hispanicus*, of the modern Spanish nature and of modern Spain. Today we know much better than before many economic problems of the Spain of the Catolic Kings, of Charles V and of Philip II. Yet the advances reached by scholarly research of those problems in recent years, far from altering the lines of my theoretical construction, have confirmed it.

I have always opposed, and will continue to do so, any superficial fashion which desires to explain the past of nations by the course of their economy and to even bestow on the evolutions of conjuncture or the cyclic fluctuations of economic life the predominant function in the history of societies and of epochs. I have said and I repeat that the reality of history is the fruit of the most complex intermingling of a series of very diverse factors. Who can deny it especially when faced with the reality of today, unless they are blindfold? It is not licit to doubt that the same thing occurred in the Spain of the sixteenth-century. The economic crises and the fluctuations of conjuncture doubtless influenced the political and spiritual life of the Spaniards. Yet frequently those crises and those fluctuations are also explained by spiritual and political causes, a function of unavoidable contingencies, suscitated by phenomena of nature —plagues, famine— or as the projection of the psyche or the temperament of the leaders of nations. Those who accuse us, who are not seduced by the most recent fashions in historiography, of being unaware of the European historical methodology, are forced in the long run to place the initial dates of the economic crisis and the changes of conjuncture of sixteenth-century Spain, at dates in which decisive political events occurred or at which these events affected economic life. The most orthodox of the new school cannot deny the connections which exist between the collapse of the Castilian economy in the last third of the sixteenth-century and military

and political events: the struggle in the Low Countries, the first cold and later bloody war with England and the intervention of Castile in the religious struggles in France; events partly provoked, partly magnified, thanks to the errors of Philip II. They recognize that those struggles, by leading the State into bankruptcy, determined the rupture of the commercial axis, Medina del Campo —Antwerp, the economic decline of Castile and the ruin of the Castilian cities. And those same historians have pointed out the importance for the renaissance of the Catalonian economy of the forging of a new Mediterranean axis which went from Barcelona to Genoa, a natural result of the new political orientation of Spain upon the interruption of the secular traffic which united the Cantabrian coasts and Atlantic Europe.

Will I be pardoned if I am skeptical concerning the consequences which some economic historians dare to formulate regarding Spanish economic prosperity during the period being studied, basing themselves on the statistics of the rise in prices and the increase of exportations to the Indies? Does the increase in the cost of living, necessarily imply a proof of the growth of the national economy? Does the increasing number of tons of products sent to America prove it, since yearly the amount of foreign merchandise exported grew? Vicens Vives, himself inclined toward the acceptance of such ideas, since he clearly sees that the bankruptcy of 1575 and the rupture of the economic axis, Castile-Flanders, initiated the economic decline of Castile, writes: «Under the apparent prosperity indicated by the charts of price and merchandise, at the base of the Spanish economic structure of the epoch of Philip II exist very pessimistic signs for the near future». I have dared to be more logical and to state with surety that the indications that could be seen at the end of the sixteenth-century were not pessimistic signs but sad realities: the realities of an economic crisis. The Castilian financier Simón Ruiz clearly saw the crisis —his words are present in this text— and Vicens Vives himself, referring to the aforementioned bankruptcy and to the increase of the *alcabala* from 1.2 % to 10 %, has written: «Both measures meant the collapse of financial and economic activities». Of the bankruptcy, the first of the two, he says that it marks «a decisive milestone in the economic prostration of Spain». I cannot doubt between those exact judgements and the optimistic words he deduces from the increase in prices and salaries and from the increase in trade with the Indies: «During the reign of Philip II, that is, during the second half of the sixteenth-century, the wave of prosperity continues to develop».

How can one reconcile the supposed «wave of prosperity» with the frequent bankruptcies of bankers and businessmen in Andalusia and Castile, which current research is bringing out and which Vicens Vives is not unaware of, and also with the ruin recorded by him of Medina (1575) and of Burgos (1585), both nodal centers of the Castilian economy?

Prosperity in industrial life? One can doubt it when faced with the triumphant competition of foreign industry in the American commerce and even in internal trade, a competition and triumph which, according to Vicens Vives, are concretized in the second half of the sixteenth-century. It is doubtful that when, for example, wheat tripled in value in three years, and the workers of the cities could hardly feed themselves —according to Vicens Vives the tradesmen of Barcelona fed themselves with a piece of bread, a herring and a clove of garlic—, that they would feel they were living prosperous days. Vicens Vives records the decline in the number of heads of livestock of the Mesta from 1558 on —one year after the first bankruptcy. He writes: «In contrast with the first period of clear growth, the second phase of Spanish agriculture in the fifteen hundreds is one of clear decadence». He believes that this was produced «due to the effect of the repercussion of the general increase in prices on agriculture products». Moreover the following are his words: «A survey realized at the end of the sixteenth-century allows us to suppose that a third of the farmed land had ceased being cultivated».

Prosperity? For whom? It was not even so for the nobles as Vicens Vives has supposed; for they could not always increase their rents at the same rate as the rise in the cost of living. Otherwise they would not have gone begging to the kings for favors and positions. Due to all of this I cannot alter my pessimistic pages regarding the economic life of Spain during the reign of Philip II, despite the indices which record the continual increase of prices and salaries and of the volume of traffic with the Indies.

The collapse of the Spanish economy during the last decades of the sixteenth-century was so grave and the crisis of the bourgeoisie at the time so sharp that, dating from 1600, we have the *Memorial de la política necesaria y útil restauración de la República de España,* in which Cellorigo records his hope that, with the new king, the country might recuperate the level of well-being it once had. Here he wrote his celebrated: «It looks as though they had wanted to reduce these kingdoms to a republic of enchanted men».

Furthermore Vicens Vives has also adhered without vacillations to my thesis regarding the failure of the Hispanic bourgeoisie in the sixteenth-century. He states: «The rise of the Spanish bourgeoise during the fifteen hundreds is like a meteor, which was lost sight of in the second half of the century».

Only that meteoric rate —I used the metaphor of a short circuit— and the ruin of our economy in the second half of the sixteenth-century can explain the abyss into which it fell in the first decades of the seventeenth-century; a fall so well characterized by Pierre Vilar and Vicens Vives.

Neither of these two, nor any other scholar of our economic history, has attributed the process of that history to the clumsy incapacity with which Américo Castro has gratuitously attributed to the Spanish Christians

for the tasks of reason, clearly pushed on by his ignorance of the political and economic past of Spain and by his haughty dogmatism. The only one who understood nothing of financial and economic problems was Philip II. Gentil da Silva has just published this statement of the Prudent King: «This stuff of exchanges and interests have never really entered my head and I can never quite understand it». Anyway, even if he had not been this way the crisis would have still occurred and not due to the Spanish vital make-up but as a projection of an intermingled series of very complicated causes and contingencies which I have already analyzed.

V

Thanks to the magnificent book of Lapeyre: *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque,* today we can judge the volume of the expulsion of 1609 with accuracy and we can calculate precisely its authentic historical projections. The rigorous data offered by this book regarding the geographic distribution of the Moorish population in Spain are decisive for this end. They were distributed in this way on the eve of their brutal diaspora: 135,000 in Valencia; 61,000 in Aragón; 5,000 in Catalonia; 45,000 in Castile, León, La Mancha and Extremadura; 16,000 in Murcia; 30,000 in Andalusia; 3,000 in Granada; 1,000 in the Canaries. These figures show that the expulsion only had great importance in Valencia and in Aragón where 196,000 of the 296,000 Moors who inhabited the Spanish kingdoms lived. These figures represent 33 % of the Christian population in the lands of Valencia and 20 % in those of Aragón, while in the Crown of Castile they made up only 1.5 % of the entire population. One Morisco for every two Christians in Valencia and one for every four in Aragón against 1.5 for every 100 of the 7,000,000 who inhabited the kingdoms forming the Crown of Castile.

Lapeyre is correct when relating those differences with those which separated the Chiristian advance in Aragón and Valencia, from that of the Castilian-León reconquest. Demographic, political and military causes, which here it would not be appropiate to point out, weakened the power of the sovereigns of Aragón and of the counts of Barcelona —even after their union— when dealing with the Muslim inhabitants of Aragón and Valencia, frequently grouped in easy to defend urban centers. The hope of Almoravid help, during the reconquest of Aragón, and the desperation for Almohad help, during that of Valencia, induced the Moors of Aragón to resist until they achieved favorable pacts and decided those of Valencia to accept them without prolonging the resistance. Thus one can conclude, along with Lapeyre, that the expulsion of 1609 was like a tardy complement —and I must add, inevitable— of the special reconquests of Aragón, in the twelfth-century, and of Valencia, in the thirteenth.

The demographic exactitudes obtained by Lapeyre allow us to understand the causes of the Moorish exodus in its complex and real nature. Naturally it will always be necessary to include the intolerance, not only Iberian but European at the time, among the psychic forces which precipitated the expulsion. And I say not only Iberian but also European because, against Chaunu who when commenting on Lapeyre refers to it, I believe Halperín is correct, when analyzing the decree of 1609, in pointing out the intolerance of the men of the sixteenth-century, recognized and underlined by Lucien Fèbvre.

Halperín affirms that during the whole period in which the Moorish problem was opened: «The opinion of Christian Europe, if it were to complain of something, did so of the excessive Spanish tolerance». Furthermore it might be wise to remember that Henry IV in his Edict of 22 February of 1610 admitted the residence of Moors in France, but only if they took on the Catholic faith.

Chaunu still considers the expulsion as penitential offering of Spain for having signed the cease-fire of twelve years with the heretics of the United Provinces. Despite the great credit he has earned for his magnificent works as historian of our Atlantic commerce and the high authority I give to his opinions, I cannot follow him in that opinion. I believe that Lapeyre and Chaunu are correct when thinking that the Moorish exodus could not have been organized before 1609 in which Spain enjoyed a rest of peace. Indeed; the expulsion would have been too dangerous a measure while we were fighting with France, Holland and England; only a madman would have decreed it during the long decades of our battles. Yet among the causes of the exile one cannot count that impossible to prove Hispanic penitence for the agreement with Holland which, moreover, was not considered by Spain as a definitive peace but as a necessary and temporary cease-fire.

We must not let ourselves be seduced by the ideas and feelings of our epoch when attempting to understand the past. Any man spiritually formed before the disaster of Nazism and Communism were to weaken human sensitivity toward cruelty, must consider monstruous the uprooting from their home, at times millenary —the majority of the Moors descended from the Hispano-Romans— of a national community. Yet we historians must judge the men of a different period in accord with the model of their own ideas and their own feelings. After reading Lapeyre we can imagine that the Spanish politicians of the beginnings of the seventeenth-century believed the expulsion to be necessary for the future and security of Spain. Were they correct in their analysis? Perhaps they were.

Halperín had correctly called the Moorish problem of Valencia a national conflict. The figures of population of Islamic extract, fixed by Lapeyre, corraborate this opinion. It is not possible to underestimate the danger implied by the presence of a great mass of Moriscos, neither as-

similated nor assimilable and extraordinarily prolific, in the Spanish Levant and along the Ebro. Via the Mediterranean, a Turkish and African threat could materialize. The change in the attitude of the Moriscos of the kingdom of Valencia had been proven; having forgotten their ancient loyalty to the Crown, they had established active negotiations with the Islamites of Africa and they trusted in their help to free themselves from the Christian yoke. The efforts of Henry IV of France to provoke a general uprising among the Spanish Moriscos are known. Neither should we forget the demographic growth of the minority of Muslim origin, especially in the lands of Levant; Lapeyre has shown that between 1563 and 1609, that is in around 40 years, the population of Moorish stock in Valencia had increased by 69.7 %. Fresh for all was the memory of the rebellion in Granada of 1570 which had created a grave problem for Philip II, had cost much bloodshed, and great amounts of money and had only been repressed with great difficulty and effort. The enmity of the Turks, the pirates and French was not a myth but a reality. The contacts with them on the part of the Moriscos and the continual growth of the masses of Islamic heritage in the Levant, in Aragón and even in all of Spain could not be ignored by the central administration of the State for, as Lapeyre has appreciated, they were much better informed than one might think, by a much more efficient bureaucracy than one usually imagines. Without that efficiency and without that information Lapeyre could not have written his book; and Chaunu has also pointed out both of these realities in the Spain of the beginnings of the seventeenth-century. Problems like that of the expulsion of the Jews, the inquisitorial persecutions, the Morisco diaspora, the exile of the Jesuits and in general all the cruelties which have stained our history and all histories, pose grave qualms of conscience for those of us who, at the same time, consider human freedom and dignity essential to the full life of men and nations. Yet we also must consider that the historical development of national communities and even the march of humanity toward the affirmation of its freedom, a prerequisite so as not to retreat in their millenary advance, can at times require drastic social measures or processes of revolutionary violence which are sooner or later inevitable. Considering this, can we justify the brutal decree of 1609?

Let us imagine the possibilities offered to Richelieu, for example, by the unhappiness and the numeric force of the Morisco masses which, two generations after 1609, due to their uninterrupted demographic growth, would have made up around 50 % of the population of the kingdom of Valencia and 33 % of the Christians of Aragón.

The great historian Braudel years ago supposed that the expulsion, by ruining the two aforementioned kingdoms, would have accentuated the hegemony of Castile. In his commentary on the book of Lapeyre, Chaunu affirms that idea and even sustains that the Morisco exile provoked in the long run the peripheral rebellions of Catalonia and Portugal in 1640. It was the conquest and colonization of America that widened the secular

hegemonic position of Castile, based on the greater extension of its territory, on its demographic superiority, on its greater wealth and on its temperamental heritage itself. Aragón and Valencia had never contributed in any important way to the alleviation of the fiscal burden of the Spanish Empire. Contrary to what Chaunu believes, I feel that the crisis of Aragón and of Valencia due to the expulsion of the Moriscos made it impossible for the fire of Catalonia to extend to the other states which made up the Crown of Aragón, as occurred later during the War of Succession.

Furthermore Spanish history later has continued to justify the expulsion of the Moriscos. One can imagine the dangers that the unhappiness of the great mass of Islamic stock of Aragón and Valencia would have created in a Spain torn apart by the war between Philip V and the Archduke Charles, at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. And one does not need excessive imagination to calculate the problems that a Moorish Valencia, after three hundred years almost superior to the Christian population of the country and a mass of Moriscos not very inferior to the Christians of Aragón would have caused for the Spain in turmoil of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, from our War of Independence on. No matter how great the economic harm for Spain was, due to that expulsion, those ills were overcome more or less quickly. On the other hand, the nation avoided grave dangers, increased by sharp political, fiscal, economic and even national crises, that the Morisco majorities or minorities would have posed for our historical life and would continue to pose today for our future.

Besides it is important not to exaggerate the damage which the Moorish diaspora produced for the Spanish economy. Years ago Hamilton proved that it hardly influenced the oscillations of prices and salaries. Today Chaunu attributes in part the relative stability of prices and salaries caused by the expulsion to the general movement of the Hispano-American economic conjuncture. I declare myself ignorant in those problems. Yet I dare to suppose that if the economic impact of the Moorish exile had been as grave as had been supposed, not only would it have been reflected in the prices and salaries, it would have also decisively influenced the movements of the conjuncture.

Hamilton even wrote: «The little effect of the expulsion on the rise of salaries in general or on the wages of any particular class of workers, gives us the strongest proof that the exodus of the Moriscos was not the principal cause of the decadence of Spain».

Since in Catalonia there were only three thousand Moriscos, naturally their expulsion could not cause any grave harm to the Catalonian economy. And both Lapeyre and Chaunu recognize that the impact of the Morisco diaspora on Castile was minimal, that is on all the kingdoms which integrated the Crown of Castile, from the frontiers of Portugal to those of Valencia and Aragón and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cantabrian sea. Since the population of Islamic origin among them did not amount

to more than 1.5 % of the Christian population —around 90,000 souls in 400.000 km² against around seven million inhabitants— it is natural that their exit could not cause economic evils of great importance. Some cities like Seville and Toledo, where there was a Moorish proletariat or sub-proletariat, would suffer from a passing shortage of labor, the mercantile trade would temporarily diminish in some where rich Morisco merchants had lived —some left in carriages via the French frontier— and nothing more. Thus Lapeyre and Chaunu admit that the decadence of the Castilian cities of the seventeenth-century cannot be in any way tied to the expulsion of the Moriscos.

This expulsion did produce important material ills in Aragón and Valencia. In some zones of Aragón south of the Ebro, many lands became barren; they were recorded by Labaña in his map a few years after the Moriscos exodus. And even though the Castellón lowlands, the Valencia plain and the land of Alicante hardly suffered, there were also ghost towns in Valencia; they still appear in the census of 1636. Nevertheless, the old Christians of the two kingdoms and the Pyrenean and ultra-Pyrenean emigrants soon filled the vacant farmlands left by the expelled Moriscos. In Valencia corollary problems created by the expulsion were more important. Industry and commerce suffered less than agriculture; but on the other hand, economic problems of a different nature arose. Seigneurial and parasitic institutions like the nobility, the Churches and the Inquisition saw their rents diminished or eliminated... They recuperated from these ills by means of repopulation and with the cancellation of the debts. Moreover their creditors, who received income from their estates and their goods, were ruined; the embryonic bourgeoisie suffered greatly from this as did the banking life of the country.

The extension and the population of the Morisco zone of the kingdom of Valencia were nevertheless small in the whole of the population and the extension of the Peninsula —all of it was no more extended than the district of Seville— and the sad but true division of the Spanish economy in separate compartments prevented the crisis of Aragón and Valencia from decisively affecting the whole of the economic life for Spain. The zone of Aragón which suffered most and all the land of Valencia are today, and already were in the seventeenth-century, rich and well-tilled regions; something which also proves that the expulsion of the Moriscos did not brand them lastingly with iron and fire. Moreover Lapeyre has written: «*Le départ des Morisques ne fut pas pour le royaume de Valence, cette catastrophe sans précédent qu'ont imaginée certains auteurs*».

GRATITUDE

To the persons who assisted me in the first edition of this book, here I must add the names of Miss María Eulalia Pahissa who has sketched the map «*Concejo* Castile around the Year 1200» and Miss María Estela González for having completed the index of names. I must also thank the many honest critics who have confronted my book; with their observations and annotations they have urged me to the discussion and the explanation of some of my theoretical formulations.

Though it may seem paradoxical I must also give thanks to the author of *Spain in Its History* and to the group of his friends and devotees who have combatted me with fury; they have gone so far as to call me Mohammed, hermit and Nazi. Pure philologists, essayists, novelists, journalists, have revealed in their criticisms their total ignorance of Spanish history; in this aspect there is no exception among them. That ignorance —no historian has followed them— and the lack of importance of their allegations, have ended up fortifying my theories.

Furthermore I wish to express my gratitude to the thousands of readers who have eagerly sold out the first edition of this work; and especially for the many and at times very learned who spontaneously and privately have taken pen in hand with the purpose of telling me they were convinced by my theses.

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